Cervantes, Poet:

Lyric Subjectivity as Practice in the Rise of the Novel in Sixteenth-Century Spain

by

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Abstract

The novel--as a literary genre--is a lyric in prose. It may be differentiated from the allegory, the romance, the epic, the satire, the tragedy, the history, the comedy, etc, by way of its unique form of novelistic character development. Drawn from explorations of individual subjectivity fostered and voiced in lyric art forms during the sixteenth century, the novel's defining literary model is the lyric. Having taken the *Don Quijote* as a point of reference, this dissertation returns to the first thirty years of Miguel de Cervantes' literary career in order to examine the rise of the novel in sixteenth-century Spain. Through a recovery and analysis of the literary milieu which bore most strongly on this first modern novelist, this dissertation resituates the rise of the novel in the author's own work as primarily--though not exclusively--a lyrical phenomenon.

Chapter 1 reconstructs the lyrical and philosophical history in vogue amongst court poets whom Cervantes joined, befriended, and imitated during his first authorial experiences as a young conceptual poet writing in the court of Isabel de Valois (1560-1568). Particular attention is paid to the court poets, Francisco de Figueroa and Pedro Laynez, who exerted a considerable influence on Cervantes, and whom he later included as the exemplary shepherd-poets, Tirsi and Damón, in his first novel, the *Galatea* (1585).

Chapter 2 expands upon this analysis through a close examination of the ways in which Cervantes' friend and fellow poet, Luis Gálvez de Montalvo, pursued a literature of immediacy by drawing directly on personal experience and private histories of court practice in order to explore individual subjectivities within the space of novelistic fiction. This lyrical focus is then brought to bare on a close reading of Cervantes' earliest lyric verse, particularly his 1567 sonnet to Isabel de Valois.

Chapter 3 turns to the Italian context with which Cervantes met as a young poet in the service of Giulio Acquaviva in Rome (1569-1571). By examining cultural practices in the private gardens of Roman noblemen, such as Vicino Orsini, this chapter demonstrates how the lyrical and imaginative practices of the court of Isabel de Valois were pervasive in Renaissance Mediterranean culture. It thereby draws a line of continuity between Cervantes' earliest experiences in Madrid and the milieu which he subsequently joined in Rome. Here again explorations of subjectivity are brought to bare on the ways in which literary art forms were conceptualized and cultivated in the author's context.

Chapter 4 reconstructs and examines the friendship which Cervantes cultivated with the Sicilian poet, Antonio Veneziano, while the two poets were captive in Algiers. This chapter recovers Veneziano's prominence as a lyric author of the sixteenth century and the formative influence which he exercised over Cervantes' lyrical

works--both in verse, prose, and dramaturgical formats. This chapter concludes with a close reading of Cervantes' own lyric verse composed at this time. I examine Veneziano's influence, the ways in which these early works appear in Cervantes' later novelistic fiction, and indications of an early and fully developed conceptual and literary outlook. These octaves are, among Cervantes oeuvre, the most explicitly claimed reflections of the author's lyric "I", and therefore are indispensable to treatments of Cervantes' authorial subjectivity.

Chapter 5 returns to the literary milieu of Madrid in the 1580s which Cervantes rejoined shortly after his release from Algiers. Particular attention is paid to the ways in which subjectivity was voiced in lyric art forms both in verse and prose formats. This chapter resituates Cervantes' composition of his first novel, the *Galatea*, amidst this literary milieu, and offers new reading clues and identifications for the novel as a *roman à clef* deeply grounded in a lyrical literature of immediacy. I also examine the transition from verse to prose formats in the lyrical works of his contemporaries.

Chapter 6 undertakes an unprecedented and thorough close reading of the *Galatea* as an indispensable and heretofore missing component for both studies of the novel and studies of Cervantes' conceptual outlook and narrative theory. This chapter pays special attention to the *cosmos* in which lyric subjectivity was fostered and voiced towards the realization of novelistic characters. The author's own lyric subjectivity is highlighted and discussed by way of his fictional persona, Lauso. Correlations between the *Galatea* and the *Don Quijote* are noted at length. By looking past anachronistic judgment-calls against the pastoral and the *Galatea*, this chapter provides the first coherent close reading of this eclogue in prose as modern novelistic fiction, and as a phenomenal development in lyric art forms.

In the Introduction and Conclusion of this dissertation I situate the present study in relation to discourse on the novel, the *Don Quijote*, and Cervantes' oeuvre. In the Introduction I offer a new reading of the *Don Quijote* informed by the present study. In the Conclusion I recapitulate the present study in relation to Cervantes' oeuvre.

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Note on Translation

For the ease of the reader I have provided English translations of all citations found within the body of the text. Unless otherwise noted, these translations are my own. I have found a word-for-word translation to be the most appropriate methodological approach in this context. While somewhat clumsy, this approach provides for the reader the most precise access to the ways in which lyric subjectivity was articulated and organized on the page. I beg the reader's patience in those passages which are particularly inelegant or rustic in their syntax. I have left citations in the footnotes in their original language in order not to overburden the page, and I have reserved for the endnotes those citations of lyric verse whose length might otherwise overwhelm the body of the text. The title of the *Don Quijote* is drawn from the two original Spanish titles: *El ingenioso hidalgo, Don Quixote de la Mancha* (1605) and *El ingenioso caballero, Don Quixote de la Mancha* (1615). The abbreviation obviously obscures Alonso Quijano's changing status from an *hidalgo* to a *caballero*. However, for the sake of concision I have found this to be the most appropriate shorthand for the titles of this work. Additionally, I will refer to all of Cervantes works with the article "the", in keeping with Leo Spitzer's usage, "Linguistic Perspectivism in the Don Quixote" (1962). I have found that his usuage of the article helps to underscore the object of study as a material text. Moreover, because Cervantes frequently titled his works after his protagonists (*Galatea*, *Don Quijote*, *Persiles y Sigismunda*), the use of the article when referring to the text will help to differentiate between references to characters (don Quijote) and references to works (the *Don Quijote*).

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Tú no puedes quererme:
estás alta, ¡qué arriba!
Y para consolarme
me envías sombras, copias,
retratos, simulacros,
todos tan parecidos
como si fueses tú.
Entre figuraciones
vivo, de ti, sin ti.
Me quieren,
me acompañan. Nos vamos
por los claustros del agua,
por los hielos flotantes,
por la pampa, o a cines
minúsculos y hondos.

You cannot love me:
you are loftily high!
And to console me
you send me shadows, copies,
pictures, simulacra,
all so alike
as if they were you.
I live between live images
of you, without you.
They like me,
go with me. We go
through cloisters of water,
through floating icebergs,
through the pampas or to deep
and diminutive movies.

Pedro Salinas, La voz a ti debida, translation: Willis Barnstone, (2010, pp.90-93)

Introduction

The Tyranny of Cervantes: Return to a Lost Kingdom

The author *is a modern character, no doubt produced by our society as it emerged from the Middle Ages, inflected by English empiricism, French rationalism, and the personal faith of the Reformation, thereby discovering the prestige of the individual, or, as we say more nobly, of the "human person." Hence, it is logical that in literary matters it should be positivism, crown and conclusion of capitalist ideology, which has granted the greatest importance to the author's "person." The* author *still reigns in manuals of literary history, in biographies of writers, magazine interviews, and in the very consciousness of litterateurs eager to unite, by means of private journals, their person and their work; the image of literature to be found in contemporary culture is tyrannically centered on the author, his person, his history, his tastes, his passions...*[1]

As it appeared in the invention of this word, ***ingenio****, which in order to discover it, a very delicate contemplation full of natural philosophy was required. In which discourse, they found that there was in Man two generative potencies: one in common with the brute animals and plants, and the other a participant with the spiritual substances, God and the angels... speaking with the natural philosophers, they well know that the* ***entendimiento*** *(the comprehension) is a generative potency and it becomes pregnant and gives birth, and it has children and grandchildren, and a midwife (says Plato) which helps it give birth. Just as in the manner that in the first animal or plant generation gives a real and substantial being to its child, not having one prior to the generation, in the same way, the* ***entendimiento*** *(the comprehension), has the virtue and natural forces to produce and give birth within itself to a child, which the natural philosophers call a* ***noticia*** *(notion) or* ***concepto*** *(concept), which is* ***verbum mentis*** *(mental word).*[2]

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I begin with the above citations from Roland Barthes' 1967 essay, "Death of the Author" and Juan Huarte de San Juan's 1575 treatise, *Examination of the Ingenio*[3], first because they illustrate the distance between understandings of authorship among the twentieth-century *intelligentsia* who conditioned our

[1] (Barthes, 1989, pp.49-50)

[2] (Huarte de San Juan, 1989, pp.186-188). Commonly translated as *Examination of Men's Wits*, I have left the term *ingenio* as an untranslatable. While *ingenio* will later take on the connotation of *wit* amongst Baroque authors of the seventeenth-century, particularly in the works of Gracían, Huarte's use of the term is distinct from *wit*, *mind*, or other possible English translations. The loose similarities between nineteenth-century German thought and the thought processes native to the sixteenth-century Spanish context, of which Huarte is representative, can be observed in the correlation between the above citation from Huarte and Anthony J. Close's description of the later turn in literary criticism: "In late nineteenth-century Germany a challenge was mounted against the creed that the methodology of the human sciences (history, literary study, sociology) should be modelled on biology or physics. The challengers were Dilthey, Windelband, Rickert; their twentieth-century successors have included Croce, Ortega, Collingwood. They assert that the human spirit in all its cultural objectifications is different in kind from organic or inorganic nature, is known with a different kind of knowledge--historical, artistic, intuitive, sympathetically understanding--and involves its own intellectually respectable rules of explanation. When this group of philosophers talks of history it tends to mean cultural history. Dilthey, for instance, interested himself in historical world-views in their main spiritual inter-connections: philosophy, art, religion. Thus an impetus to the history of ideas," (Close, 1977, pp.188)

[3] I have thought it best not to translate the word "ingenio" so that it may retain its full resonance within the literary milieu described herein.

critical scope and among late sixteenth-century *intelligentsia* who conditioned that of Cervantes; and second, because Huarte de San Juan's description of man's creative faculty reveals the contradictory nature of Barthes' argument. When Barthes writes of the *tyrannical* presence of the author in criticism, one must ask, over whom does the author act tyrannically? In Barthes we discover the ancient tension between poetry (*poesis*, or more generally, literature) and philosophy, particularly Continental philosophy (Platonic at its core in spite of the struggle which Barthes and his contemporaries undertook with Plato, Descartes and the monotheistic dictatorship of Western thought processes). What Barthes means is that the critic (individualistic and existentially inclined in mid-twentieth-century France), suffers under the tyranny of the literary author when undertaking literary criticism. Intuitively, he highlights the opposition between two authorial perspectives: that of the literary text and that of the critical text. However, the cultural revolution sustained by the writings of critics and philosophers such as Barthes, Foucault and Derrida, did not democratize the process of literary studies, rather it replaced one tyrant (the literary author) with another (the philosopher-critic).[4] Huarte's text, in contrast, reveals both the literary and critical author as distinct individuals, or ***ingenios***, whose creative faculties each, and individualistically, seek to procreate their thought in words: *verbum mentis*.[5] What Barthes' text takes for granted, or opposes, is the use of material data surrounding any author which is used to limit the perspective of the critical author whilst developing the perspective of the literary author as it concerns the study of a literary text. The present study reaffirms the tyranny of the literary author over any other authorial perspective when encountering a work of literature.

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[4] The most lasting effects in literary criticism are to be found in Derrida, Lacan, and a new positivistic (also called new materialism) relationship to the human sciences.

[5] Huarte's thoughts on the divine creative faculty of man, the ***ingenio***, represents a pantheistic and existential Platonism which is largely absent from the modern Continental tradition. For example, Huarte pays eye-witness testimony to the divinity of the *ingenio*, thereby upholding the metaphysical potencies of Man with empirical evidence: "Otra tercera diferencia de ingenio se halla, no muy diferente de la pasada, con la cual dicen los que la alcanzan (sin arte ni estudio) cosas tan delicadas, tan verdaderas y prodigiosas, que jamás se vieron, ni oyeron, ni escribieron, ni para siempre vieron en consideración de los hombres. Llámala Platón *ingenium excellens cum mania*. ... Esta tercera diferencia de ingenio que añade Platón realmente se halla en los hombres, y yo como testigo de vista lo puedo testificar y aun señalar algunos con el dedo si fuere menester. Por decir que sus dichos y sentencias son revelaciones divinas, y no particular naturaleza, es error claro y manifiesto; y no le está bien a un filósofo tan grave come Platón ocurrir a las causas universales sin buscar primero las particulares con much diligencia y cuidado..." (Huarte de San Juan, 1989, pp.202-203).

In my 2013 article, "Naming the Novel: Pastoral Pseudonyms, the *Galatea* and the *Academia Imitatoria*, Madrid, 1585", I likened the *Don Quijote* to a Rorschach test which reveals the projections of the critic more often than criticism reveals much of the text.[6] While symptomatic of the critical age ushered in by Jacques Derrida's lecture on "Structure, Sign & Play" at The Johns Hopkins University in 1966, the projection of any given literary moment onto studies, readings and interpretations of the *Don Quijote* was not novel to deconstruction and post-modernism.[7] The eighteenth-century English satirists[8], the nineteenth-century German romantics[9] and the twentieth-century Spanish, American and European realists and

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[6] "As long as the literary milieu of the 1580s Madrid, which is encoded in *La Galatea* and other texts contemporary to its publication, remains unexplored, studies of that novel and interpretations of the *Don Quijote* will both continue to function in a manner more akin to the results of a Rorschach test, in which what is written on either topic will reveal more of the time, place and character of the critic than it can about the *Don Quijote* or the *Galatea*," (Ponce-Hegenauer, 2013, pp.178).

[7] When Derrida writes, "Nevertheless, the center also closes off the freeplay it opens up and makes possible. *Qua* center, it is the point at which the substitution of contents, elements, or terms is no longer possible. At the center, the permutation or the transformation of elements (which may of course be structures enclosed within a structure) is forbidden. At least this permutation has always remained *interdicted* (I use the word deliberately). Thus it has always been thought that the center, which is by definition unique, constituted that every thing within a structure which governs the structure, while escaping structurality," (Derrida, 1972, pp.248). Either explicitly or niavely, Derrida's description of this *distancing* and *tyrannical* center over the free-play of language is synonymous with Barthes description of the tyrannical author. Derrida would like for texts to come into the free-play-ground of the consumer, rather than the limited-monocentric-structure of the producer. Again, the present dissertation reaffirms the tyranny of the author in literary studies and explicitly rejects the concept of the viewer's free-play as a 'decentered truth'.

[8] "There is greater refinement in *Quixotic* criticism in the eighteenth century than in the previous one. Partly this is due to the more sophisticated critical sense of the age, and partly to the fact that men were less engrossed by, because less aware of, the humour of Cervantes's burlesque allusions. Voltaire, Rousseau, Fielding, Charles Jarvis, Bishop Warburton and others variously praised the naturalness of Cervantes's delineation of character, the novelty of his invention, the elegance of his irony, his narrative fertility, his good sense and good taste. An age versed in the acts of burlesque, it noted shrewdly that Cervantes's ironic wit characteristically avoided the 'low' burlesque (making Dido talk like a fish-wife), and assumed a 'serious air', e.g. by attributing unselfconscious solemnity to the hero, or by affecting a mock-epic narrative style. Henry Fielding imitated the second of these strategies in *Joseph Andrews* (1742). Both Fielding (by implication) in the prologue to his novel, and Tobias Smollett in the prologue to *Roderick Random* (1748), treat Cervantes as a master of the comic 'prose-epic' or 'romance'--that is, the humorous novel of character and manners--and credit him with the corresponding virtues: the exact imitation of nature, the efficacious ridicule of folly, the witty depiction of ludicrous character-traits," (Close, 1977, pp.13-14)

[9] "The German Romantics completely transformed the interpretation handed down to them by eighteenth-century neo-classicism; in many ways they turned it upside down. They read *Don Quixote* as

theorists of the novel[10] likewise found a ready primer for their own thought in Cervantes' critically enigmatic text, to name only the three most lasting approaches to this work.[11] As with any lionized author,

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a work of art which directly anticipated the preoccupations and values of Romanticism. The pioneers of this revision were Friedrich and August Wilhelm Schlegel, F.W. J. Schelling, Ludwig Tieck, and Jean Paul Richter--the Schlegel brothers in their capacities as aestheticians and historians of literature, Schelling and Richter *qua* aestheticians, Tieck as translator of *Don Quixote* and as literary critic. The revision of ideas about *Don Quixote* (together with some other masterpieces) was a part of the revolt against eighteenth-century neo-classicism; its influence on subsequent criticism was powerful because of the intellectual stature of the men who undertook it and because their interpretation of *Don Quixote* was intimately connected with the central doctrines of the movement which they led.... They saw Cervantes's art, like that of any other great writer, as the biological outgrowth of certain cultural conditions peculiar to a determinate epoch and nation. Nonetheless, their conception of a Universal Poetry permitted them to affirm a kinship and continuity among the great masterpieces of the past--Dante's *Divina Commedia*, Boccaccio's *Decamerone*, Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, *Don Quixote*, the plays of Shakespeare and Calderón--and to see this as an anticipation of the spirit of the modern age.... [Schlegel] had drawn the blueprint for the literary form which the Romantics made their own--the novel," (Close, 1977, pp.29-31).

[10] "Ortega now moves out of the Hegelian sphere of influence and moves into that of Schelling. The Ancient epic, he says, presented an idealised picture of the past and peopled it with semi-divine heroes. The result was not just an assembly of beautiful stories, but a corpus of knowledge and wisdom. Beauty and the Ideas were one. Mythic archetypes, or their derivatives, have been at the source of poetic creation ever since Classical Antiquity. Even the modern novelist, as contributor to a genre which descends from the epic, rehearses or commemorates the myths. Where he differs from his forefather, the epic poet, is in his scepticism towards them: 'El mito es siempre el punto de partida de toda poesía, inclusive de la realista; sino que en ésta acompañamos al mito en su descenso, en su caída.' Consquently, where the epic presents an idealised past, the novel depicts a realistic present; where the epic ingenuously gives release to our delight in the marvellous, the novel, in more sophisticated fashion, both satisfies it and ironically criticises it; where the epic can present the ideal as perfectly embodied in an objectively existing world of heroes, the novel presents it as a subjective fantasy, 'vapor de un cerebro'..., which is real as the psychological illusion of a determinate person, but not as an objective fact; where the epic believes in the absolute existence of ideas, the novel sees them ironically, as relative to each age, doomed to be superseded by another set of civilised values. All these transformations are wrought by the single stroke of enveloping the epic world in a container of material reality," (Close, 1977, pp.178-179).

[11] Beyond the *Don Quijote*, theories of the novel rarely treat the Spanish context, and more rarely still the historical context which conditioned early iterations of the genre in any of the European languages. Michael McKeon's study, *Origins of the English Novel, 1600-1740*, is exceptional in this regard. However, he reads the *Don Quijote*, rightly for his purpose, within the context of interpretations of Cervantes put forth by early English novelists. He writes, "I will juxtapose my readings of *Don Quixote* (1605, 1615) and *The Pilgrim's Progress* (1678, 1684) not because of any crucial intertextual link that subsists between them, but because they are complementary instances of the dialectical transformation--the recapitulation and the negation--of romance,"(1987, pp.267). For a historical reconstruction of the genesis of the *Don Quijote*, this will not serve. As Ruth El Saffar observed in her study of Cervantes'

Cervantes has become a veritable fisher king for whom the land of the *Don Quijote* now lies barren of its original lexicon and conceptual complexity, a land filled with many virtuous knights from afar, but ungoverned by its native tyrant. Ironically then, we find in the *Don Quijote* both Foucault's notion of the cult of the "authorial figure"--what subsequent generations have made of Cervantes--[12] as well as an author long dead, in Barthes' sense, and buried by the literary moments which have taken his text as their object of study.[13]

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fiction, *Novel to Romance*, "Since the idealistic tales combine increased exploration of the possibilities of verisimilitude with religious denouements, it seems likely that the later religious orientation is connected to the interest in fantasy in literature," 1974, (pp.xvi). As this dissertation will show, the *erotic mysticism* and the *aesthetic idealism* which grew out of Cervantes' literary milieu were responsible for the more romantic (in the generic sense) elements of fantasy which El Saffar explores in Cervantes' seventeenth-century fiction. Moreover, these aesthetic concerns are readily apparent in the *Galatea* (1585) and the *Don Quijote* (1605-1615), which is to say from the outset through to his last novel, the *Persiles y Sigismunda* (post. 1617). For the most comprehensive review of the history of the theory of the novel (though it rarly accords to the Spanish context of mid to late sixteenth-century Spain), see: *Theory of the Novel: A Historical Approach.* ed. M. McKeon (2000). The two foundational texts for the theory of the novel are Lukác's *Theory of the Novel: A historico-philosophical essay on the forms of great epic* (1987), which has fostered the commonly held reading of the novel as a form of epic, and Mikhail Bakhtin's *The Dialogic Imagination* 1998), particularly the fourth essay, "Discourse in the Novel", which has led theoretical discourse on the *heteroglossia* of the novel. While several observations made by both Lukács and Bakhtin may readily be related to the pastoral literature of the second half of sixteenth-century Spain, these would be coincidental rather than fundamental correspondences, particularly where the subject of the epic is concerned. I will not treat these theories in the dissertation which follows in order to give preference to the theories and practice of Cervantes' own period.

[12] "It would seem that the author's name, unlike other proper names, does not pass from the interior of a discourse to the real and exterior individual who produced it; instead, the name seems always to be present, marking off the edges of the text, revealing, or at least characterizing, its mode of being. The author's name manifests the appearance of a certain discursive construct and its very particular mode of being. As a result, we could say that in a civilization like our own there are a certain number of discourses endowed with the "author function" while others are deprived of it.... The author function is therefore characteristic of the mode of existence, circulation, and functioning of certain discourses within a society," (Foucault, 1994, pp.211).

[13] "We know now that a text consists not of a line of words, releasing a single "theological" meaning (the "message" of the Author-God), but of a multi-dimensional space in which are married and contested several writings, none of which is original: the text is a fabric of quotations, resulting from a thousand sources of culture.... Once the Author is distanced, the claim to "decipher" a text becomes entirely futile. To assign an Author to a text is to impose a brake on it, to furnish it with a final signified, to close writing. This conception is quite suited to criticism, which then undertakes the important task of discovering the Author (or his hypostases: society, history, the psyche, freedom) beneath the work: once the Author is found, the text is "explained," the critic has won; hence, it is hardly surprising that

When Cervantes has been studied with a view to the author's own history--for example by late nineteenth-century positivists or by late twentieth-century new historicists--studies have tended to focus on histories of politics, religion and patronage rather than on literary, cultural or intellectual history.[14] On rare occasion--such as in E.C. Riley's exemplary 1962 history of sixteenth-century literary theory, *Cervantes's Theory of the Novel*--much needed attention has been paid to aesthetic thought processes as they concerned literature in Cervantes' own day.[15] Nonetheless, as a literary critic, Riley's key concerns are centered around Neo-Aristotelian treatises on literature authored by sixteenth-century literary critics and theorists rather

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historically the Author's empire has been the Critic's as well, and also that (even new) criticism is today unsettled at the same time as the Author," (Barthes, 1989, pp.52-53).

Again I would like to stress that when Barthes writes, "we must reverse the myth: the birth of the reader must be requited by the death of the Author," (*Ibid*, pp.55), Barthes is privileging the ***ingneio*** of the critic (himself) over that of the author. This trend has been damaging throughout the course of postmodern criticism.

[14] A paradigmatic example of this type of work in positivism is T. Carreras y Artau's *La filosofía del derecho en el Quijote* (Madrid, 1903). While tackling several of the major politico-religious authors and thinkers of Cervantes' day, this work, like others of its kind, readily eliminates the thought processes of imaginative authors and the discourse of aesthetics from the intellectual history of the period, that which was most pertinent to Cervantes. On this work, Anthony J. Close has written, "The book is an excellent scholarly compilation of the average ideas of the Golden Age Spaniard on kingship, legal administration, the rights of war, international relations, the place of ethnic minorities in society, and so on. *Don Quixote* is sensibly sifted for evidence; relevant comparisons are made with the opinions of intellectuals such as Luis Vives, Juan Huarte, Antonio de Guevara, Saavedra Fajardo; there are references backwards to Sts Thomas and Augustine and to Gratian, sideways to Vitoria, Soto, Suárez, Bartolomé de las Casas, forwards to modern jurisprudence...," (Close, 1977, pp.124, emphasis mine). The problem is that neither Cervantes nor his contemporary and precedent imaginative authors were "average" Spaniards and the realm of aesthetics and philosophy native to their discourse, practice and literary works has been completely erased from these histories.

American New-Historicism has met well with the traditions of Spanish Philology on the continent. But again, studies from both sides of the Atlantic often adhere more to political, court and printing history than to literary and intellectual history and analysis. Indispensable studies for the history of the *Don Quijote* as a cultural artifact can be found in the work of Harry Sieber, "The Magnificent Fountain: Literary Patronage in the Court of Philip III" (1998), Francisco Rico *El texto del Quijote* (2006), and Fernando Bouza *"Dásele licencia y privilegio". Don Quijote y la aprobación de libros en el Siglo de Oro.* (2012). See also: (Bouza and Rico, 2009).

[15] Another poignant example is Alban Forcione's *Cervantes, Aristotle and the Persiles* (Princeton,1970). While this study does not directly concern itself with the *Don Quijote*, its consideration of El Pinciano's influence in Cervantes' literary outlook is indispensable to any serious consideration of the author and his works, even though Neo-Aristotelian aspects account for only a slighter and later component of Cervantes' aesthetic practices.

than the actual literary works written by imaginative authors.[16] Traditional front matter to these sixteenth-century works of poetry and prose--including the *aprobación*, *privilegio*, *dedicatoria*, *prólogo*, and any number of encomiastic verses by the author's friends--as well as glosses and meta-commentary contained within, provide a far more precise sampling of the thought processes immediately relevant to the discourse of aesthetics in these texts. Nowhere in Riley do we find a concern for a close and incisive history and analysis of Garcilaso de la Vega, Boscán, Hurtado de Mendoza, Montemayor, Laynez, Figueroa, Gálvez de Montalvo, Padilla, López Maldonado, Liñán de Riaza, Lope de Vega or any other of those poets and prose authors readily enmeshed in Cervantes' imaginative framework and quotidian exchanges.[17] Glossed throughout

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[16] For example, when delineating the argument of his study early on in the introduction to this text, Riley explains, "Literary theory in Golden-Age Spain made slow progress until the last quarter of the sixteenth century. Earlier developments, however, had contributed to the marked acceleration which then took place. Humanists had paid some attention to imaginative literature as a part of general education. Rhetorics had been appearing in the vernacular. Commentaries on writers of Antiquity led to the systematic criticism of Garcilaso, who acquired all the status of a classic within fifty years of his death. From the scholar's study poetic theory made its way into the circles of poets. The significant moment of the transition was when Fernando de Herrera followed up El Brocense's mainly philological commentary on Garcilaso's works with the publication of his own copiously annotated edition at Seville in 1580. This, the work of a poet as well as a scholar, pointed in the direction that poetic theory in Spain was to follow, despite its somewhat limited subject. Sánchez de Lima's *Arte poética*, published at Alcalá de Henares in the same year, was hopelessly old-fashioned beside it, although it was to have a successor, much superior and more inspired in its Platonism, in Carvallo's *Cisne de Apolo* (Medina del Campo, 1602). The main impetus came from Italy. It was not an accident that the increase in critical consciousness among Spanish writers of the last two decades of the sixteenth century (a development apparent among English writers of the same period) coincided with the divulgation of Aristotelian poetic doctrines from Italy," (Riley, 1992, pp.1-2).

Several problems should become readily apparent in this citation. First, Riley incorrectly assumes that theoretical approaches to literary creation were absent in writers until the advent of poetic theory which began in Italy towards the middle of the sixteenth century. Second, Riley limits his consideration of poetic theory and practice to authors who explicitly wrote treatises on theory without approaching theory-in-practice as developed within the literary texts themselves. More damaging still, Riley skips over the nearly forty years of lyric developments and authors in Spain, particularly in the Habsburg court, between the publication of Garcilaso's works in 1543 and the publication of those treatises (Herrera, and Sánchez de Lima) which appeared in 1580. In adhering to the trajectory outlined by Riley, Ignacio Navarrete, in his more recent study of poetry in sixteenth-century Spain, *Orphans of Petrarch: Poetry and Theory in the Spanish Renaissance*, commits the same oversight. In both studies, Habsburg court practices, literary theories in practice, and imaginative lyric authors writing between 1540 and 1590 have been eliminated from current understandings of early modern Spanish literature.

[17] Generally speaking, E.C. Riley's approach could be termed "Neo-Aristotelian", as Close has also noted. While Aristotle certainly played an influential role in both sixteenth and twentieth-century

modernity as primarily a prose author--as the first novelist of the modern European world--Cervantes' status primarily as a poet throughout his literary career has been divorced from the literary culture of his magnum opus, particularly where studies of the novel are concerned.[18] Moreover, when select critics have dedicated

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literary theories, the emphasis on Aristotle's *Poetics* is unbalanced in relation to Plato and other classical thinkers and anachronistically obfuscates the complexities of the lyric discourse of Cervantes' period. This owes largely to the Neo-Aristotelian approach ushered into literary criticism by canonical works such as Weinberg's *A history of literary criticism in the Italian Renaissance* (1961) and Northrop Frye's *Anatomy of Literary Criticism* (1957). As this dissertation will demonstrate these authors embraced a dialogue with the precepts of Aristotle even whilst they remained fundamentally entrenched in Platonic approaches to aesthetics. When Riley does approach these authors, he does so through the lens of pastoral fiction, particularly pastoral prose, with all the commonplace critical prejudices intact. He writes, "Renaissance pastoral had a good deal to contribute to the growth of literary self-consciousness. This was a consequence of its very nature, which was essentially lyrical.... Thus the world of pastoral fiction, so incomprehensibly unreal to the modern mind, was probably that into which the educated sixteenth-century reader entered most easily.... A certain attitude was inherent in pastoral: the idea of the shepherds *competing* in song was older than Virgil.... It is true that these disguised courtiers indulged in more complimentary courtesies than real criticism, but the injection of what was at least a critical awareness into prose fiction had a stimulating effect on the early development of the modern novel," (Riley, 1962, pp.33-34). This dissertation, in keeping with the authorial practices of the period, reaffirms and develops Riley's gloss of pastoral literature as the *logos amoenus* of literary discourse as it developed both in theory and practice throughout the second half of the sixteenth century in Spain.

[18] Georg Lukács, for example, in his study, *Theory of the Novel: A historico-philosophical essay on the forms of great epic literature*, divorces the lyric from more serious novelistic genres. He writes, "The chivalrous novels against which *Don Quixote* was in the first place a polemic and which it parodied had lost the necessary transcendent relationship, and given this loss--unless everything, as in Ariosto, was to become pure, ironically elegant play--their mysterious and fairy-tale like surfaces were bound to degenerate into banal superficiality. Cervantes' creative criticism of the triviality of the chivalrous novel leads us once more to the historico-philosophical sources of this genre," (Lukács, 1987, pp.103). Similarly, Mikhail Bakhtin rightly points out the heteroglossia of Cervantes (what Spitzer has called linguistic perspectivism) but immediately goes on to the forms of the lyric fundamental for Cervantes' narrative structures. He writes, "Cervantes excelled in describing encounters between a discourse made respectable by the romance and vulgar discourse--in situations fundamental in both novels and life. In *Don Quixote* the internally polemical orientation of "respectable" discourse vis-à-vis heteroglossia unfolds in novelistic dialogues with Sancho, with other representatives of the heteroglot and coarse realities of life and in the movement of the novel's plot as well. The internal dialogue potential embedded in respectable discourse is thus actualized and brought to the surface--in dialogues and in plot movement--but, like every authentic manifestation of the dialogic principle in language--it does not exhaust itself completely in them, and is not resolved dramatically. For the poetic word in the narrow sense, such a relationship to extraliterary heteroglossia is of course absolutely excluded. In our lived experience and in the genres of everyday life situations and everyday genres, poetic discourse cannot oppose itself to heteroglossia even indirectly, for it shares no immediate common ground with it. True,

study and analysis to Cervantes' status as a poet, this decidedly lyrical literary lineage and tradition to which Cervantes pertained has not been brought to bare on the author's oeuvre.[19] Rather, studies concern themselves either solely with Cervantes' poetry or solely with Cervantes' prose as two mutually exclusive literary domains: a divided kingdom. Within the critical history of the *Don Quijoite*, a literary history authentic to the movements and progressions of the discourse and practice of aesthetics in Cervantes' immediate retinue and work is absent.[20]

The replacement of intellectual, cultural and literary history with that of religious, political and theoretical (that is literary precepts) history in Spanish Golden Age studies has done considerable damage to the tyranny of Cervantes, particularly because in this age we encounter an historical moment which preceded the Baroque, the Enlightenment and the origin of modern thought processes: Descartes' *Discours de la mèthode* in 1637.[21] Sandwiched in between the varied *cosmos* of the medieval period and the modern *cosmos* of post-Cartesian thought processes, the intellectual history of the European Renaissance, and particularly the Spanish Renaissance, remains largely unexplored and poorly if not reductively understood, especially where

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it may influence everyday genres and even conversational language, but it does so only indirectly," (Bakhtin, 1998, pp.384-385, emphasis mine).

[19] José Manuel Blecua's study of Cervantes' *poesías sueltas* as well as lyrics which appeared in his prose works is a milestone in studies of the totality of Cervantes' work. However, Blecua, like many others, does not investigate the conceptual structures, aesthetics, and thought processes behind this literature and the way it informed the stories which Cervantes told in prose. Blecua's observation that, "Cervantes no publica un volumen de versos como otros poetas de su tiempo. Se me objetará que tampoco publican los suyos fray Luis de León, Góngora, Quevedo o los Argensola; pero, en cambio, todo el mundo los cita y se procura una copia," (1970, pp.167) is important for the history of Cervantes' versified works, and this ambiguity is one which this dissertation seeks to answer, particularly in chapter 6. See also: (Avalle-Arce, 1957), (Entwistle, 1947), (Rodríguez Marín, 1947).

[20] Mercedes Agulló y Cobo's recent and underappreciated study, *A vueltas con el autor del Lazarillo*, which reasserts and documents a poet's--Diego Hurtado de Mendoza--authorship of the first picaresque novel, *Lazarillo de Tormes* (1554), implicitly reaffirms the close relationship between lyric cultures and the advent of modern prose fiction in the Spanish Renaissance.

[21] "Although this foundation has accumulated more narratives than can be counted, it remains convenient and productive to return to Descartes' narrative of the ascension of human reason, particularly as expressed in the *Discourse on the Method* (1637). The point I would like to raise here has been considerably less recognized than the narrative itself--but it is, as I hope to demonstrate, utterly essential to the latter. It concerns the extensively glossed juxtaposition of Montaigne and Descartes as inaugural of modernity," (Melehy, 2005, pp.263).

it concerns literary texts and their interpretations.[22] Often bundled together with Baroque generalities--themselves a transfer from the terminology of art history--or subsumed in the medieval traditions of Spain, the unique cosmos of late sixteenth-century Spanish imaginative authors has heretofore been scarcely considered.[23] This is particularly damaging to the narrative and conceptual structure of the *Don Quijote*

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[22] I will use the term *cosmos* to denote a world view inclusive of metaphysical or theological systems of belief. As Cassirer wrote in his now canonical study, "Rather, it intends to remain within the realm of history of philosophical problems, and to seek, on that basis, to answer the question: whether and to what extent the movement of thought in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries constitutes a self-contained unity despite the multiplicity of starting points and the divergence of solutions to the various problems posed. If this unity can be successfully demonstrated, if the profusion of problems with which the philosophy of the Renaissance presents us can be successfully related to certain pivotal questions, then the question, 'in what connection does the theoretical thought of the Renaissance stand to the other vital forces which determine the intellectual constitution of the time' will answer itself. It will also become clear that the work of philosophical thought is related to the entire intellectual movement and its vital forces not as something extraneous and apart, and that it does not follow that movement as some 'abstract' shadow, but that it actively affects and determines those forces. It is not simply a part tied on to other parts. Rather, it represents the whole, giving it a conceptual-symbolic form of expression. The following pages will show how the new universal life sought by the Renaissance leads to the demand for a new cosmos of *thought*, and how the new life reflects and finds itself only in this thought," (Cassirer, 1963, pp.6). For a thorough discussion of medieval thought processes in Spain, see: (Rico, 2005).

[23] Charles B. Schmitt's edited volume, *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, provides a much needed compendium of studies on intellectual practices and thought processes, particularly the sixteenth century. Characterizing this moment, we find the following, "For these individuals the only way out of centuries of darkness, decadence and corruption was by returning to the ancient *sapientia* and recovering its exemplary ways of living and thinking as well as the language which was its vehicle. Thus the myth of *renascentia* and the kindred notion of historical cyclicity lie at the heart of the return to the ancients and the repudiation of what was seen as a moribund and barbarous way of thinking with its impenetrable thickets of comments and *quaestiones*, its language and formalising logic so far removed from the models of antiquity, its theology and jurisprudence shrunken to a handful of obscure and sophistical contentions," (Schmitt, 1988, pp.59-60).

While useful, this volume is extremely limited by anachronistically considering academic texts and university environments as the key indications of philosophical development in the Renaissance. Little work has been done to restore the texts and thought processes most pertinent to the discourse of literary and artistic culture. For example, León Hebreo, who was perhaps the most widely read philosopher in all of Europe throughout the sixteenth-century is nowhere to be found in Schmitt's history. This is particularly damaging to the view which this volume constructs because in Hebreo we find forms of sensual and existential Neoplatonism constitutive of thought processes which were able to unite Platonic and Aristotelian precepts. Moreover, Hebreo's *Dialogues of Love*, which appeared in Latin, Hebrew and was translated and repeatedly published in all of the vernaculars, reveals the independence of the history of philosophy, its thinkers, and its texts from the university system throughout the sixteenth century. In other words, Schmitt's text takes a post-Enlightenment university view of a

because in selecting the adjective, *ingenioso*, for his famous knight, Cervantes explicitly tied the text to the divine creative faculty of man. As observed by Huarte de San Juan, the relationship of the poet, ***ingenio***, to his creative soul was repeatedly expounded in the imaginative verse and prose of Cervantes and his peers. The dualistic and Cartesian modern conception of the human--as mind/body under the redress of Reason--is foreign to the tripartite and quadratic, often affective,[24] human structures native to our tyrant and his land.[25]

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period during which time philosophers frequently pertained to private literary academies or their own private libraries than the universities of Sienna, Paris, Rome, Salamanca or London. This, of course, is not to say that thinkers did not also exercise considerable influence within the university system. However, the exclusion of León Hebreo from this history is indicative of a significant cultural oversight behind the present volume.

Marcel Bataillon's canonical study, *Erasmo y España*, has raised several questions regarding Cervantes' own religious inclinations. Whether actual or coincidental, it remains clear within the scope of my research that León Hebreo, along with Huarte de San Juan provided the bedrock for Cervantes conception of the metaphysical world--often more linked to the discourse of poetry and aesthetics than to absolute religion or spiritualtity. Bataillon's comments on erasmian dialogue might easily be extended to Hebreo: "No quiere decir esto que Erasmo haya sido el maestro único del diálogo para los hombres de la época. Al lado de sus *Coloquios*, ellos tenían en su biblioteca los modelos antiguos en que Erasmo se había inspirado, y también algunos diálogos "renacientes" que no debían nada a Erasmo. El coloquio erasmiano procede de fuentes ilustres, en primer lugar de la gran tradición platónica y ciceroniana," (1937, v.2, pp.249).

[24] In *Archeology and the Senses: Human Experience, Memory and Affect*, Hamilakis writes, "The exploration of the senses is not merely about bodily experience. It is not about sensory organs and the mechanics of bodily stimuli. It is rather an enquiry on the essence of being, on life, on the nature of the subject-object and mind-body dichotomies," (2015, pp.112). While Hamilakis writes on a different context, far from the Spanish Renaissance, and still confines the argument to modern dichotomies, this observation is useful for our understanding of the complexity of Hebreo's philosophical thought. For affect in the English Renaissance see: (Daniel, 2013).

[25] As Horkheimer and Adorno oberved in the *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, "The categories by which Western philosophy defined its timeless order of nature marked out the positions which had once been occupied by Ocnus and Perspephone, Ariadne and Nereus. The moment of transition is recorded in the pre-Socratic cosmologies. The moist, the undivided, the air and fire which they take to be the primal stuff of nature are early rationalizations precipitated from the mythical vision. Just as the images of generation from water and earth, that had come to the Greeks from the Nile, were converted by these cosmologies into Hylozoic principles and elements, the whole ambiguous profusion of mythical demons was intellecualized to become the pure form of ontological entities. Even the patriarchal gods of Olympus were finally assimilated by the philosophical *logos* as the Platonic Forms. But the Enlightenment discerned the old powers in the Platonic and Aristotelian heritage of metaphysics and suppressed the universal categories' claims to truth as superstition. In the authority of universal concepts the Enlightenment detected a fear of the demons through whose effigies human beings had tried to influence nature in magical rituals. From now on matter was finally to be controlled without the illusion of immanent powers or hidden properties. For enlightenment, anything which does not

In like manner, the oppositional reading of Platonic and Aristotelian thinkers most often ascribed to sixteenth-century intellectual history will not, for our purposes, serve much to illuminate the unique *cosmos* which lay behind the ways in which literature was conceived, reflected upon, and received during the second half of the sixteenth century in Spain and its Italian territories. In fact, it was precisely these oppositional tendencies in readings of Plato and Aristotle which Cervantes parodied in the *Don Quijote*, as I will show.[26] [27]

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conform to the standard of calculability and utility must be viewed with suspicion," (Horkheimer and Adorno, 1987, pp.3, emphasis mine). A thorough understanding of man as microcosmic structure is indispensable both to readings of León Hebreo, as well as, and more importantly, to the general mindset by way of which philosophical and aesthetic reflection was carried out by sixteenth-century writers. As Francisco Rico writes, «Macrocosmos» y «microcosmos» son voces ausentes del *Timeo* platónico, pero el diálogo entero está trascendido por el paralelo de ambos conceptos (y el comentario de Proclo lo deja bien claro, de las primeras a las últimas páginas; vid. sólo 2 *c* y 348 *a*)," (2005, pp.19).

[26] Cervantes' references to Cacus, Antonio de Guevara, Ovid, Homer, Virgil, Julius Cesar, Plutarch, León Hebreo and Cristóbal de Fonseca in the prologue to the first part of the *Don Quijote* is indicative of this easy blending of platonic metaphysics with the sensual materialism of Aristotle's embodied soul, *eudaimonia* (living well).

[27] Cassirer has already said as much and his distinction between Aristotelian, Platonic and Neoplatonic thinking in his chapter on Cusanus is indicative of the complex and manifold thought processes at play in late sixteenth-century Spain.

For example, Ficino's esotericism becomes sensual Neoplatonism in the work of Hebreo, a move facilitated by Aristotle's concept of the embodied soul or *eudaimonia*. In Schmitt's history, Ficino's philosophy is said to have inspired in histories of philosophy, "some exaggeration of the importance of astrology and antique magical elements in Ficino's philosophy. Nevertheless, he did regard the entire universe--the heavens, the elements, plants, animals and man himself--as subject to cosmic influences acting through sympathies and antipathies. In his *De vita coelitus comparanda* he analysed the relationship between the powers of the heavenly souls and man's *spiritus* and found sufficient justification for placing man at the centre of the universe as the microcosm which recapitulated the order of the macrocosm," (Schmitt, 1988, pp.68).

Unfortunately, it matters how we (critics and historians) conceive of the macrocosm when understanding the structures set out by Plato. Schmitt passes over this foundational nuance and consequently obfuscates the particularities of Ficino's thought and their most import and implications for how culture was lived, practiced and aestheticized. Turning to Edgar Wind's *Pagan Histories of the Renaissance*, we can better recover a precise idea of what macrocosmos the microcosmos of man purportedly reflected. Wind writes, "If we further consider that all communion between mortals and gods was established, according to Plato, through the mediation of Love, it becomes clear why in Ficino's and Pico's system the entire Greek pantheon began to revolve around Venus and Amor. All the parts of the splendid machine (*machinae membra*), Ficino wrote, "are fastened to each other by a kind of mutual charity, so that it may justly be said that love is the perpetual knot and the link of the universe: ***amor nodus perpetuus et copula mundi,"*** (Wind, 1958, pp.138). It was for this reason that León Hebreo's *Dialogues of Love* became the key and foundational philosophical text for thinkers and writers alike throughout the course of the sixteenth century. The modern era, ruled by a macrocosmos defined

This is particularly ironic for our late modern secular moment, because it is in the discourse of the lyric authors of late sixteenth-century Spain that we discover a Nietzschean independence of the human and his embodied metaphysical properties which, whilst Platonic in its foundations, was practiced in a manner at once more Aristotelian and more autarchic than our own.[28] Moreover, this mystical relationship to literary creation and amorous pursuit highlights those aspects of German Romanticism which shared something historically authentic to the conceptual frameworks of the *Don Quijote*.[29] Consistently concerned with the

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by the monotheism of reason, cannot readily comprehend this *cosmos of erotic mysticism* and the *aesthetic idealism* which accompanied it unless we are willing to consider a pantheistic macrocosmos united by Love (and its multiplicities) rather than the singularity of Reason as ordained by God.

[28] In this famous passage from the *Anti-Christ*, Nietzsche underscores the autarchic *ingenio* of sixteenth century erotic poets, "A word now against Kant as a moralist. A virtue must be *our* invention; it must spring out of our personal need and defense. In every other case it is a source of danger. That which does not belong to our life *menaces* it; a virtue which has its roots in mere respect for the concept of "virtue", as Kant would have it, is pernicious. "Virtue," "duty," "good for its own sake," goodness grounded upon impersonality or a notion of universal validity--these are all chimeras, and in them one finds only an expression of the decay, the last collapse of life, the Chinese spirit of Königsberg. Quite the contrary is demanded by the most profound laws of self-preservation and of growth: the wit [*ingenio*], that every man find his *own* virtue, his own categorical imperative," (1999, pp.27-28, brackets mine). Moreover, this blending of Platonist ideals and Aristotelian categories is rendered further explicit a few pages later, when Nietzsche emphasizes that, "The "pure spirit" is a piece of pure stupidity: take away the nervous system and the senses, the so-called "mortal shell" and *the rest is miscalculation*--that is all!" (*Ibid*, pp.31, brackets mine).

Nietzsche, of course, was writing on, or rather against, Kant in these segments without any interpretive attempts towards a reading of the *Don Quijote*. But because of the distance at which sixteenth-century *aesthetic idealism* and *erotic mysticism* stand from our current moment, I have thought it useful to point out coincidence of thought where fitting. It matters greatly to our understanding of the pantheistic nature of sixteenth-century thought that for Nieztsche it was necessary to "kill god"--to do away with the monotheistic truth--in order to arrive at similar understandings of being in the existential world. In like manner, for Heidegger, the same problem will be encountered by way of a critique of *Das man*, itself inspired by the writings of Kierkegaard, (see: Kleinberg, 2005, pp.16-17).

[29] I do not mean to suggest that German Romanticism, by way of its ties to German Idealism, was not also party to a number of interpretive projections anachronistic to the text, rather I mean to underscore that there are elements of German Idealism, particularly in Schlegel which resonated with the *cosmos* of Cervantes' own lyrical moment. Aesthetic Idealism (which shares much with Renaissance stoicism), truth is a posteriori--that is, the ideal is only and always sensually discovered or realized within the existential world. This is why the erotic poetry of the period was *mystical*, rather than singularly metaphysical or singularly material: it is the joining of the metaphysical ideal with the sensually real. This is why Alonso Quijano must *become* don Quijote instead of authoring a romance of chivalry.

Close's description of German Romantic thematics makes this distinction clear. He writes, "The theme of *Don Quixote*, as the Romantics defined it, coincided with the preoccupation central to the

metaphysical properties of poetry throughout his career, it was to this theme which Cervantes returned in his late work, *Viaje del Parnaso.*[30] Only by restoring the intellectual, cultural and literary history of Cervantes' kingdom can we cipher amongst those interpretations which have sprung up throughout the discourse of modernity.

Because the *aesthetic idealism* of Cervantes' milieu--which is central to the narrative structures of the *Don Quijote*--was contingent on sensual, which is to say existential, realization there was no recourse to *a priori* world of monotheistic truths: the ideal was understood as being particular to each human

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metaphysics, the aesthetics, and the art of their movement: the opposition between subject and object, mind and nature, spirit and matter, the sphere of freedom and that of necessity," (Close, 1977, pp.33). In contrast, the Aesthetic Idealism of late sixteenth-century Spain was chiefly concerned with *erotic mysticism* and the discovery or manufacture of the ideal within the sensory world. For this reason, the pantheistic framework of Aesthetic Idealism does not share the German Romantic concept of an individual divorced from the world of perception, as handed down to them from Descartes. Aesthetic Idealism's constant pursuit is union and actualization (as in the case of Alonso Quijano).

[30] "No le formaron máquinas de encanto,/ Sino el ingenio del divino Apolo,/ Que puede, quiere, y llega, y sube a tanto," (Cervantes, 1935, pp.21). In her singular study, *The Solitary Journey: Cervantes's Voyage to Parnassus*, Helen Lokos incorrectly transposes the discourse of the English satirical tradition of the eighteenth century not only onto the *Don Quijote*, but also onto Cervantes' late lyrical work, the *Viaje del Parnaso*. In relating this work to Cervantes' earlier texts, Lokos writes, "I disagree with the reigning critical perception which sees only a difference in the degree of literary quality between the "Canto de Calíope" and the *Viaje*. In my view, the two works are so radically different in tone and intent as to defy generic comparison. The "Canto de Calíope" represents the attempt of a novice author, eager to ingratiate himself with the literary establishment and to prove his own worth, working with the canons of an established literary genre. In the *Viaje*, a frustrated veteran writer expresses his concern for the current state of poetry along with his appraisal of his contemporaries in an equivocal tone," (Lokos, 1991, pp.31). On the contrary, the insertion of the *Canto de Calíope* into book 6 of the *Galatea* was a radical move by a mature poet which took the traditional "canto" form used to laud the divinized ladies of Spain and replaced it with a "canto" whose sole purpose was to laud and divinize the *ingenios*, or poets, of Spain. Of all the advancements of the *Galatea* over the tropes of preceding pastoral novels, it was this shift from the *divine lady* to the *divine ingenio* which marked the *Galatea* as a progressive and highly stylized addition to the genre. This move to the divine *ingenio* was also a fundamental building block of the *Don Quijote* in the progression of the author's metaphysics. Most importantly, Cervantes delineated the framework of the *Viaje del Parnaso* by lamenting his struggle to reach the metaphysical space of his own *ingenio*--this space of flight which Lokos, in her ardent modern skepticism, can only read as parody. Only late in life did Cervantes succeed in achieving lyric inspiration worthy of a book-length poem. As I will demonstrate in this dissertation, it was the absence of a full-length *Cancionero* on par with those of Garcilaso, Montemayor, Padilla, Herrera, Maldonado and others which Cervantes lamented in his repeated self-deprecatory remarks as a poet. In other words, Cervantes, in keeping with the terms of *aesthetic idealism*, was keenly aware of his lack of output, not its quality.

consciousness, ***ingenio***, an authorial ideal sensually manifest in words and deeds.[31] The metaphysical properties of Man-- which relied heavily on a medieval understanding of Man and the Divine in a microcosmic/macrocosmic relationship-- was conditioned by Neo-Platonisim (by way of Ficino and Hebreo) in such a way that Love rather than Reason became the mediator of the universe.[32] In other words, like Pico della Mirandola, sixteenth century thinkers were ruled by concepts of union (material and spiritual, ideal and real, subject and object, lover and beloved) rather than by conceptions of truth (material vs. spiritual, ideal vs. real, subject vs. object, lover vs. beloved).[33] This contrast between union and division (pantheism and monotheism) is at the root of differences which make both *aesthetic idealism* and *erotic mysticism* nearly unintelligible, or insufficiently serious, for the late modern critic.

Two factors then have debilitated the tyranny of Cervantes over his text: 1) the absence of any clear understanding of the intellectual history or *cosmos* at work in sixteenth-century literature, and 2) the absence of any clear literary history as it most directly pertained to Cervantes. In other words, a literary history which directly correlates to that of the author and his works building up to the *Don Quijote* is required. But, the restoration of such a history is contingent upon the recovery of an intellectual history or *cosmos* with which to render the pertinent texts intelligible, and to put them into dialogue with one another. In his canonical monograph, *The Individual and the Cosmos in Renaissance Philosophy* (*Individuum und Kosmos in der Philosophie der Renaissance*, 1927), the Neo-Kantian critic, Ernst Cassirer took great strides to tackle the complexities of Renaissance thought as distinct from the respective cosmos ascribed to classical, medieval and modern cultures.[34] However, to attach this totalizing analysis to the particularities of late sixteenth-

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[31] (See note: 27)

[32] Edgar Wind, commenting on Ficino and Pico, writes: "In explaining the creation of the world, Plato had written that an all-embracing body would not require eyes to see, nor ears to hear, since all things woud be within it, and none outside....In these excerpts [of Proclus] by Ficino the decisive passage, on the blind Amor, completely agrees with Pico's *Conclusio*": '... he [Amor] unites the intelligible intellect (*intelligibilem intellectum*) to the first and secret beauty by a certain life which is better than intelligence (*per vitam quandam intelligentia meliorem*)," (Wind, 1958, pp.60-61, brackets mine). (See also, note: 27)

[33] Pico della Mirandolla, as the prince of concordia, is exemplary of this way of being in the world.

[34] "If this unity can be successfully demonstrated, if the profusion of problems with which the philosophy of the Renaissance presents us can be successfully related to certain pivotal questions, then the question 'in what connection does the theoretical thought of the Renaissance stand to the other vital forces which determine the intellectual constitution of the time' will answer itself. It will also become

century Spain would be to further wound our impotent tyrant. Moreover, when Cassirer writes of Petrarch, "But he was led to make this decision by literary-artistic reasons, not by reasons of principle," (pp.15) it becomes clear that Cassirer too, for all the breadth which his study adds to Renaissance philosophy, has left the discourse of aesthetics, its principles, its practice and its objects out of the very philosophical discussion which might situate and interpret these imaginative works.

In Cervantes and his peers, the reader encounters a form of *aesthetic idealism* unique to their historical moment which was rooted in the *cosmos of erotic mysticism*. While familiar to ideas found in Ficino and Hebreo, these are new terms for the history of early modern Spanish literature and for the history of philosophy and they require some expansion.[35] *Aesthetic idealism*, as a discourse distinct from other ancient and modern forms of idealism[36], was most fully expounded by Juan Huarte de San Juan in his medico-philosophical treatise, *Examination of the Ingenio* of 1575, but it appears everywhere in the practice of lyric poetry, particularly in those encomiastic poems which poets wrote for one another.[37] Huarte de San Juan

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clear that the work of philosphical thought is related to the entire intellectual movement and its vital forces not as something extraneous and apart, and that it does not follow that movement as some 'abstract' shadow, but that it actively affects and determines those forces. It is not simply a part tied to other parts. Rather, it represents a whole, giving it a conceptual-symbolic form of expression. The following pages will show how the new universal life sought by the Renaissance leads to the demand for a new cosmos of *thought*, and how the new life reflects and finds itself only in this thought," (Cassirer, 1964, pp.6).

[35] "...en los poetas eróticos, tales como Camoes, Herrera y Cervantes, los cuales, como que no procedían discursiva sino intuitivamente, y no aspiraban al lauro de fundadores de ninguna escuela metafísica, ni cifraban su gloria en la contemplación especutaliva, sino que tomaban sus ideas del medio intelectual en que se educaban y vivían, nos dan mucho mejor que los filósofos de profesión, ya escolásticos, y místicos, ya independientes, el nivel de la cultura estética de su edad, mostrándonos prácticamente y con el ejemplo, cómo depuraban y transformaban estas ideas la manifestación poética del amor profano, y cómo al pasar éste por la red de oro de la forma poética, perdía cada vez más su esencia terrena, y llegaba a confundirse en la expresión con el amor místico, como si el calor y la intensidad del afecto depurase y engrandeciera hasta el objeto mismo de la pasión," (Menéndez Pelayo, 1962, pp.65).

[36] "Most contemporary idealism, for example, is preoccupied with constructing a metaphysics on the basis of a normativity posed as an alternative to naturalism," (Dunham, Grant, Watson, 2011, pp.1).

[37] Under pressures from Inquisitorial censorship this treatise was continually revised and the 1575 version differs markedly from the approved 1595 edition. That this was a major topic of discussion amongst thinkers, is evident in Velazquez's treatise, *Libro de la melancholia*, of 1585 in which he directly and vehemently refutes the metaphysical properties which Huarte ascribes to the *ingenio*. Nonetheless, the currency of Huarte's thought is further underscored by Velazquez when he backtracks on his own

takes as his focal point the ***entendimiento***--or instrument of comprehension-- which was both a faculty, one of many, of the mind and also, in keeping with Augustine, a faculty, one of three, of the soul.[38] That these faculties of the soul were still current in Cervantes' own day is fundamental to the *Galatea* and structurally foundational for the *Don Quijote*. The ***entendimiento***, which acted through the ***ingenio***, was understood as that instrument which facilitated the divine creative faculty of man. It matters greatly to our understanding that the ***ingenio*** was an instrument of action. It was to this aspect of aesthetic creation, which poets consistently and unanimously linked themselves throughout the course of the sixteenth century.[39] While deeply Platonic in its relation to the metaphysical world of forms, this understanding of the divine creative faculty of man was posited within a pantheistic framework, which is to say that the poet was *a* divine being rather than *the* divine being who could only self-manifest by way of his material creations. Cervantes explicitly takes up Huarte's discussion of birthing from the *ingenio* in the prologue to the *Don Quijote I*, the *Novelas ejemplares* and in several other places in his many works.[40] Moreover, it matters greatly that both

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argument, reaffirms the metaphysical properties of man, and then forbids them in practice with the exception of theologians, thereby reaffirming the very properties which he intends to refute.

[38] "*voluntad, memoria y entendimiento:* eran las tres *potencias* del alma, muy traídas y llevadas en toda dirección *de re philographica*. En *La Galatea* aparecerán a menudo," (Cervantes, ed. Avalle-Arce, 1961, v.1, pp.149, n.23-24). It is important not to conflate the *entendimiento (comprehension)* with the instrument of Reason, as has frequently happened. The *entendimiento* was not an instrument of reason, but an instrument of comprehension, and the union of the comprehension with memory and will (unity of the soul) served as the origin of all the constructive activities of the *ingenio*. See, also: (Covarrubias, 1995, pp. 971-972, 747, and 479, respectively) and (Augustine, 2014).

[39] The greatest of these poets earned amongst their peers the epithet of "el divino", as in the case of Francisco de Figueroa and Fernando de Herrera, but no lyric author was without the denominator of ***ingenio*** and its full metaphysical resonance. In the *Canto de Calíope* of the *Galatea* Cervantes, for example, employs the term ***ingenio*** as a synonym for poet sixty-eight times. Or as Sánchez de Lima wrote in his 1580 treatise, *El arte poética en romance castellano*, "no ay mayor delicadeza de ingenio, que es la de vn Poeta," (1944, pp.17).

[40] "Desocupado lector: sin juramento me podrás creer que quisiera que esto libro, como hijo del entendimiento, fuera el más hermoso, el más gallardo y más discreto que pudiera imaginarse. Pero no he podido yo contravenir al orden de naturaleza, que en ella cada cosa engendra semejante. Y, así, ¿qué podía engendrar el estéril y mal cultivado ingenio mío, sino la historia de un hijo seco, avellanado, antojadizo y lleno de pensamientos varios y nunca imaginados de otro alguno, bien como quien se engendró en una cárcel, donde toda incomodidad tiene su asiento y donde todo triste ruido hace su habitación? El sosiego, el lugar apacible, la amenidad de los campos, la serenidad de los cielos, el murmurar de las fuentes, la quietud del espíritu son grande parte para que las musas más estériles se muestren fecundas y ofrezcan partos al mundo que le colmen de maravilla y de contento. Acontece tener un padre un hijo feo y sin gracia alguna, y el amor que le tiene le pone una venda en los ojos para que no

Figueroa and Herrera earned for themselves the epithet of "el divino" by way of amorous and erotic, rather than religious, verse: which is to say within the *cosmos of erotic mysticism.*[41] This form of *aesthetic idealism* is readily apparent in the ***ingenioso*** gentleman of La Mancha, Alonso Quijano, who authored his lyrical subjectivity by way of the invention of don Quijote, an "making manifest" in actions rather than in words.[42]

Aesthetic idealism was not a singular movement detached from the sensuality of lived experience. Rather, this potency of the author which engaged his soul or metaphysical properties with lived and written experience, grew out of the *erotic mysticism* of León Hebreo's philosophical treatise, *The Dialogues of Love*, and formulated a culture in which the mimetic process and the lived experience were both mutually informative and synonymous by way of amorous and erotic encounters.[43] Huarte de San Juan's medico-philosophical treatise, *Examination of the Ingenio*, and medieval Spanish thought processes of a pantheistic tenor which understood Man as the "pequeño mundo del hombre" (or a microcosmos of the macrocosmos) allowed for divine or metaphysical conceptions of both the ***ingenio*** and his beloved lady as the ***summa belleza***.[44] It is important to remember that throughout the sixteenth century even monotheistic practices within Catholic Spain and Italy were of a pantheistic nature which incorporated any number and degree of supernatural beings into their existential frameworks.[45] Neither strictly Platonic nor strictly Aristotelian, the sensually-determined and phenomenologically-driven practice of *erotic mysticism* did not accord to the hierarchical forms of Christianized Platonic thought. Because the divine "Good" manifest in the material world by way of

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vea sus faltas, antes las juzga por discreciones y lindezas y las cuenta a sis amigos por agudezas y donaires. Pero yo, que aunque parezco padre, soy padrastro de don Quijote...," (Cervantes, 1999, pp.9-10).

[41] While Rougemont (1956) has developed a discourse which juxtaposes *eros* and *agape*, the poets of this moment brought together *eros*, *agape* and *philia* in a unifed *cosmos*, which also recognized forms of *storge*.

[42] The Renaissance debate between arms and letters is everywhere apparent in this narrative conceit.

[43] For the philosophy of León Hebreo in the poets of Cervantes' generation, see chapters 1 and 2 of this dissertation. For the philosophy of León Hebreo specifically in the *Galatea*, see chapters 5 and 6 of this dissertation.

[44] On the medieval history of this "pequeño mundo del hombre", see: (Rico, 2005).

[45] "After 1400, Western witchcraft mythology insistently repeats that witchcraft is a combination of *maleficia* and *corporeal interaction with incarnate devils*. In a definition of *witchcraft* from 1505, the individual crimes imputed to witches are all familiar, but there is a strikingly insistent repetition of the words *corpus*, *res corporales*, *corporaliter*. This litany underscores at every turn that these crimes were committed through the interaction of human and demonic *bodies*," (Stephens, 2002, pp.18).

the beloved lady, there was no need for ascension to another realm. When the poet did ascend it was within the space of lyric inspiration, which is to say the mechanisms of his own ***entendimiento*** and the written work produced by his ***ingenio***. Both divinized beloved lady--as the *summa belleza* of Platonic love--and the divinized lyric *ingenio* or author--as the divine creative force of this *aesthetic idealism*--took shape within literature and within cultural practice as manifestations of the ideal within the existential world, (on cultural practice see chapters 1, 2 and 3). And, I would venture, in contrast to post-Cartesian frameworks of Reason as ordained by God, this was the only "Good" which mattered to the discourse of this amorous or *erotic cosmos*.[46] In the *Don Quijote*, excommunicated and fugitive from the law, don Quijote's "Good" is determined by the divine sovereignty of Dulcinea.[47] (The beloved lady as sovereign of the poet's soul is readily apparent in the prose and poetry of the age, as I repeatedly demonstrate throughout this dissertation.) Moreover, this is why the drive or *praxis* of the *Don Quijote* increasingly centers on the disenchantment of Dulcinea: she is both *lady of his thoughts* and *sovereign of his soul*.[48]

Cervantes acutely observed this facet of discourse and practice pertaining to lyric culture when he formulated Alonso Quijano's fascination with romances of chivalry and subsequent madness in the first

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[46] We would do well to remember that Descartes' *Discourse on Method* was written in order to empirically prove the existence of a single monotheistic and Christian god. The singularity of this tunnel vision, divorced from the multiplicity of the "Good" in the material and sensual world is absent in the philosophical thought processes of these sixteenth-century *ingenios*.

[47] If that is a difficult framework to unpack, it should be. The *Aesthetic Idealism* of Cervantes and his generation is as near to *German Idealism* as it is distant, and we should be careful not to confuse the two. While remnants of these thought processes may be identified in thinkers such as Hegel, Nietzsche, Heidegger, Schopenhauer and Deleuze, nowhere is the decided sensuality or materiality of this early modern amorous and pantheistic metaphysics apparent in the intellectual history of modernity. This is because the subject/object problems of modern philosophy initiated by the mind/body split and the monotheistic dictatorship of reason are foreign to our tyrant, Cervantes, and his imaginative peers.

[48] "Among the many episodes which represent a clash between don Quijote's illusion and the reality which contradicts it, this one holds a special place. First because it is concerned with Dulcinea herself, the ideal and incomparable mistress of his heart. This is the climax of his illusion and disillusionment," (Auerbach, 1957, pp.297, emphasis mine).

As Harry Sieber explains in his article, "Unity of Action in Juan de la Cueva's *Los Siete Infantes de Lara*, "I will use the term *praxis* ... instead of unity of action to avoid confusion. Action will refer to the acts of characters within the play; *praxis* will be used to denote a structuring principle of the play as a whole," (1973, pp.216, n.5). My use is consistent with Sieber's terms.

chapter of the novel. It is neither the fantastical nature (realism) of the romances of chivalry, nor chivalry itself (satire) which trouble the aging country gentleman. Rather Cervantes directly refers to the *cosmos of erotic mysticism* by citing (invented) sentences which he attributes to the romances of chivalry by Feliciano de Silva:

> La razón de la sinrazón que a mi razón se hace, de tal manera mi razón enflaquece, que con razón me quejo de la vuestra fermosura.... Los altos cielos que de vuestra divinidad divinamente con las estrellas os fortifican y os hacen merecedora del merecimiento que merece la vuestra grandeza...
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> (The reason of the unreason from which my reason is made, in such a manner that my reason grows thin, that with reason I complain of your beauty.... The high heavens which with the stars fortify your divinity divinely and make you worthy of the worth which your greatness is worthy)[49]

Two things become apparent in this passage. First, the perspectival nature of Reason is highlighted through the modulation of the speaker's reason in relation to his lady (by amorous affinity).[50] Second, the divinity of the beloved as a *summa belleza* in communion with the natural forces of the heavens underscores the metaphysical sensuality of this *cosmos*, one which Cervantes had already participated in when composing his octaves for Antonio Veneziano's beloved Celia (or heaven) from Algiers in 1579 (see chapter 4). It matters greatly that Feliciano de Silva (1491-1554) was a near contemporary to Cervantes, a friend of Jorge de Montemayor, whose works were responsible for fostering much the imaginative *mimetic play* undertaken by nobles and authors of the court (see chapters 1 and 2).[51] More importantly, it is this amorous aspect of the

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[49] (I: 1: pp.38). A closer analysis of the *Galatea* in chapter 6 reveals the way in which these sentences which are attributed to Silva in the *Don Quijote* echo the amorous reasons of the shepherds in Cervantes' earlier novel.

[50] From Garcilaso onward, poets consistently posited the divine beloved lady as sovereign of their souls; in this way amorous affinity (what in Lacanian terms we would call *desire*) inverts the subject/object relationship. When the lady is divinized she becomes the subjectivity which reigns over the poet-lover. This inversion matters greatly because it contradicts modern psychoanalytic readings of projection and desire. Because amorous affinity in sixteenth-century thought always began and ended in the sensually determined reality of the exisential world, the lady's *materia* subjects the poet's *forma* rather than the other way around. We would do well to remember that the origin of Dulcinea lies in Alonso Quijano's sensual memory (an image) of a nearby villager by the name of Aldonza Lorenzo, (I: 1: pp.44). Even the most immaterial of divinized ladies pertains to an historical ground, Cervantes was keenly aware of this necessity in the construction of the novel's architecture.

[51] "...Montemayor le conoció personalmente, a juzgar por el «Epitafio» y la «Elegía» que le dedica tras su muerte. El entorno conocido de Silva le relaciona con el mundo de los conversos; además, comparte con ellos el gusto por la prosa de entretenimiento y la búsqueda de novedades literarias, pues, a pesar de

romances of chivalry, of cultural practice within the courts of Spain contemporary to Cervantes, which drove Alonso Quijano mad.

> Con estas razones perdía el pobre caballero el juicio, y desvelábase por entenderlas y desntrañarles el sentido, que no se lo sacara ni las entendiera el mesmo Aristóteles, si resucitara para solo ello.
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> (With these reasons the poor gentleman lost his judgment, and he stayed up in order to understand them and unravel their sense, which not even Aristotle, had he been resuscitated for only that purpose could have derived or understood.[52]

The *desocupado lector* should make no mistake that it is Alonso Quijano's (like that of our modern critics) very inability to reconcile Aristotelian materialism or sensuality with Platonic idealism which causes Alonso Quijano to lose his judgment. This is an important nuance of madness which can not be overlooked. The loss of judgment or discernment, an inability to navigate the logic of two divine properties (the lover and the beloved) in a material space--one which he nonetheless experiences--, instigates the madness which the aging gentleman will suffer. I would like to underscore this nuance because already in 1567 Cervantes had successfully navigated such a space in his sonnet to Isabel de Valois in which both divine queen and divine ingenio take on transcendent properties within the space of the existential world (see chapter 2). In other words, Cervantes, as a constituent author in the poetry of *erotic mysticism* (see chapters 2, 4 and 6), was utterly at ease with the very philosophical nuances which baffle and confuse the judgment of both his protagonist and his readers.[53]

As Auerbach has suggested, the trouble with Dulcinea's immateriality and Aldonza Lorenzo's actuality, is central to the mimetic processes of the novel.[54] What Auerbach overlooks is the existential

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haber escrito solamente continuaciones, en ellas se encuentran los primeros antecedentes de la prosa pastoril," (de Silva,1988, pp.32).

[52] (I: 1: pp.38). That is to say, Alonso Quijano struggles to comprehend the 'logic of love' which Cervantes explores throughout the *Galatea*.

[53] As Ruth El Saffar has written, "It is precisely this awareness of the inevitability of distance between the controller and the controlled that Cervantes has built into his novel at every level," (1975, pp.23).

[54] (See note: 48). Because Auerbach's reading is contingent upon a modern distinction between ideal and real, his interpretation is limited to the satirical scope, "There is, then, very little of problem and tragedy in Cervantes' book--and yet it belongs among the literary masterpieces of an epoch during which the modern problematic and tragic conception of things arose in the European mind. Don Quijote's madness reveals nothing of the sort. The whole book is a comedy in which well-founded reality holds madness up to ridicule," (Auerbach, 1957, pp.305). This dissertation will show how

ground of Dulcinea in Aldonza Lorenzo, and that throughout the course of the sixteenth century, poet-lovers repeatedly employed a literary pseudonym (Dulcinea) in order to divinize their actual beloved (Aldonza Lorenzo).[55] Moreover, poet-lovers themselves typically employed a pastoral pseudonym (don Quijote) for themselves (Alonso Quijano) within the space of their texts.[56] While Leo Spitzer has masterfully observed the use of perspectival naming in the *Don Quijote*, no critic has fully comprehended this narrative technique as drawn from and referential to the *cosmos of erotic mysticism* explored throughout the century by Cervantes and his peers in the poetry and prose of pastoral literature.[57] Throughout the course of the sixteenth century amorous poetry and prose were written under the guise of the pastoral.[58] This owed largely to the demands

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Auerbach and other modern thinkers remain subsumed within the framework of the text. In other words, their polemical distinction between the real and the ideal has not achieved the distance which, as El Saffar and others have noted, Cervantes holds to his own text. A distance which was made possible only by placing lyric subjectivity at the novel's center and moving outward from this immediate *omphalos* of the text. This nuance is one which even El Saffar has overlooked.

[55] Garcilaso (Elisa), Montemayor (Diana), Figueroa (Philis), Laynez (Amarili), Gálvez de Montalvo (Fílida), Cervantes (Galatea/Silena, see: ch.6), Lope de Vega (Dorotea, among others).

[56] Garcilaso (Nemeroso), Montemayor (Sireno), Figueroa (Tirsi), Laynez (Damón), Gálvez de Montalvo (Siralvo), Cervantes (Lauso), Lope de Vega (Fernando, among others).

[57] "Here, the procedure will be to start from a particular feature of Cervantes' novel which must strike any reader: the instability and variety of the names given to certain characters (and the variety of etymological explanations offered for these names), in order to find out what may be Cervantes' psychological motive behind this polyonomasia (and polyetymologia). I see this as a deliberate refusal on the part of the author to make a final choice of one name (and one etymology): in other words, a desire to show the different aspects under which the character in question may appear to others. If this be true, then such a relativistic attitude must tinge other linguistic details in the novel; and, indeed, it is surely such an attitude that is behind the frequent debates (particularly between Quijote and Sancho), which never end conclusively, over the relative superiority of this or that word or phase," (Spitzer, 1962, pp.41).

[58] This genre, heavily misunderstood and derided in modern criticism, was not, as is commonly believed, a fantastical escapist genre. Rather this was a "literature of immediacy" directly tied to the cultural practices and intimate histories of the court. Riley is paradigmatic in this deep misunderstanding entrenched in modern criticism. He writes, "It is consequently not too surprising to find in these authors an occasional, if often tacit, acknowledgement of the unreality of their fiction. A sporadic note of irony, even, can be heard in the Spanish pastoral--a note much more subtle and better controlled than in the novel of chivalry. When the beautiful Selvagia in the *Diana* sheds tears, all the others join in, this 'being an occupation in which they were highly experienced'. In Cervantes' own *Galatea* VI, where his customary amused detachment and ironic criticism are conspicuously slight, the shepherds and their ladies turn to parlour games as a new diversion and so as 'not to weary their ears listening eternally to lamentaions and doleful songs of love'. In Gálvez de Montalvo's *Pastor de Fílida* there is unabashed ridicule of the genre, and we are already on the rode to Sorel's *Berger extravagant*," (Riley, 1968, pp.34).

for decorum within the courtly and social spheres in which these authors practiced. Throughout the course of the century, pastoral prose and poetry as *roman à clef* or pseudonymic text, was readily and unfailingly understood and unquestioned (see chapters 1 and 2, 5 and 6). Alongside the rigid formulations of Counter-Reformation theology and politics, this pantheistic *cosmos* thrived in cultural practices, intimate histories and literary production as I will demonstrate throughout this dissertation, and particularly in chapters 1, 2, 5 and 6. More importantly, it directly facilitated the conception of Alonso Quijano as an ***ingenio*** who gave birth to don Quijote in discourse and in practice. Neither in support nor in opposition to the rhetoric and regulation of the Counter-Reformation, as Maravall and Bataillon have suggested, this imaginative and intellectual history represents an alternate space, a space which was readily occupied by imaginative thinkers and writers throughout the continent regardless of political and religious affiliation.[59] Sidney in England, Ronsard in

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Riley's anachronistic inability to take to the pastoral seriously on its own terms in indicative not only of misreadings of the pastoral, but also of misreadings of the *Don Quijote* and its relationship to the pastoral. A deep aversion to emotional life pervasive in modern thought runs contradictory to the very concerns of imaginative and lyric literature during the sixteenth century. As I will demonstrate in chapters 1 and 2, both the pastoral and the romance of chivalry were ready exemplars pursued within the cultural practices in which Cervantes was readily enmeshed.

Moreover, and perhaps more importantly, we would do well to remember that the pastoral poet-lovers of Spain were not simply fantastical escapists, but suffered in life as in their literature from the love affairs of which they wrote. We need only consider Garcilaso suffering on the banks of the Danube or Gálvez de Montalvo's lamentations in his correspondence to Ascanio Colonna (see my article: Ponce-Hegenauer, 2013) to remember that this generation of writers held up the authentic amorous suffering of Petrarch as the primary exemplar of life well-lived and well-written. We need not agree with this sentiment, but it is necessary to acknowledge the ethics of these authors.

[59]As Maravall writes, "El Barroco, como época de contrastes interesantes y quizá tantas veces del mal gusto (individualismo y tradicionalismo, autoridad inquisitiva y sacudidas de libertad, mística y sensualismo, teología y superstición, guerra y comercio, geometría y capricho), no es resultado de influencias multiseculares sobre un país cuyo carácter configuuraran, ni tampoco, claro está, de influencias que de un país dotado supuestamente con tales caracteres irradiasen sobre los demás con quienes se relacionó," (1975, pp.46). Similarly, Bataillon links Cervantes to an alternative religion, but not to the poetry of *erotic mysticism* nor its discourse: "Este ideal de piedad laica, sin ostentación, sincere y ativa, atestigua a las afinidades erasmianas de Cervantes con mucha mayor seguridad que sus encubiertas ironías a propósito de los frailes o de los rezadores de padrenuestros.... Bien pudo simpatizar con la reforma carmelita, que estaba restaurando ese rigor: uno de sus mejores amigos, uno de aquellos a quienes explícitamente rindió homenaje en el escutrinio de la biblioteca de Don Quijote [Alonso Quijano], era Pedro de Padilla...", (Bataillon, 1950, v.2, pp.419, brackets mine).

France, Ariosto in Italy all present alternatives to the commonly studied ideologies at hand. As Khachig Tölölyan has written in "Discoursing with Culture: The Novel as Interlocutor", novels are

> cosmographies--are catalogues and cornucopias of discourses active in the culture...much specialized discourse is permitted to enter the novel only as story-telling, in the guise of traditional elements of plot.[60]

Cervantes explicitly asserted this same idea in the prologue to the *Galatea*, and, by way of his *consejador*, implicitly reiterated it in the prologue to *Don Quijote I*.[61] It was by way of this relationship to discourse that imaginative literature retained a creative, sensual, emotional and metaphysical relationship to its primary mimetic object: the human. This primacy of *erotic mysticism* and *aesthetic idealism* took place within the literary frame of pastoral verse and prose, but because pastoral verse and prose both inspired and drew from quotidian cultural practices, it reveals itself as a mimetic rather than escapist art form. Far from being an idyllic space--the pastoral landscape is replete with death and suffering--this was an alternate space which facilitated the intellectual interests and lived experiences particular to these communities, discourse which was otherwise silenced by religious doctrine and social decorum.

The present dissertation takes the tyranny of Cervantes both seriously and as necessary. In the chapters which follow I study three decades pertinent to Cervantes' authorial development and the literary, intellectual and cultural discourses specific to that development. This study examines three major decades in the author's life, the analysis of which is organized around the literary works which he produced in each of these three periods. Chapters 1 and 2 treat of Cervantes' first literary moment in the court of Isabel de Valois

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[60] (Tölölyan, 1988, pp.232)

[61] *Galatea*: "...así no temeré mucho que alguno condemne haber mezclado razones de filosofía entre algunas amorosas de pastores, que pocas veces se levantan a más que a tratar cosas del campo, y esto con su acostumbrada llaneza. Mas advirtiendo--como en el discurso de la obra alguna vez se hace--que muchos de los disfrazados pastores della lo eran sólo en hábito, queda llana esta objectión," (Cervantes, 1961, v.1, pp.8).

Don Quijote I: "Solo tiene que aprovecharse de la imitación en lo que fuere escribiendo, que, cuanto ella fuere más perfecta, tanto mejor será lo que se escribiere. Y pues esta vuestra escritura no mira a más que a deshacer la autoridad y cabida que en el mundo y en el vulgo tienen los libros de caballerías, no hay para qué andéis mendigando sentencias de filósofos, consejos de la Divina Escritura, fábulas de poetas, oraciones de retóricos, milagros de santos, sino procurar que a la llana, con palabras significantes, honestas y bien colocadas, salga vuestra oración y período sonoro y festivo, pintando en todo lo que alcanzáredes y fuere posible vuestra intención, dando a entender vuestros conceptos sin intricarlos y escurecerlos," (I: prologue: pp.17-18)

(reign: 1560-1568) for whom the young poet composed his first public verses. Chapters 3 and 4 treat of the unique lyric cultures which Cervantes encountered in Rome and Algiers during the decade of his twenties which he spent outside of Spain (1569-1580), with a particular focus on the lyric exchange which he undertook with the Sicilian poet, Antonio Veneziano in Algiers. Chapters 5 treats of the group of paradoxically urbanite-pastoral poets and prose authors in Madrid to whom Cervantes returned following his release from captivity in 1580, and the reconstruction of contemporary literary trends pertinent to the composition his first novel, the *Galatea*, completed at the end of 1583 and printed in 1585. Chapter 6 provides the first comprehensive reading and analysis of the *Galatea* and its close narrative and structural relationship to the architecture of the *Don Quijote*.

I have readily glossed over a number of developments in literary criticism on *Don Quijote* which occurred throughout the twentieth-century and which progress from the standard satiric and romantic dichotomies. I reference them here in order to demonstrate how readily criticism has approached comprehension of this literary discourse without directly touching upon it. The most significant and lasting advancements made in studies of the *Don Quixote* include Ramón Menéndez Pidal's "The Genesis of *Don Quixote*"[62], Américo Castro's *El pensamiento de Cervantes*[63], Leo Spitzer's "Linguistic Perspectivism in the *Don*

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[62] "Here typically 'positivist' skills (palaeography, philology, scientific method and pretensions) are raised to a higher level and combined with poetic imagination. The mixture is represented by Menéndez Pidal, the group's maestro, who made his mark in 1896 by pulling a whole epic tradition out of the hat of Spain's Medieval prose-chronicles, and repeated the conjuring-trick in 1919 by producing a hitherto supposedly non-existent corpus of vernacular Medieval lyric poetry. The trick was a subtle way of looking, which revealed what all the world had had beneath its eyes but had not noticed. Menéndez Pidal also showed a new way of considering the relation between writer and his literary sources. Instead of amassing precedents higgledy-piggledy and treating them as self-sufficient causes--a typically 'positivist' procedure--Menéndez Pidal would see them as cohering in a tradition, with its own logical law of development, which the great artist perceives and magisterially fulfills. Often the artist will catch tradition at the point when it is deflected from its true groove--usually nationalist and popular--and will intelligently re-direct it, giving it cultured polish in the process. Thus Cervantes in Spain's heroic tradition in *Don Quixote*; and thus Lope de Vega with the same tradition in the *comedia*, when this was in danger of sinking into faceless neo-classicism," (Close, 1977, pp.187)

[63] "...we have a capital reason why subsequent criticism fell quickly and enthusiastically into line behind *El pensamiento*. Common to all these approaches is that they assume that the artist's handiwork not only exhibits its own trademark, but also presupposes its own aesthetic rationale. We shall henceforth hear no more of Cervantes as wild untutored bard.... The book is inspired by an idealist and anti-positivist philosophy of literary criticism. ," (Close, 1977, pp.191). What Close, as both an incisive and dedicated

Quijote," Ruth El Saffar's *Distance and Control in Don Quixote: A Study in Narrative Technique*, David Quint's *Cervantes' Novel of Modern Times* and Harry Sieber's "Don Quixote and the Art of Reading". But to my knowledge the reading of the *Don Quijote* which I have arrived at by way of the present study has never been proposed. I include this new approach to the *Don Quijote* as the first modern novel at the close of this introduction in order to advert the reader to the necessity of the study which follows. It may also serve as a contemporary introduction to any reader not immediately familiar with the *Don Quijote*.

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historian of literary criticism, fails to observe is that the literary and intellectual history particular to Cervantes and his peers more closely accords to the subsequent idealist thinkers which Close wishes to subvert to the satiric tradition. In short, his history of criticism is sound, but his judgment of its accuracy is anachronistic.

Cervantes and the Question of Authorship:

A New Approach to Reading the Don Quijote

Since the advent of advertising, we have been invited to author our lives. We choose our toothpaste, the clothes we wear, the careers we pursue, the people who populate our experiences, our gender. We write our lives by any number of languages: revolt, retreat, disguise, play, love. We are invited to employ our time authoring our own lives, the lives of invented characters, and the simulacra we create and inspire. Our interaction with a metaphysics of forms--our readership and our authorship--is informed both by the objects we encounter and the ones which we create. In our present historical moment of late stage global capitalism and mass digital communication mimesis is pervasive in our lives. We share something innate to the historical moment of the sixteenth century whose members likewise had to grapple with new forms of mimesis amidst proto-capitalistic economies and the explosion of the European book market. Like Gutenberg's invention of moveable typeset, the advent of digital technology has invited us--with new opportunities for authorship--to enter once again a novel mimetic process which both reflects and informs the stories of our lives.[64]

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[64] For readers of twentieth-century philosophy, our existential condition in the twenty-first century resonates both with the questions of authorship explored in the sixteenth-century as well as those delineated by Heidegger in his use of the terms *Dasein* and *Das Man* in his now canonical text, *Being and Time* (2008). "Heidegger is trying to present *das Man* as a double-edged sword because, on the one hand, it is the basis for all shared practices and is an essential component of *Dasein's* ontological makeup, but, on the other, it is the locus of conformity wherein the individual *Dasein* loses itself in the anonymity of shared practices.... Heidegger's critique of *das Man* as the agent of conformity and the source of the leveling process mirrors Kierkegaard's critique of the present age.... The particular danger of the present age is the rationality and universal principles that reinforce the grip of *das Man* by making everything appear self-evident, including one's self. But this leads to an obscuring of *Dasein's* ontological makeup and to the faulty assumption that existentiell answers are existential answers. Heidegger presents these negative aspects of *das Man* as the result of *das Man's* 'publicness.' .... Publicness has an answer for everything, but its answers are what was known to it already and in this sense it never approaches the real question of being. In the interest of uniformity and complete systematic understanding, publicness invents responses that make all cases conform to one rule, one logic, and thus removes all differentiation.... What is obscured in Heidegger's criticisms of *das Man* and publicness is his prior assertion that the collective category of *das Man* is precisely what presents the individual with all its possibilities (including the possibility for authenticity) and that this is not a bad thing. Heidegger's Diltheyan understanding of *das Man* as an *existentiale*, and therefore as a necessary, constructive component of *Dasein's* makeup, is lost in his Kierkegaardian critique of conformity," (Kleinberg, 2005, pp.16-17). The distiction between the use of *existentiell* and *existential* reflect Heidegger's sensitivity to the difference between *being* and the particularity of *present-at-hand*. This lends to a nuanced reading of Husserl's adage, "to the things themselves". The details of these nuances fall beyond the bounds of the present dissertation. The use of imaginative literature in order to expand upon the possibilities for *Dasein*

When the *Don Quixote* appeared in two parts, first in 1605 and then in 1615, the dangers and possibilities of mimesis were common parlance in early modern Europe. Some, like the authors of the Inquisition's Index of Prohibited Books, railed against the imitation of non-doctrinal literature while others, such as Alonso Quijano, basked in the freedom of discovering new mimetic models which lay beyond the social, political and religious status quo. Finely attuned to this shift in modern consciousness, the *Don Quijote* has been knighted the first modern novel. It should come as no surprise then, that in the *Don Quijote* we discover a modern myth: the story of an author. The *Don Quijote* has been called many things. The English satirists read it as a satire. The German and Spanish Romantics, read it as romantic tragedy. The European and American theorists found in it the makings of the novel.[65] But few critics have taken much interest in the protagonist of this text, a character by the name of Alonso Quijano--a lunatic, a lover and a poet--who took the penname don Quijote when he decided to author his life. Commonly, referred to as the *Don Quijote*, the full title of Cervantes' text, *The Ingenious Gentleman, Don Quixote of la Mancha*, provides an indispensable reading clue to Cervantes' protagonist. Neither in the modern Spanish nor in its various translated forms, do we discover the sense of the *ingenio* amongst Cervantes' immediate literary milieu. To comprehend the full resonance of this ingenious adjective--at times translated as imaginative-- we must turn to the internet of texts which circulated amongst lyric communities of the late sixteenth century and the discourse of aesthetic cultures which were cultivated therein.

Some time in the 1590s while Miguel de Cervantes was working on the earliest drafts of the *Don Quijote*, William Shakespeare completed the manuscript of his pastoral comedy, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. At the close of act V Theseus, ruler of Athens--who acts as a counterpart to Oberon, ruler of the fairy land--surmises the contents of the various revelations on madness, love and authorship which have taken place over the course of the previous four acts. As the voice of political authority in the urban world, Theseus's perspective recapitulates the imaginative play of the forest within the rules of social decorum.

> More strange than true. I never may believe
> These antique fables and these fairy toys.
> Lovers and madmen have such seething brains,

provided by *Das Man* has been well observed by Harry Sieber in "Don Quixote and the Art of Reading", though Sieber does not situate his argument in Heideggerian terms.

[65] (Close, 2010)

Such shaping fantasies, that apprehend
More than cool reason ever comprehends.
The lunatic, the lover, and the poet
Are of imagination all compact.
One sees more devils than vast Hell can hold,
That is the madman. The lover, all as frantic,
Sees Helen's beauty in a brow of Egypt.
The poet's eye, in a fine frenzy rolling,
Doth glance from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven,
And as imagination bodies forth
The forms of things unknown, *the poet's pen*
Turns them to shapes, and gives to airy nothing
A local habitation and a name.
Such tricks hath strong imagination
That if it would but apprehend some joy,
It comprehends some bringer of that joy;
Or in the night, imagining some fear,
How easy is a bush supposed a bear![66]

A few years later, in 1605, Miguel de Cervantes exchanged bushes and bears for windmills and giants when he brought forth the first part of his modern novel. That same year, the newly crowned King James of England sent Lord Howard on an ambassadorial peacekeeping mission to the court of Philip III in Valladolid where Cervantes was also in residence. While it has been suggested that Shakespeare was a member of this envoy, it remains more imaginative speculation then scholarly fact, that Shakespeare and Cervantes met at this time. What is certain is that several copies of the 1605 *Don Quijote* returned to England with Lord Howard's party and that from don Quijote's encounter with the Wild Man, Cardenio, in the Sierra Morena, Shakespeare drew the material for his lost Cardenio play.[67] A decade later, in April of 1616, and within the space of two days, both authors died.

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[66] (Shakespeare, 1952, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, V:1, pp..535-536, emphasis mine). There is no space to treat of the shared cultures of the Spanish and English Renaissance. I bring in this citation here because of its marked correspondence to this character study of Alonso Quijano and because it underscores an aesthetic discourse which was not particular the social or religious politics of any particular nation. Moreover, Shakespeare's use of the "imagination" closely reflects the use of "ingenio" amid literary milieu in sixteenth-century Spain.

[67] "First in wartime and subsequently, after the peace treatises signed in 1604 in London and in 1605 in Valladolid, to which the Earl of Nottingham travelled, accompanied by five hundred Englishmen,

Twenty-one years later in 1637 René Descartes published his *Discourse on Method*, positing "I think, therefore, I am", which resulted in the mind/body split. As Gutenberg's press had ushered in the Age of the Imagination, Descartes' philosophy ushered in the Age of Reason. The Enlightenment has continued to condition even our most historical approaches to early modern literature. Meanwhile, the history of philosophy as it concerned aesthetics in the Renaissance remains largely absent from scholarship. Even in the few histories of Renaissance philosophy, such as Earnest Cassirer' *The Individual and the Cosmos*, the particularities of thought processes as they concerned mimesis have rarely been considered.[68] More normatively, Renaissance philosophy is reduced to oppositions between Aristotelian and Platonic thought.[69] While Cervantes, Shakespeare and their contemporaries share a sensitivity to the metaphysical aspects of the lunatic, the lover and the poet, a history of renaissance philosophy which would ground and demystify these texts remains absent from our present discourse. This has led to considerable interpretive difficulty in this period of literary history.

As I have stated, the *Don Quijote* has been called a satire, a tragedy, a novel, and even a picaresque narrative.[70] During the second half of the twentieth-century, the question of authorship in the *Don Quijote* was discussed at length by structuralists and poststructuralists, most notably in Ruth El Saffar's study, *Distance and Control: A Study in Narrative Technique.*[71] In keeping with Roland Barthes' 1967 essay, "The Death of the Author", which argued that criticism was "tyrannically centered on the author," these studies became fixated on the framing devices of the narrator and in absence of Cervantes' original milieu and

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Spain's reputation haunted the imagination of English authors and playwrights.... It was within the context of this strong presence of Castilian literature that 1612 saw the publication of Thomas Shelton's translation of *Don Quixote*. Even before its publication, allusions to the story of the knight errant had appeared in several plays. The most famous of these was *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, attributed to Beaumont and Fletcher on the title-pages of the 1635 editions, but considered by most modern editors to be written solely by Beaumont," (Chartier, pp.14-15, 2013)

[68] (Cassirer, 1964)

[69] (Schmitt, 1988)

[70] (Cruz, 1999)

[71] (El Saffar, 1975) El Saffar focuses on the contrast between the timeless space of the authorial vision and the limitations of language. However, this modern frustration (again originating from the mind/body split) runs counter to the discourse of the sixteenth century. By way of example, Cervantes frequently rhymed "ingenio" with "mano" throughout his versified works, continually underscoring a direct transference from intellect to quill.

lexicon, never managed to arrive at a complete reading of the text.[72] Cervantes' text is about authorship, but the question of authorship--which been explored as a *mise en abyme*, might be more fully comprehended as a *tropological continuum* which extends beyond the posture of the narrator to the reader.[73]

With this concept in mind, historical readings of Cervantes undertaken by Spanish historians and philologists, have done much to recover the political, religious, social, and economic histories of early modern Spain, and more recently histories of patronage. The discovery of Cervantes' grave in the spring of 2015 excited residents of Madrid's *Neighborhood of las letras* but none of these skeletons is going to tell us what it meant to be poet in 1590 either within Cervantes' biography or the story of the character he creates. When we turn to the question of authorship which Cervantes posits in his text, we discover that Alonso Quijano--*lunatic, lover and poet*--is a lyrical author whose potentiality or subjectivity is caught in a continual and existential process of invention, reception and interpretation. The genre, then, which precipitates the novel is the lyric--which was the forerunner to a literature of immediacy.[74] Recounted as a story in prose, the novel takes as its primary object: lyric subjectivity.

The Ingenious Gentleman, Don Quijote of La Mancha as it has generally been discussed may be summarized in brief. It is a satire of the romances of chivalry. The main character is don Quijote, a lanky old madman who tilts at windmills and is who accompanied by a full-bellied squire by the name of Sancho Panza.

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[72] These studies investigate authorship only as far as Cid Hamete Benengeli. In doing so they examine well, but only partially, the layering of authors which Cervantes constructs in his text. While contemporary criticism is resistent to notions of complete readings and textual centers, as I have explicitly stated in the preceeding pages, I have found this resistence fatuitous. Rather, it is the responsibility of the literary critic to recover the necessary reading tools to discover the *praxis* of the text.

[73] (Barthes, 1989)

[74] Literature of immediacy is a phrase which I have borrowed from Harry Sieber in order to denote the use of contemporary social content and events (*novedades*) in the creation of new forms of literature: a new mimetic process. For Sieber on the *Amadís* (1508), see: (Sieber, 1985). Francisco Rico has also demonstrated a correspondence between the publication of contemporary epistles (books of letters) with the advent of this immediacy in the first picaresque novel, the *Lazarillo de Tormes* (1554). However, I here employ the term *literature of immediacy* to directly refer to a sense of interiority in character development which is not present in either the romances of chivalry or picaresque narratives; in their correspondence to the epic and the ironic, respectively, both the romance of chivalry and the picaresque are distinctly social genres. In contrast the *literature of immediacy* which arose from lyric genres and became novelistic fiction is explicitly concerned with the movement from interior and exteior--as differentiated from historical, allegorical or symbolic character-types--as a fundamental component of novelistic character development. The lyric, whether explored in verse or prose formats, is the the genre to which we now refer as either poetry or novel.

Don Quijote serves an imaginary *lady of his thoughts* by the name of Dulcinea of Toboso, who, according to Sancho Panza, is actually a rustic peasant girl. The action of the novel consists of three sallies--an architectural feature of quest narratives--the last of which concludes with don Quijote's return to his home, renunciation of his madness and death.

Three Sallies

1. *Don Quijote I*, chapters 1-5
2. *Don Quijote I*, chapters 7-73
3. *Don Quijote II*, chapters 7-73

It is the first modern novel. To this we should a few emendations. The main character of the *Quijote* is, as I have said, Alonso Quijano, a lonely old country gentleman who reads too much, so much in fact that he enters a state of *poetic furor*, invents the pseudonym of don Quijote and sets out to author his life.[75] For all of his scatological practicality, Sancho Panza increasingly appropriates the perspective of his master. By the close of the novel Sancho pleads that Alonso Quijano rise from his deathbed in order to continue his imaginative life in the pastoral escapade which the two have just planned a few chapters prior. Dulcinea is neither don Quijote's lady of Toboso nor Sancho's randomly selected peasant girl, rather she is the memory of Aldonza Lorenzo, a girl from a nearby village whom Alonso Quijano once loved in his youth but never had the courage to tell her.

Moreover, while this text has traditionally been studied as the first of the novelistic genre, the novel *first* appeared in the 3rd or 4th century A.D., the *Ethiopian History* by Heliodorus of Emesa.[76] The manuscript of this text was discovered by a German soldier during the sack of the library of King Mattias of Hungary and first published in Basel in 1534. It quickly appeared in Latin, French, Italian, Spanish and English translation and was widely read throughout Renaissance Europe over the course of the sixteenth century. In the prologue to his last novel, the *Persiles and Sigismunda*, Cervantes explicitly stated that his text was meant to compete with the history of Heliodorus.[77] Like Heliodorus, Cervantes does not call the *Don Quijote* a novel, but a history and a tale. In other words, the *Don Quijote* is not a quest narrative, but the story or history of a quest narrative.

The History of Quest Narrative

1. Alonso Quijano in his home (I:1)

[75] (Bruno, 1964)
[76] (Reardon, 2008) and (Heliodorus, 1954)
[77] (Cervantes, 1969)

i. First sally as don Quijote (I: 2-5)

2. Alonso Quijano in his home (I: 6-7)

ii. Second sally as don Quijote (I: 7-51)

3. Alonso Quijano in his home (I: 52 - II:7)

iii. Third sally as don Quijote (II: 7-73)

4. Alonso Quijano dies in his home (II: 74)

The author of this story is Cervantes (the narrator, Cid Hamete, the translator, etc.), but the author of the don Quijote's quest is Alonso Quijano.

Authors

1. Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra (1547-1616)
2. Alonso Quijano (second half of sixteenth century)
3. don Quijote (medieval)

This is to say that at the onset of modernity and the birth of the modern novel we are confronted with a story--a myth--of authorship, a very unique kind of an authorship, an *ingenious one*. In this light the commonly discussed dichotomy between don Quijote's idealism and Sancho Panza's realism opens up into to a text which is more readily concerned with the contours of love, madness and authorship.

Cervantes' text, has many authors. The literary scholarship of Menendez Pidal early in the last century provided the source text for Cervantes' novel which is found in the *interlude of the romances*, an anonymous sixteenth century ballad about a gentleman who read so many romances that he decided to imitate them.[78] The other early modern text which directly pertains to Cervantes is the apocryphal continuation by the anonymous Alonso Fernández de Avellaneda-- a penname---, published in Tarragona in 1614. While Cervantes comments on the Avellaneda continuation extensively both in the prologue and text of *Don Quijote II*, the original source ballad, *interlude of the romances* is never mentioned in either the 1605 or 1615 text.[79] This does not mean that Cervantes' was ignorant of its existence. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it was commonplace for authors to draw on the Spanish ballads as source material for their imaginative works. For example, the legend of the feminist-warrior, Gila or the *Mountain Girl of the Vera*, often told in ballads, was revived and rewritten in theatrical comedies by Lope de Vega, Luis Velez de Guevara and

[78] (Menéndez Pidal, 1924). For modern reprint, see: (González Echevarría, 2005)

[79] While criticism on the *Don Quijote* has tended to privilege Baroque readings of the text, the obvious misreading or poor interpretation of the first part of the *Quijote* by Avellaneda indicates that Cervantes' *Don Quijote* was not readily or completely intelligible to a Baroque audience.

José de Valdivieso.[80] Many of Lope de Vega's over four hundred extant plays are taken from these ballads. Both Cervantes and Lope de Vega pertained to the group of poets known as the generation of the 1580s who recovered and modernized many of the medieval and early sixteenth century ballads.[81] These were common literary history, passed around through both oral and print traditions, contemporary to Cervantes. But, as I said, this is not the tradition to which the narrator of the *Don Quijote* refers.

Within his text, Cervantes created a different and fictional literary history for his tale. As Carroll B. Johnson demonstrates in his posthumously published and incomplete study, *Transliterating a Culture: Cervantes and the Moriscos*, the narrative conceit of nearly all of the romances of chivalry published in Spain during the sixteenth century consisted of the fiction that they had been discovered, rewritten, and or translated from earlier texts in Castilian or, more often, foreign languages.[82] Cervantes appropriated this narrative conceit of having consulted previously "unknown" histories whilst compiling his text. The narrator of the *Quijote* tells us that he first discovered this history in the writings by Castilian chroniclers which he found in the archives of La Mancha. But, he tells us, these sources only covered the history through chapter 8 of the first part. In chapter 9 of the first part the narrator introduces new source material from the Arabian historian, Cide Hamete Benengeli, whose writings the narrator takes to a local *morisco* (or Spaniard of Arabian descent) who serves as a translator. When the first part of Cid Hamete's history is circulated amongst other characters in the Part II of the *Don Quijote* we are also given Alonso Quijano's response--or literary criticism--of Cide Hamete's history.[83] Within the fiction of the novel, the reader discovers a fictional history of the novel--or provenance.

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[80] (Vélez de Guevara, 2000)

[81] (Carreño, 1979)

[82] "As Eisenberg states, virtually the entire corpus of chivalric romance, plus Jean de Segura's *Proceso de cartas*, is presumed to consist of refunditions or translations of what I have called phantom pre-texts. The study of these works has naturally been the study of the extant versions, what I have called the text we read.... Nevertheless, I would like to shift the focus to the phantom pre-text itself. In some cases, and certainly in the case of the *Quijote*, the fiction of the text we read invites us to take the fictional phantom pre-text just as seriously as we take the fictional existence and adventures of the hero," (Johnson, pp.70, 2010).

[83] "Déme vuestra grandeza las manos, señor don Quijote de la Mancha, que por el hábito de San Pedro que visto, aunque no tengo otras órdenes que las cuatro primeras, que es vuestra merced uno de los más famosos cabelleros andantes que ha habido, ni aun habrá, en toda la redondez de la tierra. Bien haya Cide Hamete Benengeli, que la historia de vuestra grandezas dejó escritas, y rebién haya el curioso que tuvo cuidado de hacerlas traducir de arábigo en nuestro vulgar castellano, para universal entretenimiento de las gentes.

Hízole levantar don Quijote y dijo:

1. writings of Castilian chroniclers discovered by the narrator of *Don Quijote* in the archives of La Mancha (chapters *Don Quijote*, I: 1-8)
2. history of don Quijote by Cid Hamete Benengeli, (*Don Quijote*, I: 9-52 and 1-74)
3. Anonymous translation of the history of don Quijote by Cid Hamete Benengeli, (*Don Quijote*, I: 9-52 and 1-74)
4. Alonso Quijano's self-narration and comments on the first part of Cide Hamete's history, published in between his second and third sally (pervasive)
5. Compilation and commentary of all previous histories by the Narrator (*Don Quijote I & II*)

I want to repeat in order to avoid confusion, this is a fictional literary history which Cervantes creates within his novel. It is a narrative conceit or trope which had been used throughout the romances of chivalry published in Spain over the course of the sixteenth-century.

Critics like El Saffar and Johnson who intuitively sensed that this text is about authorship tended to focus on Cide Hamete Benengeli, whilst overlooking the origin narrator, Alonso Quijano, who actually attempts to verbalize his own history as he rides out on his adventure.

> Yendo, pues, caminando nuestro flamante aventurero, iba hablando consigo mesmo y diciendo:
>
> —¿Quién duda sino que en los venideros tiempos, cuando salga a luz la verdadera historia de mis famosos hechos, que el sabio que los escribiere no ponga, cuando llegue a contar esta mi primera salida tan de mañana, desta manera? «Apenas había el rubicundo Apolo tendido por la faz de la ancha y espaciosa tierra las doradas hebras de sus hermosos cabellas..."
>
> (Going then, walking our flamboyant adventurer, he went talking to himself and saying:
>
> —Who doubts but that in the coming ages, when it comes to light the true history of my famous deeds, that the wise man who writes them won't put, when he arrives to recount this my first sally so early in the morning, in this manner? "Barely had the rubicund Apollo inclined over the face of the wide and spacious earth the golden strands of its pretty hair...")[84]

He goes on at length. Cide Hamete Benengeli is the center of this mimetic puzzle, but his presence in the novel, pertains to a more complex structure which Cervantes is building by way of his protagonist. Not only are these fictional historians necessary to the burlesque of the romance of chivalry[85], the presence of various historians who recall the famous deeds of don Quijote are necessary to the success of the novel's most

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--Desa manera, ¿verdad es que hay historia mía y que fue moro y sabio el que la compuso?" (Cervantes, 1999, II: 3, pp.647).

[84] (Cervantes, 1999, I:2, pp.46)

[85] I use the term burlesque, rather than satire, here as a formal description of Cervantes' employment of the genre of the romances of chivalry to comedic, exaggerated, or distorted effect. I prefer the use of the term burlesque to that of satire because the latter implies a dimension of social or ideological critique which, while likely present in the novel, remains open to interpretation. The burlesque of the romances of chivalry may be a means which Cervantes employs in the achievement of a satire, but the precise of object of satire is not necessarily the genre itself and has never been clearly or definitively identified and demonstrated.

overlooked author, Alonso Quijano. As I have said we are dealing with the history of an author, the *ingenious*, Alonso Quijano.

In chapter 6 of the first part Cervantes gives us another literary history when Alonso Quijano's friends, the village priest and barber, perform an inquisition of Alonso Quijano's library in an effort to cure their friend of his madness by eliminating the reading material which has infected his mind.[86] These are books of chivalry, pastoral novels, books of lyric verse, and books of epic poetry.[i] Not only do we discover in Alonso Quijano's library the contents of his own personal literary history, we also discover the critical opinions of his contemporaries. In this burlesque of the Inquisition's Index of Prohibited Books, not all of the books are burned, a few are expurgated or edited and a small handful are saved and held up as aesthetic exemplars. This chapter has become as problematic as it is illuminating because several critics have wanted to limit Cervantes' own literary history to the one which he affords to his protagonist, or worse to render the judgements of the priest and the barber as synonymous with Cervantes' own discourse on aesthetics. So I want to stress that this too is a fictional literary history which pertains to a fictional author, Alonso Quijano.[87]

To add one further literary history to this compendium, it might be supposed that we could draw Cervantes' own literary history from the authors and texts which he mentions in the prologues to his work.[ii] While Cervantes was clearly versed in the literature of the Renaissance--at least enough to reference various libraries of authors in his many works--even the fiction of the prologue presents a number of difficulties. The narrator of the prologue claims that he suffers from ignorance and can not imagine what he might include in order to situate his text among his contemporaries. He then tells the story of a friend who came to visit and who advised him as to what authors he might choose.[88] So, we quickly realize that the literary history provided in the prologue is again of an artificial construct. Four literary histories: 1) the "interlude of the romances" which provides the origin for mimesis by way of reading, 2) the fictional history of various texts

[86] (Cervantes, 1999, I: 6, pp.76-87)
[87] As an indication of Alonso Quijano's reading preferences, chapter six does more than catalogue the romances of chivalry; it unites the romances of chivalry with the genres of the pastoral, lyric verse and epic verse.
[88] (Cervantes, 1999, I: prologue, pp.9-19)

(archives of Castile, Cid Hamete, etc.) which recount the story of don Quijote compiled by the narrator, 3) the fictional literary history comprised of the contents of Alonso Quijano's library, and 4) the fictional literary history to which the author's friend refers in the prologue.

None of these individually provides an answer to Cervantes and the question of authorship. Miguel de Cervantes Cortinas[89]--Saavedra is a penname--began as a highly conceptual Petrarchan poet at the age of twenty in the court of Isabel de Valois, Princess of France and Queen of Spain.[90] He spent the first half of his twenties as a courtier-poet in the service of Giulio Acquaviva in Rome and as a soldier-poet in the Mediterranean campaigns against the Ottoman Empire in the service of don Juan de Austria and the III Duke of Sessa.[91] From the age of twenty-eight to thirty-three he was held as a captive-poet in Algiers after being taken by barbary pirates from his ship on his return to the court in Madrid.[92] In 1580, he was ransomed from Algiers, returned to Madrid and continued to work as a highly conceptual--largely amorous and pastoral--poet amidst a community of lyric authors. This, again, is known as the generation of the 1580s and it also included Félix Lope de Vega and Luis de Góngora. In 1585, Cervantes published his first novel, a pastoral novel called the *Galatea* which not only included amorous Neoplatonic poetry sung by the various characters, but also heavily glossed León Hebreo's philosophical treatise, *The Dialogues of Love.* In keeping with the tradition of the *roman à clef,* or novel-in-key, Cervantes included several of his contemporary poet friends as shepherds within the action of the novel. He himself appeared under the pastoral pseudonym, Lauso, who sings to his beloved, "No more, Silena, because I touch upon points of such striving that the least of these could leave me without life or mad."[93] Cervantes was then thirty-eight years old. He would continue to write poetry for the next two decades, but he would not publish another novel until the appearance of the first part of *Don Quijote* in 1605 at the age of fifty-eight. During the last decade of his life, prior to his death at the age of sixty-nine, he would publish several prose works, but in his book length poem, *Voyage of Parnassus* of 1614, he maintained that his first and true passion was poetry.[94] This is to say that behind the

[89] For more on Cervantes' maternal family, Cortinas, see: (Astrana Marín, 1949, v.2, pp.67-149).
[90] See: chapters 1 and 2
[91] See: chapter 3
[92] See: chapter 4
[93] See: chapters 5 and 6. (Cervantes, 1961, v.2, pp.97)
[94] (Cervantes, 1935)

first modern novel, *Don Quijote*, we discover a Spanish ballad, the "interlude of the romances", behind the first novelistic character, Alonso Quijano, we discover a poet, and behind the first modern novelist, we discover a Neoplatonic, amorous poet, engaged in a lyrical mimetic process by way of the novel-in-key.

Now what do Neoplatonism, poetry, and love have to do with the first modern novel let alone with madness and authorship? Who is León Hebreo? What are *The Dialogues of Love*? And a question, which surprisingly has not been asked, what was a poet called in sixteenth century Spain? León Hebreo was the son of exiled Sephardic Jews who had been raised in the Northern Italian territories early in the sixteenth-century.[95] His *Dialogues of Love* was a philosophical treatise which drew on the Neoplatonism of Marsilio Ficino of fifteenth-century Florence, which in turn drew on Plato's Socratic dialogues, specifically the *Symposium*.[96] Hebreo's treatise, like Heliodorus's novel, became one of the most widely read and translated texts in sixteenth-century Europe, appearing in Latin, Italian, Hebrew, French and Spanish. The translation of Hebreo's theory into lyric communities rested on the third dialogue on the origins of love which described erotic love as an ecstatic mystical experience in which the image or sculpture of the beloved enters the lover by way of the eyes, penetrates to the heart, and takes a permanent home in the lover's mind. When the lover meditates on this image or simulacrum of the beloved, he withdraws from his exterior senses and enters an ecstatic or mystical state of contemplation. This understanding of love as originating from sensual experience and inspiring metaphysical experience was readily glossed in poetry and prose by Cervantes and his contemporaries, who repeatedly identified their beloveds as "sovereign of my soul". It is in this concept of love that we find the origin of Dulcinea. Aldonza Lorenzo's image was imprinted in the mind of Alonso Quijano in his youth, and it is her simulacrum which he inflates and continuously contemplates throughout his quest as don Quijote. At the close of the second part, it is his realization that he will never see her again--that is he will never renew the sensual experience--which causes him to give up his madness and precipitates the state of melancholy which causes his death. Traditionally criticism has overlooked the sensual ground

[95] "In spite of the great popularity of this work, its author, Leone Ebreo, has remained an obscure figure. Given the lack of reliable information, it is difficult to reconstruct the details of his life. Leone, whose real name was Yehudah, was born in Lisbon, probably between 1460 and 1465. He was a member of the prestigious Jewish Abravanel family of Seville, which proudly claimed itself to be directly descended from the biblical King David," (Ebreo, 2009, pp.4).
[96] (Hebreo, 1993)

for Dulcinea in Aldonza Lorenzo and glossed this aspect of the novel as insufficiently serious. However, the lethal qualities of love and loss were common parlance amongst the circles of poets in which Cervantes wrote throughout his literary career, and this is the mechanism of death in several of Cervantes' fictional characters.

To be a poet, meant to be a poet-lover, and all the poet-lovers of the sixteenth-century took as their primary model the biographical and literary life of Francisco Petrarch.[97] Petrarch, along with Dante and Boccaccio, was one of three Italian authors of the fourteenth century commonly referred to together as the *tre corone* or *three crowns* to denote the influence which they exercised over the later Renaissance authors of the sixteenth century. Like Heliodorus and Hebreo, Petrarch was repeatedly printed, translated, commented upon, reinterpreted and imitated in Latin, Italian, French, English and Spanish works. The poets of the sixteenth century did not maintain the authorial distance which we do as readers today. Rather they celebrated Petrarch's love for Laura as an indispensable experience for any author who wished to win for himself and his lady eternal fame and glory. This matters greatly to the authorship of Alonso Quijano because like Aldonza Lorenzo, Laura disappeared from the life of Petrarch early in his literary career. Petrarch is said to have first seen her in 1327, but her death some time in between 1347 and 1350 did not put an end to his career as a poet. He continued writing poems for the immaterial Laura--lady of his thoughts--for nearly four decades. With the philosophy of León Hebreo and the aesthetic exemplarity of Petrarch the poets of sixteenth century Spain--Cervantes among them--pursued the poetry of erotic mysticism as a serious and ontologically conditioning experience within their everyday lives and along their authorial quests.

Now, Neoplatonism--in its Christianized form--is often thought of as a hierarchical philosophy of ascent from the material to the spiritual. But the sensually-conditioned and creatively enacted *erotic mysticism* of Hebreo and Petrarch referred--not to a spiritual world of forms--but to the ontology or existence of the poet. In fact, poets in sixteenth-century Spain did not refer to themselves or one another as *poetas*, rather they exclusively employed the word *ingenio* to denote the poet. In 1575 the Dr. Juan Huarte de San Juan published a medico-philosophical treatise called the *Examination of the Ingenio* which--like Heliodorus, Hebreo, and Petrarch--was quickly translated into French, Italian, English, German, Latin and Dutch. In

[97] (Petrarch, 1567 and 2011)

this treatise Huarte de San Juan defined the *ingenio* as the "divine creative faculty of man" and one of two instruments of procreation: the first being biological and the second being conceptual or *verbum mentis.*[98] The generation of authors who practiced the *poetry of erotic mysticism* quickly developed a concept of *aesthetic idealism* which--strongly influenced by Neoplatonism--posited the divinity of the poet as an *ingenio.* The most famous of these poets--such as Francisco de Figueroa and Fernando de Herrera--earned for themselves the epithet of "el divino" or "the divine one", but no poet of this generation went without the denominator of the *ingenio.*[99] When Cervantes placed the adjective *ingenioso* in the title of his first modern novel, he was telling us, or rather telling his contemporaries, that Alonso Quijano is a poet.

If we return to the opening of the text, we find that Alonso Quijano's Will was ignited by the same desire that all of the poets of Cervantes' generation openly and explicitly pursued, "eternal renown and everlasting fame".[100] If we have any doubt that the nature of this quest was independent from the pursuit of chivalry, we can refer to the later portion of the novel following don Quijiote's defeat by the Knight of the White Moons. Vanquished, Alonso Quijano choses another mimetic language: the pastoral. He plans to buy a flock of sheep, call himself Quijotiz and Sancho, he says, may take the name Pancino.[101] By way of the verses which he will compose for Dulcinea and the repose of the life which they will lead, both he and Sancho may become "eternal and famous, not only in the present, but in times to come."[102] And they do. In fact, we already know that Alonso Quijano's authorial quest has come true, because we are not only reading the narrator's history of his authorship, we are reading the compilation of the many histories of his authorship. In the classical sense the *Don Quijote* is a comedy: it begins with the protagonist in society, follows the protagonist through a period of rejection or disintegration and concludes with the protagonist's reception or reintegration back into his community.[103] All of the fictional literary histories of Alonso Quijano have been

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[98] (Huarte de San Juan, 1989)
[99] (Figueroa, 1989) and (Herrera, 1941)
[100] (Cervantes, 2005, pp.21)
[101] (Cervantes, 199, I:67, pp.1173-1178)
[102] (Cervantes, 2005, pp.900)
[103] From the *Tractatus Coislinianus:* "Comedy is a representation of an action that is laughable and lacking in magnitude, complete, [in embellished speech,] with each of its parts [used] seperately in the [various] elements [of the play; represented] by people acting and [not] by narration; accomplishing by means of pleasure or laughter the catharsis of such emotions. It has laughter as its mother," (Aristotle, 1987, pp.43).

employed in a magnificent architecture which continually reinforces and reaffirms that Alonso Quijano's quest was in fact successful: within the construct of the novel, he has won for himself eternal renown and everlasting fame.

But he is a madman. There is little interpretive question regarding the status of Alonso Quijano's sanity amongst the other characters of the text. As Michel Foucault has told us, madness is contingent on society.[104] It is one of the questions of authorship raised by the text that Alonso Quijano is only able to integrate into the social world by way of the staging which the duke and duchess create for him in their palace, after having read the first part of his history in Part II. But long before Foucault, what it meant to be a madman in the sixteenth century might surprise those of us who pertain to a moment precipitated by Freud, and defined by a *cosmos* of pharmaceutical prescription and diagnosis. To mention one final text which was pervasive in sixteenth century translation, beginning in 1511 with the publication of Erasmus' *In Praise of Folly* madness was a ready topic of conversation, and at times of pursuit amongst writers and thinkers of the Renaissance who viewed madness as a form of enlightenment, and a source of wisdom.[105] In 1580 Sánchez de Lima's treatise on the art of Castilian poetry, published in Alcalá just five years prior to Cervantes' *Galatea*, stated that poets were often mistaken for madmen on account of their vision in a world turned upside down and that, "there is no greater delicacy of *ingenio* than that of a poet."[106] By inverting the

"The theme of the comic is integration of society, which usually takes the form of incorporating a central character into it…. The clearest example of high mimetic comedy is the Old Comedy of Aristophanes. In Aristophanes there is usually a central figure who constructs his (or her) own society in the teeth of strong opposition, driving off one after another all the people who come to prevent or exploit him, and eventually achieving a heroic triumph, complete with mistresses, in which he is sometimes assigned the honors of a reborn god…. The comic hero will get a triumph whether what he has done is sensible or silly, honest or rascally," (Frye, 2000, *Theory of Modes*, pp. 43).

[104] "One day, perhaps, we will no longer know what madness was. Its form will have closed up on itself, and the traces it will have left will no longer be intelligible. To the ignorant glance, will those traces be anything more than simple black marks? At most, they will be part of those configurations that we are now unable to form, but which will be the indispensible grids that will make our culture and ourselves legible to the future. Artaud will then belong to the foundation of our language, and not to its rupture; neuroses will be placed among the forms that are constituitive of (and not deviant from) our society. All that we experience today as limits, or strangeness, or the intolerable, will have joined the serenity of the positive. And that which for us now designates this Exterior might come, one day, to designate us. All that will remain will be the enigma of that Exteriority," (Foucault, 2006, pp.541).

[105] (Erasmus, 1941). See also: (Bataillon, 1950) for Erasmus in Spain.

[106] (Sánchez de Lima, 1944, pp.17, translation mine)

mimetic mirror of life and placing a madman at the top, is Cervantes asking us to imitate his errant author? Certainly the invention of the word, *quixotic*, in the modern lexicon suggests that many have.

Georg Lukác's epic reading of the *Don Quixote* provides a link between Alonso Quijano and the mad character--don Quijote--he creates.[107] The tripartite structure of the *lunatic*, *the lover*, *and the poet* in fact, reaches back to a tradition popularized by Augustine in the 4th century A.D., a near contemporary of Heliodorus. While Augustine was also widely read throughout the Renaissance, the dissemination of his thought preceded the printing press throughout the medieval period. Augustine's *Confessions* glossed the tri-partite structure of the soul commonly translated into English as Intellect, Memory and Will.[108] This understanding of man's metaphysical properties were common currency in Cervantes' day and references to this tripartite structure occur readily in Cervantes' *Galatea*, always in relation to *erotic mysticism*. In Cervantes' period the term *Intellect* was translated into Spanish as the *endendimiento*, which was one of several faculties of the mind. The *entendimiento* was the instrument of Comprehension, that is to say the receptive faculty of the mind.[109] Together the Comprehension, the Memory and the Will comprised the tripartite structure of the soul which gave birth to itself by way of the *ingenio* or *imagination*. Alonso Quijano's comprehension of the books of chivalry, his memory in the simulacrum of Aldonza Lorenzo and his will in pursuit of "eternal renown and everlasting fame", reveals that he is on a soul-quest, which Lukács precisely identified as *transcendental homelessness*, a constituent of the novel. As in the *erotic mysticism* of the poets of Cervantes' generation, the works which Alonso Quijano writes with his body, are dedicated to the sovereign of his soul, Dulcinea, or more precisely, Aldonza Lorenzo. And he will die, not as don Quijote--Knight of the Lions--but as Alonso Quijano, "The Good", which Schelling and the German Idealists read as a tragedy.

By recording Alonso Quijano's lyric subjectivity in a prose history, Cervantes employed an ancient genre in the creation of a modern myth: authorial authenticity and interpretive reception. As Alonso Quijano's lyric subjectivity is enacted, read, interpreted, translated and recorded into the terms of the various reading cultures through which he passes and who are responsible for the record of his authorship, Cervantes

[107] (Lukács, 1987)
[108] (Augustine, 2006)
[109] (Covarrubias, 1995)

shows us a story of existential being in the world. In keeping with Pérez de Moya's *Philosofía secreta de la gentilidad (Secret Philosophy of the Gentile)*, published in Alcalá in 1585, the *Don Quixote* is written in such a way that it responds to all levels of exegesis or *ways of reading*: being the literal, the allegorical, the anagogic, the tropological, and the physical.[110]

Physical:	Amorous Lyric
Tropological:	Aesthetic Comedy
Anagogic:	Spiritual Epic
Allegorical:	Romantic Tragedy
Literal:	Chivalric Satire

By encompassing the full spectrum of interpretation or perspective, Cervantes invites us to take a further step of comprehension.

Existential:	Renaissance Novel
Physical:	Amorous Lyric
Tropological:	Aesthetic Comedy
Anagogic:	Spiritual Epic
Allegorical:	Romantic Tragedy
Literal:	Chivalric Satire

Inspired by Heliodorus, he writes in the genre of the novel: a history or a tale of lyric subjectivity in the existential world.[111] Cervantes' sensitivity to real and historical time, sensorial and virtual space, and the question of authorship which we all face, reveals that we already are in phenomenological state of sensorial and imaginative becoming, a cosmic process of continual exchange which inspires our lyrical experiences of life and the histories we create.

Approaches to the novel in general, and to the *Don Quijote* in particular, have scarecely considered this prose genre as a lyric form. Leaving behind Aristotle's distinction between *erlebnis* and *poiesis*, literature

[110] "***Physical:*** for Hercules it is understood the Sun, and for his twelve works or doings, the twelve signs of the zodiac, placed above him for having completed them surpassed them in one year....***Tropological:*** for Hercules it is understood a strong man, accustomed in virtue and good manners....***Anagogic:*** signifies the transcendence of the soul which disdains the worldly for the celestial....***Allegorical:*** for Hercules it is understood the victory over vice....***Literal:*** nothing is understood other than how the letter sounds ("lo que suena la letra")", (Pérez de Moya, 1995, pp.70, translation mine)

[111] For my usage of "existential" and "existentiell", see: (Heidegger, 2008, esp. pp.36-38). I propose to further simplify this definition in the following manner: Novel--a mimetic simulacrum of lyric subjectivity in the existential world.

is commonly imagined as *prose* and *poetry* (*by which we mean verse).*[112] If the ***Don Quijote*** is indeed a "novela completa"--and I argue that it is--it is because Cervantes renders *poiesis* the subject matter of *erlebnis*: the novel is a history of the lyric in the world.

[112] For Aristotle in Spain and Cervantes' works, see: (Wardropper, 1965).

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The Erotic Mystics:

Metaphysics of Pastoral Poetry in the Court of Isabel de Valois

Todas estas garridas pastoras de poéticos nombres no fueron, como la Dulcinea del Toboso, mera creación de la quijotesca locura y del cervantino ingenio, sino mujeres de carne y hueso, linajudas damas...

(All of these pretty shepherdesses of poetic names were not, as with Dulcinea of Toboso, the mere creations of quixotic madness and Cervantine ingeniousness, but rather women of flesh and blood, highborn ladies...) [113]

Introduction

On the morning of May 16th, 1560 Isabel de Valois appeared in the gardens of the royal residence of Aranjuez, some forty-four kilometers from Madrid, dressed and ready for an outing in the countryside. It was not yet eight a.m. and the young queen (fifteen years old) had arrived only the day before in time to join her new husband, Philip II (thirty-five years old), her sister-in-law, Doña Juana de Austria (twenty-five years old), her brother-in-law, Don Juan de Austria (thirteen years old), and her stepson, to whom she had previously been betrothed, Prince Carlos (not quite fifteen years old) for an intimate and, no doubt, youthful dinner the previous evening. The rustic honeymoon, which the couple would repeat annually, was to be filled with bucolic outings and the art of the hunt of which Philip, Juana, and soon Isabel were avid *aficionados*. On that first morning in Aranjuez, Juana, herself an early riser, and Mademoiselle Bourbon joined the young queen for a sojourn into the countryside. The three young ladies were chaperoned by their *mayordomo mayor* (major-domo), Fadrique Enríquez de Guzmán, Count of Alba de Liste.

Having set out on horseback, the group soon came upon a footbridge which linked two of the poplar-lined paths of the royal grounds. There they met with a gentleman mounted on a donkey with *pasteles de pescado* for sale. Delighted with the idea of a rustic breakfast, they purchased a handful of *empanadas* and had a picnic, retreating to a small brook in order to scoop sips of fresh water with their bare hands. Continuing on, they discovered a wagon and, led by the young queen, climbed atop. In picturesque fashion the four noble

[113] (de Villa-Urrutia, 1927, pp.79). The response of the Marquis of Villa-Urrutia to Francisco Rodríguez Marín's study of *El pastor de Fílida* was printed in the same volume. See: (Rodríguez Marín, 1927) in bibliography.

personages rode through the forest until they came upon a farm where they found a herd of cattle grazing. Isabel and Juana, thrilled with the idea of drinking fresh milk from the cows, and undeterred by the absence of utensils, decided upon Isabel's bonnet as the most logical substitute for a milk-pitcher. Having tasted the fresh milk, they began to dip the bread they carried with them into the bonnet, delighting in the authenticity of the rustic life.

> ¿No creéis conmigo que tan bucólica escena diríase arrancada de cualquiera de las escancias de María Antonieta, dos siglos después, en el pequeño Trianón, cuando las influencias rusonianas llevábanla a ella y a las damas de su Corte a buscar en la Naturaleza rústicos goces y artificios imitaciones pastoriles?,
>
> (Don't you agree that such a bucolic scene directly points to any number of those of Marie Antoinette, two centuries later, in the tiny Trianon, when Rousseauian influences inspired her and the ladies of her court to seek in Nature rustic pleasures and the artifice of pastoral imitations?)[114]

asked the distinguished Spanish historian, Amezúa y Mayo when he related this *pastoral play* to the Real Academia de la Historia on February 16th, 1944. However, it is not necessary to turn to the literature of the eighteenth-century French court to grasp either the candor or the literary significance at hand.[115] The years which followed the publication of Montemayor's *Diana* (1559) marked a new development both in the manner and scale in which imaginative, particularly pastoral, literature was cultivated within the Habsburg court and developed by the most significant poets and prose authors of the time[116]. To my knowledge no study of the relationship between this culture as it was practiced and the literature which was produced within it has ever been undertaken in relevance to Cervantine studies. In general, the reign of Isabel de

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[114] (Amezúa y Mayo, 1944, pp.57)

[115] It is significant that Isabel arrived to the Habsburg court from an enriching period of formation in the court of her mother, Catherine de Medici, patroness of the first pleasure dairy which Marie Antoinette made famous. As Martin writes, "Royal and elite patrons employed the pleasure dairy as a staging ground for pastoral performances and fêtes, often for the strategic purpose of conveying power while paradoxically appearing to retreat from it. Catherine de' Medici inaugurated this tradition in 1564, when she hosted an elaborate banquet at her dairy before embarking on a royal tour of France with Charles IX. On this occasion, she transported courtiers from the palace to her bucolic farming retreat, where she entertained them with a meal that most likely featured milk products, along with the performance of a pastoral poem by Ronsard. Written to be read aloud by her children, Ronsard's poem compared Catherine to the earth mother Cybele and made allusion to her success in nurturing and regenerating France after a difficult time of war," (2011, pp.8). While Isabel was already in Spain by 1564, Amezúa de Mayo's scholarship has brought to light Ronsard's influence on Isabel's formation in France and the various erudite and imaginative practices in which she was immersed while in her mother's court.

[116] For a collection and synopsis of the pastoral prose texts, see: (Rennert, 1912). Montemayor himself had served as a courtier in the courts of the Princess Juana, then Prince Philip and their sister, Princess María, (see: López Estrada's introduction in Montemayor, 1970; and, Avalle-Arce's introduction in Montemayor, 1996).

Valois (1560-1568) and the decidedly Renaissance, humanist and imaginative period which it fostered has been overlooked by literary history, let alone in relation to Cervantes' formation as a young poet.[117] The study which follows is indebted to the historical scholarship of Agustín Amezúa y Mayo on the reign of the young queen, as well as Francisco Rodríguez Marín's investigation into the biography of the poet and novelist, Luis Gálvez de Montalvo.[118] While Gálvez de Montalvo's pastoral novel, *El pastor de Fílida* was not published until 1582, most of the events in the novel concern the author's experience in the service of the Dukes of Infantado and in relation to the court of Isabel in the early 1560s.[119] For historical accuracy, I have chosen to treat this work in this and the following chapter instead of in chapters 5 and 6 which directly concerns the decade of the 1580s.

II

[117] As in Navarrete's study, *Orphans of Petrarch*, the development of poetry in sixteenth-century Spain typically skips from Garcilaso de la Vega to Fernando de Herrera, leaving the decades of the 1550s-1570s at the margins of literary discourse.

[118] (Amezúa y Mayo, 1944 and 1949), (Rodríguez Marín, 1927). In 1960 Gregorio Marañón wrote against the hypothesis of Rodríguez Marín, see: (Marañón, 1960). Alonso Gamo has since recuperated the scholarship of Rodríguez Marín, see: (Gamo, 1987). In his 2006 edition of *El pastor de Fílida*, Arribas Rebollo again doubts the work of Rodríguez Marín, see: (Gálvez de Montalvo, 2006, pp.22-23, and pp.41-49). The difficulty lies in the fact that while much of the action of the novel is drawn from the period of the 1560s, some elements towards the novel's close were added later, such as the *Canto de Erión* which lauds ladies of the late 1570s in the court of Ann of Austria. Whether the name of *Fílida* was indeed employed to mask Magdalena Girón or another courtier whom Gálvez de Montalvo knew and loved, no critic has doubted the significance or veracity of the *roman à clef*. As Arribas Rebollo concludes: "Un argumento más se puede añadir: si la novela es de hecho un *roman à clef*, aunque hayamos perdido la llave, debe referirse o bien a sucesos contemporáneos o bien a eventos famosos, ya presentes, ya arraigados en la memoria del público al que va dirigida la novela; de otro modo, la misma finalidad del disfraz carecería del sentido," (Gálvez de Montalvo, 2006, pp.45). I have found little doubt in the theory put forth by Rodríguez Marín. This chapter not only takes seriously the historical data behind his hypothosis, but will contribute to additional decoding of this *roman à clef*.

[119] Again, it is not unreasonable to believe that Gálvez de Montalvo made this late and anachronistic addition of the *Canto de Erión* in order to garner favor with the noble patrons still active at the time of publication, or that the *Canto* in its original form had referred to ladies who had since left the court, thus requiring revision. See: (Gálvez de Montalvo, 2006, pp.350-388)

1559 marked the beginning of one of the most imaginative literary decades in sixteenth-century Spain. Philip II's third marriage to Isabel de Valois, *infanta* of France, as part of agreements made in the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis on April 3rd, 1559, introduced a Renaissance of literary culture and imaginative play-making to the Habsburg court. As if to inaugurate this new cultural mode, the publication of *La Diana* that same year became the touchstone which inspired poets and courtiers, queens and ladies, to engage in direct mimesis of imaginative prose and poetry in daily life through a process of *mimetic play.*[120] As Pedro Laynez, poet, courtier and *camarero* to Prince Carlos, would attest in his sonnet to Montemayor:

> En cargo te es España, pues le diste
> tal obra, que con ella le ganaste,
> a mal grado del tiempo, vn nombre eterno.
> Y a ti, Montemayor, pues sólo fuiste
> el que tan alto bien comunicaste
> que sacas dél renombre sempiterno.
>
> (Spain is in your charge, well you gave her
> such a work, that with that work you won from her,
> from the poor will of time, an eternal name.
> And to you, Montemayor, well you alone were
> he that communicated to such heights
> that you have begot an eternal fame.) [121]

With the poetry and prose of Montemayor, the face of the courtier-poet as poet-lover was forever changed. *La Diana* expanded the eclogues of Garcilaso into a fully developed, Castilianized and courtly pastoral landscape upon which both court life and future lyric works were modeled.[122] In *La Diana* Montemayor encoded the private and amorous histories of the courtiers within an imaginary landscape through a process

[120] It should not be imagined that this process of imitation was new to Europe, or to Spain. However, the reign of Isabel signals the widespread cultivation of such practices within the court and in formation of an entire cultural community; this foundation of a culture around this practice was indeed a *novedad.* While no historical data on the regency court of Juana has been brough to light regarding imaginative practices in the court, it is possible that she had also fostered such an environment contemporary to Montemayor's service in the court.

[121] (Laynez, v.2, 1951, "A [Jorge de] Montemayor", pp.233-234)

[122] For an exemplary introduction to Virgil's influence on Garcilaso's pastoral eclogues, see: (Rivers, 2009, pp.83-101).

of *mimetic realism.*[123] Subsequently, during the reign of Isabel de Valois, *La Diana* became the inspiration for nobleman, courtiers and poets to *enact* the amorous and courtly pastoral within the collectively imagined pastoral space of the court, both in retreats to rustic royal residences, such as that of Aranjuez, and in the exchange of *motes* within the *terrero* of the Alcázar in Toledo and Madrid.[124] The amorous verse which had been set to music by Miguel de Fuenllana in 1554,[125] and of which Queen Isabel and Princess Juana were both patrons and participants[126], further cultivated within the Habsburg court the use of various instruments which appear in the pages of pastoral novels to accompany each shepherd's lyric recitation.[127] This process of *mimetic play* brought the pastoral, always already a thinly veiled account of courtly love in Spain, to life within the shared cultural experience of the Habsburg court. For the duration of the century the poet-lovers

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[123] "Aun en España la propia *Diana* de Montemayor se informa en parte sobre la anécdota vivida, si bien es la expresión del mito la que le confiere validez extra-personal. En casi todas las otras novelas pastoriles españoles ocurre algo semejante," (Avalle-Arce,1974 pp.141-142). Were the regency court of Juana de Austria in the 1550s, and Montemayor's pertinence to it, well documented, the thin veil of the pastoral myth would, no doubt, lift like a cloud from the pages of *La Diana* to reveal the courtiers encoded within. In my opinion, there is little doubt that the palace of Felicia pertained to Juana herself as a meeting place for Spanish and Portuguese courtiers alike. Her time as Princess of Portugal and Regent of Spain united the two literary worlds under her patronage, as had been the case under her mother, the Empress Isabel.

[124] "Eran, pues, los motes como un duelo poético entre el galán y la dama, en que latía de ordinario una declaración amorosa. Para el encuentro literario, uno y otro no disponen nada más que de los pocos versos en que se desarrolla el mote, rar vez más de cuatro, y de su propio ingenio y lírica vena. Mas esta misma obligada concisión y brevedad servía para que cada uno de los contendientes revelara en ellos, sin pensarlo, la nota genuina y privativa de su respectivo carácter; y así, en los no escasos que han llegado a nosotros, haylos graves, jocosos, tiernos, burlescos y apasionados, con cierta propensión, en muchos motes, al conceptismo, y abuso de las inevitables alegorías de *mares*, *rocas*, *naufragios*, *borrascas y puertos*, con juegos y antítesis de el *sí* y el *no*, propios de la delcaración amorosa," (Amezúa y Mayo, 1944, pp.41)

[125] *Libro de musica para vihuela, intitulado Orphenica Lyra. En el qual se contienen muchas y diversas obras. Compuesto por Miguel de Fuellana.* Seville: 1554. For more on the use of this text within the private court of Isabel, see: (Amezúa y Mayo, 1944, pp.39).

[126] "Doña Isabel había traído de Francia entre su servidumbre seis músicos de vihuela y un tañedor de gaita. Los seis primeros sálvanse del necesario desmoche hecho en Toledo en 1560, por expresa voluntad de ella ; y en cuanto al gaitero, vémosle sustituído ...por un tañedor de flauta, al parecer español. Además su tía la Duquesa de Saboya envíale también en el primer año de estancia en Toledo a Francisco, su tañedor de laúd, para librarle del castigo a que se ha hecho acreedor, por cierto desmán. Todos ellos, dirigidos por nuestro gran Miguel de Fuenllana, asistirán de continuo en la cámara y en el comedor de la Reina...,"(Amezúa y Mayo, 1944, pp.37-40).

[127] (Pastor Comín, 2009). Unfortunately, this well-intentioned text pays little attention to the pastoral, despite the promising title: *Loco, trovador y cortesano. Bases materiales de la expresión musical en Cervantes.*

of Spain were decidedly pastoral[128]. In the decade of the 1560s the shepherd-poets--Pedro Laynez (ca.1538-1584)[129], Francisco de Figueroa (ca.1536-1540-ca.1588-1589)[130], Luis Gómez de Tapia (ca.1543-1547-unknown)[131], Luis Gálvez de Montalvo (ca.1547-1591)[132], Miguel de Cervantes (1547-1616)[133], and many others--became the quintessential lyric lovers of Spain. While the poetry of Garcilaso, Montemayor and

[128] In many ways, Lope de Vega's publication of *La Arcadia* in 1599 brought the vogue of the pastoral to a close, but it found new varieties and formulation of its original topoi in *comedias*, the verses of Góngora, the conceptual poetry of Quevedo, Cervantes' prose fiction and *Viaje del Parnaso* and, most poignantly, in Lope's *acción en prosa, La Dorotea*. For further analysis of Montemayor and the birth of the pastoral novel in Spain, see: (Avalle-Arce, 1974).

[129] (Laynez, 1951, v.1, pp.11)

[130] (Figueroa, 1989, pp.15 and 43)

[131] "*El maestro Luis Gómez de Tapia*....es lo cierto que nació en Antequera, como indican en sus catálogos de antequeranos ilustres los historiadores de esta ciudad. Fué hijo del licenciado Pedro Gómez, médico, y de su mujer Inés Díaz de Tapia, y hubo de nacer uno ó dos años antes ó después que su hermano Alonso, bautizado en la iglesia de San Sebastián el día 12 de abril de 1545. Tengo vehemente sospecha de que Luis Gómez de Tapia y el don Gómez de Tapia autor de una *Egloga en que se describe en el Bosque de Aranjuez*, publicado por Gonzalo Argote de Molina al fin del *Libro de la Montería* (Sevilla, Andrea Pescioni, 1582) y reimpreso en el *Parnaso* de Sedano (t.III, pág. 246) son un mismo sujeto: al publicarse la traducción el poema de Camoens, el traductor (dícese en la portado) era vecino de Sevilla; en esta ciudad hubo de escribir la égloga, y como le llamaban ordinariamente por sus dos apellidos (cuando no Luis de Tapia, como se le llama en los preliminares del libro impreso en Salamanca), Arogte de Molina entendió equivocadamente que *Gómez* era su nombre, y así le llamó *D. Gómez de Tapia*. Aun lo de *granadino* que se le añade robustece mi sospecha, porque los padres de Luis Gómez de Tapia se trasladaron con su familia de Antequera á Granada siendo éste mozo, según consta por cierta información testifial que halló D. Juan Quirós de los Ríos," (Rodríguez Marín, 1975, pp.33-34). "Capellán y poeta, de quien sólo sabemos por Matute que era hijo de Sevilla. No recuerdo dónde he leído que nació en Antequera; pero nose alega más razón que la de haber visto su nombre incluído en un catálogo de claros antequeranos, a la cual debe oponerse que también figura en el de sevillanos que redactó el concienzudo D. Justino. De suerte que, salvo prueba más respetable, no hay motivo para conceder mayor crédito, a otro que al diligente autor de las *Adiciones*. En el libro XVIII de Autos Capitulares, folio 30 vuelto, de la Catedral hispalense, figura un Racionero llamado Gonzal Gómez de Tapia, tal vez deudo de Luis. Vertió nuestro Capellán del portugués *Os Lusiadas* e imprimió su traducción en 1580, acompañándola con notas y precedida de un prólogo del Brocense. En honor del traductor de Camoens vibraron las cuerdas de las liras de Góngora, Venegas, Zamorano, Colona y otros no menores ingenios," (Mario Méndez Bejarano. *Diccionario de escritores, maestros y oradores naturales de Sevilla y su actual provincia*. Seville: A Guichot, 1922, pp.257-258)

[132] (Gálvez de Montalvo, 2006, pp.19-20)

[133] See: (Canavaggio, 1995) for most recent and brief biography of the author. However, I have drawn largely from the more extensive and heavily documented biography of Astrana Marín (1949, v.1-7). Astrana Marín's scholarship and notation of previous biographies brings together the critical tradition in this regard.

Montemayor's pastoral avatar, (the literary character) Sireno, developed a lyrical lament of amorous suffering, the passions of the shepherd-poet during the 1560s accomplished the poetry of pursuit and adulation of the *summa belleza* as located both in the beloved lady and in the natural world, in addition to the traditional languishing of the poet. As Francisco de Figueroa wrote:

> Tomó Naturaleza
> en su mano un pincel,
> y quiso hacer perfecta una figura:
> mostrando su destreza
> en ella, mostró aquel
> extremo de belleza,...
>
> (Nature took
> in her hand a paint brush
> and wanted to make perfect a figure:
> demonstrating her ability
> in this, she demonstrated that which
> took beauty to the extreme...)[134]

All members of the *hidalgo* class, the shepherd-poets of the 1560s were courtiers who pertained either directly or indirectly to palace life. While it is known that Isabel herself employed her own personal poets within her *cámara*, any record of these personages has, unfortunately, been lost.[135] Some employment was constant; other entertainers were hired for specific periods, as in the case of the famous dramatist Lope de Rueda who was paid for as many as six performances in the palace between 1561-1563.[136] (While criticism has often attributed Cervantes' respect for the playwright to his days in Seville, placement of the young author during the 1560s is vague and it is worth considering whether his early knowledge of Rueda

[134] (Figuero, 1989, pp.117)
[135] (Amezúa y Mayo, 1944, pp.30-31)
[136] "Más curiosa aún, y en parte desconocida, es la intervención del gran Lope de Rueda en estas farsas palatinas. El famoso batihoja sevillano trabajaba nada menos que seis veces delante de la Reina durante los años 1561 a 1563, y de ellas tres seguidas en un mes, con tanto agrado de aquélla, que la primera vez que representa Doña Isabel le hace merced de 100 reales, a más de otros 100 que ya había recibido por la acostumbrada paga de cada función," (Amezúa y Mayo, 1949, v.1, pp.231).

came from the court of Isabel herself.)[137] In addition to the poets I will discuss here, we must imagine a much richer circle of lyrical authors radiating through palace life; the palace itself constituted its own literary culture in which even the ladies in waiting cultivated a lyric art in amorous epistles and witty *motes* (or lyrical quips). The queen, princess Juana and prince Carlos each had their own personal and autonomous *cámara*, or household, which customarily employed an excess of three-hundred personages each.[138] This is to count only three of the most important literary *aficionados* of the period, without mention of the variety of grandees and nobleman who, in pertinence to palace life or on visits to the court, no doubt brought with them any number of undocumented, or even unknown and forgotten lyric authors of the period. (Poets often served as secretaries to grandees; this practice is much better documented in later decades as in the case of Lope de Vega and the IV Duke of Sessa, Quevedo and the III Duke of Osuna, and Luis de Góngora and the I Duke of Lerma.[139]) Nonetheless, amidst this anonymous void of lyric authors who have fallen from the pages of literary history, Cervantes pertained to and befriended the three most significant poets who survive from this

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[137] See: (Canavaggio, 1992, pp.35-43), and (Astrana Marín, 1948, v.1, pp.423-441). Cervantes said of Rueda in the prologue to *Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses* (1614), "Tratóse también de quién fue el primero en España las sacó de mantillas, y las puso en toldo, y vistió de gala y apariencia; yo, como el más viejo que allí estava, dixe que me acordava de aver visto representar al gran Lope de Rueda, varón insigne en la representación y en el entendimiento...En el tiempo de este célebre español, todos los aparatos de un autor de comedias se encerravan en un costal... Las comedias eran unos coloquios como églogas entre dos o tres pastores y alguna pastora: adereçavanlas y dilatávanlas con dos o tres entremeses, ya de negra, ya de rufían y ya de bobo y ya de vizcaino: que todas estas quatro figuras y otras muchas hazía el tal Lope con la mayor excelencia y propiedad que pudiera imaginarse," (Cervantes, 1989, pp.11, emphasis mine). During the 1550s and 1560s Rodrigo de Cervantes, father of Miguel, lived an itinerant lifestyle, often separated from his wife, Isabel de Cortinas. There is no evidence to testify as to whether Miguel was raised by his mother in Alcalá or alongside the travels of Rodrigo. It was in Alcalá in the Convent of the Purísima Concepción that Cervantes' sister, Luisa, would take the habit as Luisa de Belén on February 11th, 1565. Already on October 20th, 1564 Mateo Vazquez had matriculated at the university in Alcalá. Cervantes' maternal grandparents, the Cortinas family, ranked among the nobility of the university town, as was the case with the family of Francisco de Figueroa. It is at least verisimilar to consider that Cervantes had long pertained to the poetic circles of Alcalá as an adolescent in his mother's household. To my knowledge, no documentation of the author's pertinence either to his father's travels or to his mother's household has been uncovered. Linking his whereabouts to Alcalá, at the very least, explains his early compositions for Isabel de Valois and the receipt of favor from López de Hoyos and Cardinal Espinosa, as well as his later *Epístola a Mateo Vázquez* from Algiers. See: (Astrana Marín, 1949, v.2, pp.67-149).

[138] (Amezúa y Mayo, 1949, v.1, pp.157 and 225)

[139] For more on patronage, see: (Sieber, 1998, pp.86-116), and (Egido, 2008)

time: Pedro Laynez, Francisco de Figueroa, and Luis Gálvez de Montalvo.[140] The almost entirely overlooked poet, Diego Ramírez de Pagán, who collected and published, *Floresta de Varia Poesía* in 1562 (Valencia: Juan Navarro), also pertained to the university town of Alcalá, and perhaps the court. His friendship with Figueroa is evident in the lyrical exchange of poems between the two under the pseudonyms of Dardanio and Tirsi, respectively, included in his work.[141] I have included the unknown and unstudied poet, Luis Gómez de Tapia because both in the 1560s and later in the 1580s his work touched upon the same circles in which Cervantes wrote: in the pastoral festivities at Aranjuez for the birth of Isabel's daughters, and as a poet whose translation of Camoes, *La Lusiada* (1580), was dedicated to Cardinal Ascanio Colonna, intended recipient of Cervantes' *Galatea* in 1585.[142]

During the decade of the 1560s, the historical realities of *pastoral play*, amorous experience and literary authorship acted as mutually conditioning and symbiotic elements within the lived culture of the pastoral court of Isabel de Valois.[143] The power which the pastoral--at once courtly and Neoplatonic--exercised over the lives and works of the authors who wrote within it brought about a poetry of *erotic mysticism*, a critical understanding of which has been left heretofore underdeveloped and understudied in Spanish literature. The purpose of this chapter is to reconstruct this cultural sphere of *mimetic play* and *lyrical mimesis* which left an indelible mark on the author of the *Quijote*. In the following chapter I will bring to life the first verses which Cervantes composed within this milieu which marked the inauguration of his literary career and aesthetic outlook.

III

[140] All of these poets appear under pastoral pseudonyms in Cervantes' *Galatea* as Damón, Tirsi and Siralvo, respectively.
[141] See: (Pagán, 1950, v.2). Lope de Vega employs this pastoral name, Dardanio, in *La Arcadia* (1599); however, some thirty-five years later there is not enough evidence to say definitively that it pertains to Pagán.
[142] For Cervantes and poets of the 1580s, see: chapter 5 of this dissertation. It is of note that Gómez de Tapia's translation received an encomiastic poem from Luis de Góngora, then at the outset of his poetic career; the poet would have been nineteen years old at the time.
[143] For further discussion of Montemayor and the birth of the pastoral novel in Spain, see: (Avalle-Arce, 1974).

Pedro Laynez was one of Cervantes' closest lyric friends. He would appear in the pages of the *Galatea* as the shepherd, Damón, along with Figueroa (Tirsi) in 1585. His death in mid-March of 1584 would bring Cervantes to Esquivias in an attempt to ensure the posthumous publication of Laynez's *Cancionero* and full-length eclogue, *Engaños y desengaños de amor.*[144] But it was in the court of Isabel during the 1560s that the two poets first crossed paths and befriended one another. Pedro Laynez pertained to a noble family with a long tradition of service to the Spanish crown.[145] He served in the royal palace in some fashion in 1560 or earlier, and as *camarero* to Prince Carlos from as early as 1561.[146] In 1568 following Prince Carlo's arrest,

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[144] (Astrana Marín, 1949, v.3, pp.366-375, 453-457)

[145] "Su padre, Bernardino de Ugarte, fué Aposentador Mayor del Palacio de Su Majestad y Comendador de la Orden de Cristo de Portugal. Su madre, doña Isabel de Saravia, contaba entre sus familiares personas de viso: era probablemente hermano de su padre un Juan de Saravia, que fué portero del Emperador Carlos V y dejó por heredero universal sus bienes a Juan Saravia de la Riva, Montero de Cámara de Su Majestad el Rey Felipe II y hermano, sin duda, de doña Isabel de Saravia, que, viuda ya de don Bernardino de Ugarte, y en nombre de sus hijos, le da poder para varios asuntos....Fué Pedro Laynez el mayor--...--de seis hijos...Los otros fueron Bernardino de Ugarte, homónimo de su padre y único que habría de conservar su apellido, que sirvió de Ayuda de Cámara de Felipe II; Juan Saravia de la Riva, que siguió la carrera secaerdotal y en 1581 era Tesorero de la Santa Iglesia Catedral de Tuy; doña María de Ayala, que profesó entre los años de 1567 y 1568 con el nombre de María de San Pablo, en el Convento de la Concepción Francisca de Madrid...y en el pago de cuya dote intervino la Reina de Portugal, protectora, sin duda de sus padres; doña Antonio de Lara, que casó con Juan López de Vivanco, Secretario de la Contaduría Mayor de Su Majestad don Felipe II, en 1573, y fué fiador de su suegra en una ocasión, el mismo año, y partidor de la herencia de Laynez y sus hermanos en otra el año 1581; y doña Isabel de Saravia, homónima de su madre, que estaba casada en junio de 1554 con Cristóbal de Paz, «Contador de Su Magestad» y después casó por segunda vez, en abril de 1572, con don Juan Martínez de la Quadra, Receptor del Reino, muerto en septiembre del mismo año, y en tercas nupcias con el Licenciado Agustín de Almorox, antes de 1584," (Laynez, 1951, v.1, pp.12-18).

[146] No es extraño, conociendo las múltiples relaciones palaciegas que tuvieron los parientes de Pedro Laynez, que éste, desde muy joven, también fuera servidor de la Casa Real. Parece lo más probable que entrara a formar parte de la Cámara del Príncipe don Carlos, en 1564, al morir su padre don Bernardino de Ugarte, pero no es menos verosímil que ya desde antes anduviera por Palacio prestando servicio, a la sombra del autor de sus días acaso junto al mismo hijo de Felipe II...Tal vez desde 1560, cuando Laynez tenía ventidos años y a don Carlos--al ser jurado príncipe heredero, con la asignación de 32.000 ducados anuales, luego elevada a 50.000 el año siguiente....Lo indudable es que ya estaba a su servicio, si no como ayuda de cámara, con otro empleo menos importante, en 1561, cuando estando don Carlos en Alcalá de Henares, acompañado de don Juan de Austria, su tío, y de Alejandro Farnesio, para estudiar en la Universidad Complutense, se salvó, por milagro, del gravísimo estado en que lo puso haber rodado por una escalera, ya que a esta enfermedad dedicó Laynez un poema, como se verá, propio de quien estaba a su lado y quería hacer méritos," (Laynez, 1551, v.1, pp.18-19, emphasis mine). As I have said, Laynez's sonnet for the death of Mary I (1558) indicates that he served in court prior to Isabel's reign. The

seclusion and death on July 24th, 1568, he presumably passed into the service of the Archduke Ernesto of Austria, and from Ernesto to Don Juan de Austria at Lepanto.[147] His authorship has been attributed to the anonymous eye-witness *relación* of the arrest of Prince Carlos in January 1568; he was the only known author then employed among the prince's immediate chamber-men.[148] He lived and wrote in the palace throughout the decade of the 1560s. While documentation prior to this decade is scarce, his elegiac sonnet upon the death of Philip II's second wife, Mary I of England, in 1558 indicates that he was likely linked to the court even earlier and perhaps during the same years which inspired Montemayor's own works, whilst the latter was in the service of Princess Juana de Austria and, then prince, Philip (II). But it was during the decade of the 1560s that Laynez's verse flowered in the pastoral mode while he cultivated his friendship and lyrical exchange with Francisco de Figueroa. This period would characterize the work of both poets for the following decades and in posterity.[149]

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composition could not have taken place any later; the marriage festivities for Isabel and Philip occluded any need for further lament.

[147] Astrana Marín has suggested that Laynez passed to the service of the Archduke Ernesto of Austria following the death of Prince Carlos on July 24th, 1568, and places Laynez later in the service of Don Juan de Austria at Lepanto, (Astrana Marín, 19, v.2, pp.296-300). Cervantes confirms that he had not seen Laynez since Don Juan de Austria departed from northern Italy for the Spanish Netherlands in 1576: in *La Galatea* Cervantes employs the pastoral pseudonyms of Lauso, Damón and Australiano, for himself, Laynez, and Don Juan, respectively: "con cuya compañía [la del Lauso] todos se holgaron, especialmente Damón, su verdadero amigo, con el cual se acompañó todo el camino que desde allí a la ermita había, razonando diversos y varios acaecimientos que a los dos habían succedido después que dejaron de verse, que fue desde el tiempo que el valeroso y nombrado pastor Astraliano había dejado los cisalpinos pastos por ir a reducir aquellos que del famoso hermano y de la verdadera religión se habían rebeledo," (Cervantes, 1961, v.2, pp.93-94, emphasis mine). The "cisalpino pastos" refer to the northern region of Italy pertaining to Milan, which Don Juan de Austria abandoned in order to respond to rebellions in Flanders in 1576. Thus, Lauso (Cervantes) and Damón (Laynez) have not seen one another since their days in Italy. Cervantes was captured in 1575, but the author opted for a historical event--Don Juan to Flanders--to ground the narrative. For Laynez's sonnet to the Archduke, see: (Laynez, 1951, v.2, pp.195).

[148] "Sobre el acontecimiento hay la versión anónima de un testigo presencial, ayuda de cámara del Príncipe, obra, en nuestra opinión, del gran amigo de Cervantes, Pedro Laínez, que era el único escritor y poeta entre los ayudas de cámara de don Carlos," (Astrana Marín, 1949, v.2, pp.168).

[149] For Laynez's eclogues which voice himself (Damón) and Figueroa (Tirsi), see: (Laynez, 1951, v.2, pp.51-82).

Francisco de Figueroa, who pertained to the nobility of Alcalá, spent most of his early lyric career in Siena where he coincided with Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (ca.1550-ca.1560)[150]. It was in Siena, amidst the academies of the Intronati and Svegliati, that Figueroa would fall in love once and for all with the lady known as Fili in his pastoral verse. The pastoral--amorous and courtly--thrived in Siena during this period, a period which also initiated Figueroa into the linguistic battles of orthography launched by Giangiorgio Trissino (1478-1550) and Claudio Tolomei (1492-1556). (Trissino would later serve as a major influence in Cervantes' early dramaturgy: *La Numancia).*[151] Figueroa wrote in both Tuscan and Spanish and pursued the linguistic question both in his work[152], and, explicitly, in a 1560 letter to his old schoolmaster, Ambrosio de Morales, in which Figueroa expressed the desire,

> saber si se debe en nuestra lengua, como en la latina, italiana, y otras bárbaras, conformar la escritura con la pronunciación.
>
> (to know if it is owed in our language, as in that of Latin, Italian, and other barbarous languages, to conform the writing with the pronunciation.)[153]

He was in the service of Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517-1586) in France during the negotiation of the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis in 1559 which included the arrangement of Isabel's marriage to Philip. On July 27th, 1561 Cardinal Granvelle sent Figueroa with secret documents to Philip II in Madrid where he remained. From 1561-1567 Figueroa served as a resident in court in the personal service of Philip II in the *cuerpo de los cien continuos.*[154] From 1567-1571 he was in the service of the Count of Benavente, Viceroy of Valencia, and from 1571-1578 he oscillated between the court in Madrid and the university town of Alcalá. From 1578 to his death around 1588 or 1589, he retired from life as a lyric poet and courtier in

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[150] (Figueroa, 1989, pp.30)

[151] See, my article: (Ponce, 2011)

[152] For Figueroa's Tuscan poetry, nearly one third of his definitive work, see the following poems:"IX[A], "XII[A]" and "XII[B]", "XV[A]", "LV","LVI[A]", "LVII[A]", ":LVIII[A]", "LXV[A]", "LXVI", "LXVII", "LXVII[A]", "LXX[A]", "LXXXIII[A], [B]", "LXXXIV", "LXXXIX[A]", "CII[A]", "CV[A]", "CV[A]", "CXII[C]", "CXIII[A]", "CXIII[B]". (Figueroa, 1989, pp.127, 129, 131, 162, 167-168, 169-171, 172, 176-178, 178-181, 181-182, 183-184, 188, 201-202, 202, 205, 219, 222, 225, 230-231, 232-233, 233-235).

[153] (Figueroa, 1989, pp.28). The use of the word "bárbara" is a clear echo of Bembo and testiment to Figueroa's imersion in the Italian debates which would have such a forceful influence in Spain throughout the course of the sixteenth century. See: (Rico, 1993; and, Valdés, 1967).

[154] (Figueroa, 1989, pp.35-36).

Alcalá.[155] His late sonnet, "'¿Hay quién quiera comprar nueve doncellas..."(Is there anyone who wants to buy nine ladies)[iii], lamented the shift from the Neoplatonism of amorous *conceptista* poetry to the new *culteranismo*, as much as it did the floundering of poetic arts amid the disappearance of its most noble patrons all of whom had died in the preceeded decade[156]: Prince Carlos (d.1568), Queen Isabel de Valois (d.1568), Princess Juana de Austria (d.1573), Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (d.1575), Don Juan de Austria (d.1578), Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba, 3rd Duke of Sessa (d.1578), Queen Ann of Austria (d.1580), Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, 3rd Duke of Alba (d.1582), Fadrique Álvarez de Toledo, 4th Duke of Alba (d.1583).

During the 1560s, Luis Gálvez de Montalvo was in direct service to Enrique de Mendoza, grandson of the IV Duke of Infantado, who in 1560 at Philip's request formed a greeting party to meet with Isabel's arrival in Pamplona and also hosted the royal wedding weeks later at the Palace of Infantado in Guadalajara. In the service of Enrique, Gálvez de Montalvo accompanied the royal family to Toledo where they spent their first year and a half in the Alcázar of Toledo. Gálvez de Montalvo's pastoral novel, *El pastor de Fílida* pertains to this period. His poetry, exclusively dedicated to his own Neoplatonic love for Magdalena Girón, was encoded in the mouth of the shepherd, Siralvo, within his prose work. He also voiced the amorous lyrics

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[155] (Figueroa, 1989, pp.39-43). That Figueroa was no longer writing verse during the 1580s and that Laynez would die in 1584, strongly suggests that in the *Galatea*, Cervantes combined the fame of both poets during the 1560s with the more relaxed lyric and philosophical discourse of the inhabitants of Madrid in the 1580s. The publication of *Ninfas de Henares* by Bernardo González de Bobadilla in 1587 further attests to the fact that long after pastoral culture had died out in the Alcázar--following the death of Isabel de Valois in 1568 and Ann of Austria in 1580--students in the university towns of Alcalá and Salamanca kept this lived literary pasttime alive. This dissertation situates the *Galatea* in Madrid, on the banks of the river Tajo (which is a pseudonymonic reference to pastoral culture in Madrid), and in pertinance to the community of lyric authors, many of whom Cervantes had known in the court of Isabel in Madrid in the 1560s. The arrival of foreign shepherds from the river Henares clearly signals the continued interlopers, poets, students, noblemen, from Alcalá. Salamanca had a similar if less pronounced relationship to life in Madrid. In the absence of a centralized court culture due to Philip's increasing withdrawal within El Escorial, these urbanite poets formed communities and academies of their own which likely preserved earlier practices, and as Cervantes does in the prologue to the *Galatea*, lamented their decline. Ascanio Colonna was one of the most popular patrons for these academies and publications during the 1580s, though his pertinence follows directly after the composition of the *Galatea*. See: chapter 5 of this dissertation, as well as my article, (Ponce-Hegenauer, 2013).

[156]The nine ladies, of course, refer to the nine muses: Calliope, Clio, Euterpe, Erato, Melpomene, Polyhymia, Terpsichore, Thalia, Urania. Here the poem serves as an allegory for the suffering of the poet, a condition which Cervantes reprises throughout his later fiction (see particularly the *Don Quijote*, the *Gitanilla* and the *Coloquio de los perros).*

of several other shepherds, including his patron, throughout the novel. Both Laynez (Damón) and Figueroa (Tirsi) appear in this work. Gálvez de Montalvo's lyrics became the fullest iteration of this sensual Neoplatonism, or *erotic mysticism*, which was pervasive among the pastoral poets. His work was highly influential in Cervantes' thought, and manifest in both Cervantes' poetry for Queen Isabel and his subsequent verse and prose. I will return to Gálvez de Montalvo's biography, novel and lyric verse throughout this and the following chapter.

Miguel de Cervantes was twelve years old when Isabel became queen of Spain. His whereabouts, either in Córdoba and Sevilla with his father, or in Alcalá de Henares with his mother are unknown.[157] What is certain is that by the middle of Isabel's reign, in 1566 the entire Cervantes family resided in Madrid ("vecino de Madrid") and that in 1569 their presence in the court ("andante en corte") was clearly documented.[158] Whether Miguel preceeded his family in this sphere, and for how long, is unknown. What is clear is that by the fall of 1567 Cervantes, then twenty years old, employed his time as a poet, writing encomiastic verse for the Queen, and that by her death in October of 1568 he had become one of the premier poets of the court in Madrid. His verse is featured in the volume which commemorates her funeral exequies, published by López de Hoyos the following year.[159] I wish to underscore this, one of few, surviving facts regarding his teenage years in Madrid because it has been habitually derided and downscored by critics. In 1568, at the age of twenty-one, Miguel de Cervantes was the most important court poet in the service of the most powerful empire in the world. Like Ronsard in Paris, Veneziano in Palermo, and Bronzino in Florence, Cervantes in Madrid enjoyed the outset of his literary career at a peak which few poets ever achieved. His lament over the state of poetry, to be found in the prologue to the *Galatea* some fifteen years later, no doubt reflects his disappointments in the spheres of lyric verse following his return to Iberia from Algerian captivity late in 1580.

The extant biographical data of Gómez de Tapia, of which there is little to none, prohibits any identification of the poet with either a member of the royal family or another grandee; surely his service

[157] (See note: xciii)
[158] (Astrana Marín, 1949, v.2, pp.67-73 and 151-152)
[159] (Río Barredo, 2000, pp.57-63)

pertained to one of these. It is likely that he is the same licenciate Tapia who figures as an official lawyer in service (consejo) to the king in a contract with the book dealer Pierre Cosín at the close of the decade.[160] Notwithstanding, his eclogue which memorializes festivities with the royal family in the private royal residence at Aranjuez for the birth of Isabel's daughter, Isabel Clara Eugenia, in 1567 irrefutably places him within court life during this period. Unfortunately, only this eclogue and his 1580 translation, *La Lusiada* [sic], have survived. Finally, in 1556 Diego Ramírez Pagán was living in Valencia where he served as *capellán* to the Duke of Segorbe, but by 1557 he was known as a "poeta laureado por la universidad de Alcalá" (prize-winning poet of the University of Alcalá).[161] Again, no extant biographical data allows any identification of service within the Madrileño court. However, his friendship with Montemayor and Figueroa, both courtiers, and his service to the Dukes of Segorbe in Valencia tie him to the environment

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[160] There is one detail which would situate Tapia in the court of Madrid. It is in a footnote of Astrana Marín but thus far unconnected to the author. In August 1569 a licenciate Tapia is found in Madrid as a lawyer of the court in the service of the king and in relation to a contract with the bookseller Piere Cosín: "Obligación de Pierres Cosín, «impresor de libros en esta corte», de pagar al Licenciado Tapia, «abogado en esta corte y consejo de su majestad», 550 reales, por razón de tres balones de papel de Génova que de él compró, a pagar para el día de Todos los Santos «primero que verná».--Madrid, 16 de Agosto de 1569," (Astrana Marín, 1949, v.2, pp.8). This is the most likely explanation for Tapia's pertinence to the court and his eclogue pertaining to the fall of 1566. For extant biographical data on Tapia, see: (note: 128).

On Pierre Cosín: "Ya hemos dicho que al establecerse la primera imprenta en Madrid á nombre de Alonso Gómez y Pierres Cosín, éste puso la industria y el primero el capital, y que esta compañía, establecida en 1566, ya se había roto en 1568, en cuyo año uno de los dos imprimía por su cuenta y con imprenta propia. Imprimió hasta el año 1579 varias obritas, en que abundaban las erratas y escaseaban las buenas condiciones tipográficas. Alguna vez hizo uso de la letra gótica, ya estando solo, ya en compañía de Alonso Gómez. En dos ó tres libros puso las señas de su imprenta, ya de este modo: *A las espaldas de la Victoria*, ó ya de este otro: *In vico Divae Mariae á Victoria*. Es probable que el escudo primero del núm.31 se mandara grabar la compañía con Alonso Gómez, pues representa la fidelidad produciendo la abundancia. El grabador hizo las letras al revés, esto es, directas, y que por esta razón no hicieron uso de él. La leyenda dice: *Servata Fides ditat*; pero no debieron cumplirse las halagüeñas esperanzas de esta divisa, porque, disuelta la sociedad en 1568, no hubo tiempo para que los asociados se enriquecieran. Al fin de esta misma obra usó Pierres Cosín un escudo propio (grabad 2. del núm. 31) que representa la victoria de los buenos sobre la muerte, con esta leyenda: *Mors bonis vitae principium*. También hizo uso de otro escudo con la repetidísima alegoría del Fénix y estas leyendas: *Perieramus nisi perisseums.--Soli Isidi. S.* (Sacrum). En 1573 puso en la portada de las obras de Castillejo otra marca tipográfica, que es un Caduceo, con esta leyenda en una cinta: *Con descuido.* (Grab. del núm. 68)," (Pérez Pastor, 2000,v.1, pp.xxii-xxiii).

[161] (Pagán, 1950, pp.13).

described in this chapter, even if he did not explicitly pertain to the Alcázar in Toledo or Madrid.[162] The poet, Gregorio Silvestre (1534-1569), certainly passed through court life in Madrid during the decade of the 1560s, though he corresponded to circles in Granada and Seville to which Fernando de Herrera (1534-1597) also pertained[163]. Silvestre's "La Fábula de Dafnes y Apolo" and "La Fábula de Píramo y Tisbe" are indicative of the literary environment then thriving amongst poets in court and the surrounding urban spheres of Spain.[164] His appearance under the pseudonym of Silvano in Montalvo's pastoral novel indicates that he was at least on occasion present in the circle of poets in Toledo during the first year of Isabel's reign. It was during this same period that the Spanish poet, Francisco de Aldana (1537-1578) pursued a similar literary trajectory in Florence.[165]

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[162] (Pagán, 1950, pp.17)

[163] During these same years Herrera too experienced and unrequited love affair for a noble lady which would serve as the impetus for and inspiration in his lyric work: "Cuando algunos años después, el 1565 ó 1566, la Condesa [de Gelves, Leonar de Milán] y su esposo se establecieron definitivamente en Sevilla, el amor de Herrera se mostró explícito en sus versos. Alguna muestra de simpatía, lo expresivo, acaso, de sus ojos, 'que prometen mil bienes sin dar uno', engañaron al sensible poeta, haciéndole concebir una vana esperanza, que bien pronto disipó la rígida rectitud moral de doña Leonar.... Y así siguió durante varios años Herrera; consagrado por entero a lamentar su desgraciada pasión, llorando los fieros desdenes de su amada y 'su llaga mortal continuó abierta', ya bendiciendo el yugo que le esclavizaba, ya intentando refrenar su pasión y 'armar de duro ielo' su abrasado pecho; unas veces rebelándose contra el tirano Amora, ansiando alzarse varonilmente 'del grave peso que su cuello oprime', para caer, al fin, rendido con sus duras y a la vez gustosas cadenas," (Herrera, 1941, pp.xii-xiii, brackets mine). For more on Herrera, see: chapter 5 of this dissertation.

[164] (Silvestre, 1939, pp178-237)

[165] "Como joven florentino, adquirió Aldana no sólo un conocimiento del neoplatonismo, sino también, hasta cierto punto, esa actitud medio pagana de hedonismo filosófico que asimismo era típica de la Italia renacentista. Ficino había creído reconciliar el platonismo con la doctrina cristiana; pero el hedonismo siempre había de ser una desviación más o menos conosciente de los ideales ascéticos del cristianismo medieval. El espíritu que renacía con el estudio de los autores de la antigüedad pagana, de Horacio y de Virgilio, daba la nota pastoril que fué un elemento importante en la juventud de Aldana, pasada en las orillas del Arno," (Aldana, 1966, xiv).

See, for example, his "Soneto III":

> Hase movido, dama, una pasión
> entre Venus, Amor y la Natura
> sobre vuestra hermosísima figura,
> en la cual todos tres tienen razón...
> (*Ibid*, pp.4)

The pastoral poets of the 1560s were not limited to amorous verse. They typically cultivated four types of lyric verse: (1) encomiastic verse dedicated to nobility either in celebration during their lifetime or in elegiac fashion upon their deaths,[166] (2) religious poetry, though rarely *a lo divino*, or in the personal nature which defied the mandates of Counter-Reformation worship, as in the case of Montemayor[167], (3) encomiastic

[166] Figueroa's encomiastic verse includes poems dedicated to Don Juan de Mendoza, Marqués de Montesclaros; Livia Colonna; Prince Carlos; Cardinal Espinosa; Doña Francisca de los Angeles, (1989, pp.178-181, 186, 235-236, 239-240,242). Laynez's encomiastic poems are more numerous: Charles V; Luisa Sigea; to Leonor de Toledo upon the death of her husband, presumably Cosimo I de' Medici; Queen Isabel de Valois; Archduke Ernesto of Austria; Countess of Lerma; Princess Juana de Austria; Mary I of England; Prince Carlos; Don Juan de Austria, (1951, v.2, pp.155-162, 163-170, 170-172, 180-191,195, 215-216, 226 227, 250-251, 257-270). If Gálvez de Montalvo did in fact compose encomiastic verse none of it has survived or been recovered. All of Cervantes' first verses, composed exclusively for Queen Isabel de Valois, pertain to this first category: "Serenísima reina, en quien se halla", "Aquí el valor de la española tierra", "Cuando dejaba la guerra", "Cuando un estado dichoso", and "¿A quién irá mi doloroso canto," (1974, pp.325-335). I will discuss later in this chapter how poets imported the amorous trope of the divine lady to their encomiastic verse. Cervantes' 1567 sonnet to Isabel is explicit in this regard.

[167] Montemayor's devotional verse was censored in the 1559 Index of Prohibited Books. Figueroa was not a particularly religious poet; his verses are characterized by a decidely Ovidian pastoral world which takes place either in the landscapes of Italy or Spain, and usually alongside a river, and which take love as their sole subject matter. Nonetheless, the conceptual structures which he employs in his predominantly amorous verse can also be glimpsed in his few religious poems: Sonnets "XVI", CX", "CXVI", "CXVII"; and two poems dedciated to Fray Pedro de Huete, "CXX[A]" and "CXX[B]", (1989, pp.132,227-228, 237-238, 238-239, 246-247). Laynez's verses also predominantly pastoral (amorous and Ovidian, but more strongly influenced by Garcilaso and Montemayor) in nature are limited to a few religious compositions: "A la virgen nuestra señora", "Al viernes santo", and "Canción al mismo seráphico Sant Francisco" (1951, v.2, pp.196-197, 229, 334-341). Gálvez de Montalvo did not turn to religious verse until nearly two decades later, when following the publication of *El pastor de Fílida* he pursued royal aprobation for the publication of *Las doce elegías de Cristo* in 1584. The aprobation was denied by Philip II, perhaps due to the provocation of the pastoral novel; the work is now lost. Montalvo's religous turn does figure in the 1586 *Cancionero* of López Maldonado: "Soneto al libro de la Pasión, de Luis Gálvez de Montalvo" (2006, pp.37). Nonetheless, Montalvo's religious poetry does not pertain to the period of the 1560s. While Cervantes' verses for Queen Isabel carry a religous tenor, the poet did not compose explicitly religous verse until his encomiastic verses for Pedro de Padilla in the mid 1580s and later in the 1590s for contests put on by the confraternities. His religious verse was always occasioned and it is doubtful whether he ever wrote devotional verse of his own religious inquiry.

On Montemayor, Marcel Bataillon writes: "...portugués de ascendencia judía, músico de profesión, Montemayor fué uno de los primeros que sintieron la grave música de los Salmos, y el primero, sin duda, que intentó hacerla cantar en castellano con el ritmo nuevo del hendecasílabo. Hay auténticas bellezas en su adaptación del salmo *Super flumina Babylonis*.. Por lo demás, si el poeta sufrió la influencia de la piedad erasmiana, esta influencia se mezcla en él, como en Luis de Granda, con la de

verse in praise of the immortal or divine fame of poets, living and dead--this understudied aspect of Spanish verse is the earliest signal of canon formation among poets in Spain[168], and (4) amorous pastoral verse, Neoplatonic and highly conceptual, which drew primarily on the poetry of Petrarch and the mythology of Ovid.[169] Of these four types of verse, amorous poetry was the perceived path to immortal fame on the heals

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Savonarola..... En el Índice de 1559, la prohibición toma una amplitud muy diversa.... hasta las poesías devotas de Jorge de Montemayor," (1950, v.2, pp.208-209, 332-333).

[168] This truly understudied phenomenon in sixteenth-century Spanish verse deserves an article in full which would do much to flesh out the near absence of treatises on the art of poetry prior to 1580. Canon formation was delineated in the verse itself. For the moment I will limit this observation to those verses which pertain to the poets at hand. Figueroa did not typically write encomiastic verse to other poets. However his Tuscan sonnet which opens, "Nella mia verde età quand' aver suole/ Amor piú forza in giovenil pensiero" (1989, pp.172) betrays the strength of Petrarch's influence, see: (Petrarch, 2011, pp.3). For a thorough reading of these sonnets with full annotation of textual correspondence to Petrarch, Ovid, Virgil and Garcilaso, see: Christopher Maurer's edition (Figueroa, 1988). I have chosen López Suarez's 1989 edition because it distinguishes between known poems of Figueroa and those of dubious atribution, as the primary source for this chapter. Laynez's laudatory verses for other poets are numerous: 37 [Nemeros=Garcilaso], 42 [Garcilaso], 57 [Petrarch], 58 [Montemayor], "A Chistoual de las Casas", "A Antonio de Cabezón", "A Pedro de Padilla", "A Benito Caldera", (1951, v.2, pp.219-220, 222-223, 233, 233-234, 329-331, 331-332, 332, 333." Figueroa and Laynez wrote many poems to one another and as Tirsi and Damón, respectively, encoded one another in numerous pastoral eclogues. Cervantes would repeat this practice for both of them in the *Galatea*. Laynez wrote numerous aprobations for the publication of his friends throughout the 1580s. Gálvez de Montalvo most famously wrote an encomiastic sonnet for his friend, Cervantes, for the publication of the *Galatea* in 1585. His encomiastic work of the 1560s is unknown. Cervantes' likewise would not appear as an encomiastic poet in the frontmatter of other works until the 1580s. See: chapter 5 of this dissertation for lyrical friendships throughout the 1580s.

Though of great use, the recent *Antología en defensa de la lengua y literatura españolas (siglos xvi-xvii)*, makes no mention of developments made by poets in their epistles, verses and prose, (ed. García Dini, 2007)

[169] As the following paragraphs will show, these two key fonts (Petrarch and Ovid) served as a mimetic foundation for any number of additional influences: Dante and Virgil are not to be left out, but their influence was secondary. Boccaccio, Sannazaro, Ausias March, the Marquis de Santillana, and any number of Spanish *romances*, not to mention contemporaries beginning with Garcilaso and Boscán and stemming to any number of forgotten poets, played a role in the formation of this shared poetic space. Joseph G. Fucilla's studies on the poets of this period remain the definitive source on this aspect of their work, (1930 and 1932). See also: (Navarrete, 1994), however the author lamentably skips over Montemayor and this period entirely.

I use the term "font" here in the following sense: "Font...1. The process of casting or founding," (Murray, 1955, pp.728).

of Petrarch, Garcilaso and Montemayor.[170] Additionally, many of these courtly pastoral poets--Montemayor, Gálvez de Montalvo, Cervantes--sought to further commemorate this most idyllic and lyrically ambitious of genres with the pages of pastoral novels: *Diana* (1559), *El pastor de Fílida* (1582), *Galatea* (1585). Pedro Laynez's, now lost, full-length work, *Engaños y desengaños de amor*, presumably served a similar function; only fragments of this book-length eclogue remain.[171] The presence of Galatea in Laynez's lost work and Cervantes' intent to publish the poet's work from Esquivias following Laynez's death in 1584 suggests that both poets knew the lady whom the pseudonym concealed.[172] Encomiastic poetry was normatively part of the poet's livelihood of service and perpetual quest for continued patronage and protection from the Index of Prohibited Books. Religious poetry was often of an occasioned nature, as the various *certámenes* sponsored by religious confraternities would attest; this is to say, another manner of garnering support and earning money. Only amorous verse stood as an artistic inclination by which the poet sought to immortalize himself among the growing canon of classical and Renaissance authors which he took as his models.[173] All artistic

[170] As Sánchez de Lima wrote in his 1580 treatise on poetry, "Y sino, mirad quales tiene⁊ mayor no⁊mbre Hector, y Achiles por lo q⁊ue⁊ hiziero⁊n⁊, o Homero, y Virgilio por lo q⁊ue⁊ escriuiero⁊n⁊? Y dexa⁊n⁊do a parte estos, q⁊ue⁊ tanto enlos siglos passados, presentes y futuros fuero⁊n⁊, son y seran siempre nombrados: ta⁊m⁊bien en estos nuestros tie⁊m⁊pos se ha⁊n⁊ hallado, y halla⁊n⁊, y hallara⁊n⁊ autores q⁊ue⁊ han escripto, y cada dia escriuen cosas con que los discretos auiuan sus entendimientos, co⁊n⁊ que los discretos auiuan sus entendimientos, co⁊n⁊ los auisos, sentencias y dichos agudos, que por memoria de los tales autores han quedado, quedan, y quedaran hasta la fin del mundo. Y sino mirad a vn Petrarcha, Boscán, Monte Mayor, Garcilaso de la Vega, y Garci Sanchez de Badajoz: q⁊ue⁊ aunque ha muchos años q⁊ue⁊ son passados, hallareys que son harto mas no⁊m⁊brados agora por sus obras, q⁊ue⁊ en su vida lo fueron por sus personas," (1944, pp.21-22).

[171] See: (Laynez, 1951, v.2, pp.272-325) for remaining fragments of this lost work.

[172] For Cervantes and Laynez in Esquivias, see: (Astrana Marín, 1949, v.3, pp.405, generally pp.405-459).

[173] As Alonso de Ulloa wrote in the prologue to the1567 publication of Salusque Lusitano's translation of Petrarch's *Cancionero*, "Porque anfi como el que quiere hazer una Canion o un Mandrial en Tofcano, abre el Petrarca, y efcoge aquella, o aquel mas le agrada, y a fu femejança, en quanto a los verfos, y a la orden, compone la fuya, lo puedan los nueftros Efpañoles hazer, aunque tengan las obras de Bofcan, de Garcilaffo de la Vega, de Don Diego de Mendoça, de Iorge de Monte mayor, y de otros Autores, que con much grauedad y faber, han efcrito en efta fuerte de verfo, a imitacion del Petrarca," (1567, unpaginated, fol.5).

endeavors in verse were amorous and lyrical and all amorous lyrics, whether in verse or in prose, were encoded in the thinly mythologized space of the Spanish pastoral.[174]

Literature on the pastoral--antique, theoretical, Renaissance, and Spanish--is broad. Rosenmeyer (1969)[175] has developed a long historical scope dating to Theocritus, while Empson (1967)[176] has accorded to a decidedly theoretical and English investigation. Poggioli (1975)[177] has provided a firmly biblical and essentializing analysis, also of vast historical scope. Of thorough literary and historical reach, Paul Alpers' study, *What is Pastoral?* (1996), is unique in its extensive engagement with sixteenth-century Spanish texts, often left out in studies of Classical and European literary topographies. He acknowledges the particular and historical complexities of these sixteenth-century Spanish texts as derived from classical and European models, but also as developing a literary framework which was wholly new to literary history:

> The pastoral romance did not take the form in which we know it until Jorge de Montemayor's *Diana* (1559), which derives from Sannazaro, but in which the prose narration dominates and the poems appear embedded in it. ...

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[174] The epic would begin to garner interest beginning with Ercilla (1569), Camoes (1572), and Rufo (1584). However, on the whole Cervantes immediate milieu was dominated by lyric and pastoral poets.

[175] "In Petrarch and the Petrarcheggianti, nature's teaching is of a special kind: she activates memory. As the lover makes his way through the landscape which his sensibility links with his love, the recollection inflames his passion. In that sense, the poetry, the wisdom, is taught by the grove. Significantly, however, the Petrarchan disciple of nature is alone. The lovers of Petrarch and Sannazaro, and the enthusiasts of Shaftsbury and the romantics, confront a nature that is untouched; they are the solitary disturbers of a virgin calm. To this solitude which Petrarch, or perhaps his Provençal forerunners, introduced upon the European poetic scene, there is no equivalent in the ancient tradition," (Rosenmeyer, 1969, pp.184-185).

[176] Empson faintly picks up on the heterodox nature of the amorous pastoral, but his close readings of English texts do little to illuminate the Spanish moment of which this chapter treats: "At the same time as the unchristain deification of Elizabeth there is in the air a Renaissance desire to make the individual more independent than Christianity allowed; the two ideas are involved for instance in Tamburlane, the scourge of God (subjective or objective genitive) who calls himself master of Jupiter and the Fates and dies as a stoic in face of Necessity. The feeling for independence peeps out in the language about animals," (1974, pp.73).

[177] "The tradition of the pastoral mode was alien to this type of contrast, and its portrayal separates Garcilaso from his predecessors. Yet it brings him closer to those later writers who departed from the milder pastoral à la Sannazaro--in which the darkest pages never attained more than a deep melancholy or a hopeless pessimism--writers who created worlds of violence in the midst of an Arcadian setting: Montemayor in the *Diana*, Sir Philip Sidney in the *Arcadia*, and Cervantes in the *Galatea*," (Poggioli, 1982, pp.109). It is worth mentioning that these last three works to which Poggioli protests were all works which encoded lived courlty life under the pastoral veil and which made no pretense of recovering an ideal.

> The number and variety of pastoral narratives in European literature of the sixteenth century defy treatment in a book like this. Moreover, they emphatically show that Renaissance pastoral, far from being simply transnational, everywhere reflects cultural histories and interests that belong to specific languages and political-social entities.[178]

As this chapter will show, the pastoral of sixteenth-century Spain was deeply woven into the particular historical and cultural reality of the time. Avalle-Arce (1974) has developed a thorough literary analysis of the pastoral exclusively in early-modern Spain which also underscores the historical context of this literary evolution:

> En primer lugar, la elección de la pastoral como vehículo de la expresión del yo creado implica el pensarse en función del mito. O mejor dicho, la validez pasa a ser más que literaria para entrarse en las zonas de las posturas vitales. El gesto--como en el mundo de don Quijote--es aquí lo valedero, pues se basta para conferir a estas obras una nueva categoría histórico-humana, ya que no artística. La posibilidad--realidad--de que el escritor se piense como pastor debe dar el golpe de gracia a la opinión de aquellos que todavía ven la pastoril como un género falso.
>
> (In the first place, the election of the pastoral as a vehicle of expression of the 'created I' implies the thinking of oneself within the function of myth. Or better said, the validity surpasses that of the literary in order to enter into the zone of vital or lived postures. The gesture--as in the world of don Quijote--is here the binding one, it is sufficient to confer on these works a new category historical-human, beyond the aesthetic. The possibility-- the reality--that the writer is thought as a shepherd should deliver the final blow to the opinion of those who still see the pastoral as a false or artificial genre.)[179]

Irigoyen-García's recent study (2014) of the sociological aspects of the pastoral in Spain and Hernández-Pecorario's (2006) study of gender in Spanish pastoral literature are useful texts, but less pertinent to the historical moment out of which the literature developed.[180] Cody's (1969) exemplary study of Ficino, Neoplatonism and the conceptual frameworks of the pastoral in Tasso and Shakespeare overlooks the Spanish pastoral directly, however many of his observations resonate with the Spanish context:

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[178] (Alpers, 1996, pp.67, and pp.348)

[179] (Avalle-Arce, 1974, pp.143). See also: (Avalle-Arce, 1988)

[180] While empirical in its detailed history of economic and sociological aspects of sheep-herding in early modern Spain, Irigoyen-García overlooks the central conceit of sixteenth-century pastoral literature, mainly that encoded and commemorated the cultures of the court and the aesthetic circles derivative of the court: "Furthermore, the identification between "pastoral" and the terminology of sheep herding is more immediate in Spanish. English *pastoral* and French *pastorale* refer both to the bucolic literary genre and evangelical care, but, although there is a common awareness that "pastoral" derives from the Latin root of sheep herding, these languages use different words to refer to the actual person who guards sheep...," (2014, pp.27). Hernández-Pecoraro similarly mistakes the pastoral motif for an idylic rather than reflective space. She writes, "...a careful consideration of the relationship between the male shepherds makes apparent how *La Diana* and the *Galatea* inadvertently depict the disquieting persistence of class hierarchy and servitude within the equality of the bower. The main thrust of my argument in this section, however, focuses on the occasional yet significantly disruptive persistence of a feminine agency that is otherwise subsumed in the idealized and objectified figure of the shepherdess that the male lovers constantly recall," (2006, pp.27-28). Religious poetry, such as that of *fray* Luis de León, also drew heavily on the image of the shepherd. However, this usuage should not be conflated with the literary pastoral.

> To the literature of passion Tasso brings the Renaissance Italian trick of sublimation, a variation of the *dolce stil nuovo* and Petrarchism: romantic myth transposed to conscious art. ... Such a combination is feasible and even powerful because both the courtly myth and the myth of the shepherd imply a communion of the pure. ... This is the fascination of pastoral, the secret that makes it the poetry of poetry--that it is not to be understood unless one grants that it is more than mere literature.[181]

As cultural practice in the court of Isabel makes visible, the courtly myth was still a historical reality, though often without hope of satisfaction, at the middle of the century.[182] It was by way of courtly love, as practiced within this cultural milieu, that the Arcadian myth was given actual form and shape.[183] Of recent texts, Lavocat's article, "Playing Shepherd: Allegory, Fiction, Reality of Pastoral Games" in the volume, *Pastoral and the Humanities* (2006), has provided incisive additions to the observations of Alpers, Avalle-Arce, and Cody. On Montemayor he observes:

> Indeed, it is as if the revelatory motifs at the heart of the hermeneutic endeavor to which allegory gives rise have been converted into factual, novelistic elements.[184]

In the case of Figueroa and Laynez historical data has not allowed for the identification of the beloved lady alluded to in their works. Yet, little doubt remains that Tirsi (Figueroa) was enamored in Siena and that it was in Siena that he cultivated his first endeavors in the pastoral mode.[185] Like Gálvez de

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[181] (Cody, 1969, pp.60-61, emphasis mine)

[182] "It was indeed during the Middle Ages, perhaps around the twelfth century, that behavior at court became a model for that of other people, that the court became a space, locale or milieu central to what Elias calls the 'civilizing process'. The term *curialitas*, 'courtesy', defined by one writer as 'nobility of manners', entered Latin at the turn of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.... All the same, the courtly ideal was spread over much of Europe by the poetry of the troubadours and by the 'courtly romance' (*roman courtois*), a story written about knights, for knights, and not infrequently by knights (the examples of Wolfram von Eschenbach and Sir Thomas Malory, among others, show that the 'literature as knight' was not an unrealistic ideal). This new literary genre reveals fusion, or more exactly, the unstable mixture of chivalry with courtesy, the values of the battlefield with those of the court.... In Italy, for example, the fusion of *cavalleria* and *cortesia* may be illustrated from Ludovico Ariosto's rewriting of the story of Roland in his epic poem *Orlando Furioso*, first published in 1516..... In Spain, romances of chivalry seem to have been particularly popular in the early sixteenth century, with at least 157 editions between 1501 and 1550," (Burke, 1996, pp.14-17).

[183] "As the English writer George Puttenham observed in 1589, the pastoral's true purpose was not to take up rural subjects or themes directly, but instead to use them as an aesthetic filter or "veil" through which to "insinuate and glance at greater matters," (Martin, 2011, pp.8).`

[184] (Lavocat, 2006, pp.71)

[185] "Allí volvería [a Siena con el rechazo de los frances por las tropas españolas en 1555] a la práctica de una *urbanitas* y a integrarse en un entorno cortesano de repetidas reuniones genticilias que, durante el día, se celebraban en los más atractivos lugares de la ciudad para educar el gusto musical y coral... y que la noche transforma en prologadas veladas donde el ingenio se educa a través de «operazioni virtuose e gentili nelle quali si andava rafforzando l'eloquenza di tutti gli spiriti pronti del tempo». No en vano el tratado restrospectivo de Bagagli (*Diálogo de'Giuochi*) recuperaría en 1572 un tiempo y un

Montalvo it appears that his first love proved the dictum, *basta un amor para una vida.* Even in his later Spanish sonnets he laments his own constancy:

> Déjame en paz, Amor, ya te di el fruto
> de mis más verdes y floridos años,
> ...
> Mas no me des, Amor, nuevo cuidado
> ni pienses que podrá nueva herida
> romper la fe que nunca fue doblada.
> (Leave me in peace, Love, I already gave you the fruit
> of my green and flowering years,
> ...
> But you wont' let me be, Love, new care
> don't even think that a new injury
> can break the faith that never was returned.)[186]

The identity of Laynez's beloved has likewise been lost. The poet easily switches from "pastora" to "señora", making it clear that his verse was as much intended for a courtier as for the literary Arcadia which encoded her; as I have said, his verse was composed predominantly in the context of his life within the royal palace. The thin boundary between palace life and pastoral love is mostly easily lifted in the work of Gálvez de Montalvo, whose novel, *El pastor de Fílida*, is a thinly veiled depiction of amorous interludes taken from the earliest years of Isabel's reign. I will return to this book later on in this chapter. For all of the poets who pertained to this milieu, this literature of immediacy brought aesthetic forms into cultural practice and also voiced the experience of the poet as directly tied to biographical experiences. This aspect of pastoral literature--either in verse or in prose--directly involved the lyric subjectivity of the author in his literary works.

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comportamiento inteletual de la aristócrata y cortesana sociedad senesa del XVI, no muy lejana del modelo que Castiglione inmortalizó en su *Cortegiano*...la cultura se hacía praxis lúdica..., pasatiempo formativo donde se leían a los clásicos como Dante, las rimas de la *Arcadia*, las de Petrarca, las de Bembo o la prosa de Boccaccio.... Estas veladas academicistas, actualizadoras del lema *de mundo non curare*, encuentran en la tradición bucólica, con la nueva simbología aportada por el mundo cortesano, una perfecta vía para expresar sus inquietudes culturales. Así podrá explicarse cómo Figueroa aprende en Siena con mayor inmediatez esta tradición, y por ella recurrirá a denominarse a sí mismo Tirsi, en perfecta práctica pastoril, mientras la amada, en análoga razón, se llamará Fili y su rival amante será Fileno," (Figueroa, 1989, pp.26-27, brackets mine).

[186](Figueroa, 1989, Sonnet "CXI", pp.228)

As the two major poets of the 1560s, Laynez and Figueroa represent the confluence of two pastoral models, the Spanish amorous lament found in Garcilaso and Montemayor and the Petrarchan and Ovidian adulation of the beloved lady more particular to the Italian context, respectively.[187] Both poets used to the personified deity of "Amor" as a recipient of their verses when their verses were not directed toward the beloved lady or more generally in a narrative sense toward a reading public. In Laynez "Amor" is a threat which figures as a captor ("del grave iugo que el Amor condena")[188], as death ("Bien se puede Amor cruda homicida")[189], as a web ("universal red peligroso")[190], and hell ("que os dexa a llanto eterno condenado").[191] In the lyrics of Figueroa "Amor" is celebrated: "Bendito seas, Amor, perpetuamente", (Blessed be, Love, perpetually).[192] While Figueroa at times enters into laments over his suffering, his lyrics are slow to condemn either the beloved lady or "Amor". He is also more Ovidian in nature than Laynez; his poetry includes lyrics to Venus, allusions to Pigmaleon, the Three Graces, Echo, and Endimion.[193] That Ovid was a pervasive influence throughout these decades is evident in the sonnet which López Maldonado composed for

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[187] The lyrics of Figueroa and Laynez brought to life a pastoral which was classically Greek in nature. The *Eclogues* of Virgil characterize the tone and ambience of Garcilaso's pastoral verse. Ovid's *Metamorphosis* was evidently influential in Montemayor's imaginative concept of the pastoral world and it carried through to the next generation of poets. Virgil's contempleative nature, meanwhile, is less pronounced in their verse.

[188] (Laynez, 1951, v.2, Sonnet "7", pp.199)

[189] (Laynez, 1951, v.2, Sonnet "26", pp.212)

[190] (Laynez, 1951, v. 2, Sonnet "32", pp.216)

[191] (Laynez, 1951, v.2, Sonnet "55", pp.231-232)

[192] (Figueroa, 1989, Sonnet "VI", pp.123)

[193] (Figueroa, 1989, "XXXIII", "XXIV", "XXX", "XXXVIII", "Glosa de Figueroa en liras", pp. 146, 136, 142, 150, 199-202) to name only a few. This group was well involved in the repeated translations and comentaries on Ovid which occurred throughout the century, such as in 1554. Notable for the group of poet's directly conversant with both Figueroa and Cervantes, is the laudatory sonnet which López Maldonado composed to the *licenciado* Viana for inclusion in the 1589 printing of his translation of *Las transformaciones de Ovidio*...(Valladolid: Diego Fernández de Córdoba, 1589). The printing likely refers not to a printer of Valladolid, but to the Marquis of Guadalcázar for whom the volume was printed. López Maldonado, also wrote a laudatory sonnet for Cervantes' *Galatea* and, I will demonstrate (see chapters 5 and 6) appeared under the pseudonym of Lenio in the novel: the debate which Lenio (López Maldonado) and Tirsi (Figueroa) undertake on Love represents Cervantes most expansive gloss of the philosophy of León Hebreo and the *cosmos of erotic mysticism* of the novel. Pérez de Moya's *Philosofía secreta de la gentilidad* of 1585 is paradigmatic of mythography which was already being undertaken by way of the mimetic process in lyric works of verse and prose. This is evident as early as the poetry of Boscán and Garcilaso, and pronounced in the lyric culture of the second half of the century,.

Viana's 1589 translation.[iv] In Laynez the pastoral is more Iberian than Italianate, and allusions to classical names of shepherdesses more obviously refer to Spanish ladies of the court. Nonetheless, the manner of love, sensually neoplatonic and directly informed by the philosophy of León Hebreo is pronounced in each and it was this conceptual framework from whence their emotions arose which united them in this particular school of lyric verse. The eyes of the beloved, as gateway to the soul, become the sun of the poet's world. The poet's soul is inextricably linked to the soul of his beloved. This was a belief which extended from the aesthetics of lyric verse and prose into the ways in which poets and courtiers lived. The extent to which Lope's unhappy affair with Elena Osorio conditioned much of his writing, for example, has been well-explored by Alan Trueblood.[194] Whether on the banks of the Tajo or Henares or in the palace or in the urban spheres of Madrid, this was the dominant problematic for lovers and poets during the decade of the 1560s. I will treat more of this *mystical eroticism* in the following pages on Gálvez de Montalvo. However, Hebreo's philosophy was pronounced in both Figueroa and Laynez, and his work directly informed Figueroa's inheritence of Petrarch:

> Voi sola li volgerete ov'a voi piaccia,
> e sarete de' miei occhi e pensieri
> ogetto solo,...
> (You alone become wherever you like
> and you will be of my eyes and thought
> sole object)[195]

Or, as Laynez writes:

> Pinto en mi alma vuestra figura

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[194] "It expresses an avid embracing of life, an impulse to accumulate rather than simply distill sensations. It is true that in the long run one detects in Lope a trend toward increasing purity and refinement of poetic expression, one which will culminate in the exquisite diction and imagery of certain lyrics of *La Dorotea*. This trend, however, contends with a certain impatience and tumultuousness of manner which translates Lope's eager and unrestrained responsiveness to the multifarious stimuli of the world. Teh sacred and the profane become all one for Lope's "undissociated" sensibility, capable as it is of shuttling between the spheres of the divine and the human with no change of tone or inflection. He lives the life of all the senses with particular keenness, at the sensuous as well as the senual level. As a poet he is, like Lorca, a professor of the five bodily senses; his sensory alterness extends to the kinesthetic and the organic; at times sensory association can be observed setting his memory processes in motion," (Trueblood, 1974, pp.12)

[195] (Figueroa, 1989, "LXV[A]", pp.177)

no hecha de pinçel sino entallada
la uiua tan al propio trasladada
que ualgo lo que soy por la figura
No tengo mas ualor que la pintura
y en esto esta mi alma confirmada...

(I paint in my soul your figure
not made of a paintbrush, but tailored
to life such that the same [living thing] is transposed
[and] so that I am worth what I am by that figure[;]
I don't have any further worth than the picture
and this my soul is confirmed)[196]

In this framework, the lady quickly replaced both "Dios" and "Amor" as the presiding and supreme divinity of the poet's world, governess of his soul, as in Laynez:

¿Quién loando os dará tan alta muestra
que muestre el bien que el cielo en vos nos muestra?

Cuyo valor y ser tan sobrehumano
y el alto entendimiento muestran claro
en vos resplandecer vn ser diuino.

(Who in lauding you will give such a high demonstration
which demonstrates the Good that the sky in you demonstrates?
[You] whose value and being so supernatural
and the high *entendimiento* [mind/comprehension] demonstrates clearly
in you shines a divine being.)[197]

This highly conceptual form of poetry characterized lyric and pastoral works throughout the second half of the sixteenth century. It was in the face of the ornate linguistic acrobatics of *culturanismo* of the late

[196] (Laynez, 1951, v.1, pp.416)
[197] (Laynez, 1951, v.2, pp.127). This excerpt is taken from a lengthy "Canción" to Galatea. For full poem, see: pp.124-129. The syntax of the first two verses are closely mirrored in the *Don Quijote* in the passages which keep Alonso Quijano up at night and lead to his madness: "La razón de la sinrazón que a mi razón se hace, de tal manera mi razón enflaquece, que con razón me quejo de la vuestra fermosura," (Cervantes, 1998, pp.38). For the conceptual underpinnings of pastoral love poetry in the *Quijote*, see: chapter 6 of this dissertation.

sixteenth and early seventeenth century that the continuers of this tradition would react. But in the 1560s the notion of *culturanismo* was still distant on the horizon. As the courtly love tradition met with humanistic and sensual Neoplatonism and Counter-Reformation Catholicism, the lyric works of the shepherd poets developed an increasingly heterodox poetry of *erotic mysticism* by way of which the divinity of the beloved lady reached new heights and forever changed the way in which erotic love was conceptualized and articulated in literature. Moreover, the way in which erotic love was rendered in literary art changed the ways in which love manifest and was experienced within the court.[198] This mutually conditioning process of continual mimesis and experienced affect, both on the page and in the palace, produced a fervently imaginative and ardently amorous atmosphere throughout the decade. And, consequently, this heterdox and spiritual conceptualization of erotic love (which drew together eros, agape and philia in a single unity) freed the soul of the poet from more doctrinal frameworks, and allowed for lyric subjectivity to take on an autarchic or ingenious position in the existential world. This was, as I have said, largely in keeping with León Hebreo's *Dialogues of Love* which had appeared in French translation dedicated to Isabel's mother, Catherine de Medici, in 1551 while Isabel was still a princess in her mother's court. Originally composed in Latin at the outset of the sixteenth century, the dialogues were in wide circulation throughout the continent, both in the original Latin as well as in the vernaculars and in Hebrew.[199] When the first Spanish translation of the *Dialogues* was published in 1568, Hebreo's writings were already diffuse amongst the nobility and authors of the Spanish court.[200] As Menéndez Pelayo observed:

> La oscuridad que unevuelve la persona de Judas Abarbanel no se extiende a su libro, que, por el contrario, es muy conocido, y ha sido impreso repetidas veces, influyendo portentosamente en los místicos y en los poetas eróticos del siglo XVI.
>
> (The obscurity which conceals the person of Judas Abarbanel does not extend to his book, which, on the contrary, is very well known, and which had been printed repeatedly, extraordinarily influential in the mystics and in the erotic poets of the sixteenth century.)[201]

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[198] To avoid the tedious repetition of "erotic love" throughout this chapter I will heretofore simply use the word "love" to denote "erotic love" unless otherwise clearly specified.

[199] (Hebreo, 1993, pp.47-55). There remains within studies of Hebreo the possibility that the original version of the *Dialogues* was composed in Hebrew.

[200] *Los Diálogos de Amor de Mestre Leon Abarbanel Medico y Filosofo excellente. De nuevo traduzido en lengua castellana y deregidos a la Magestad de rey Filippo.* Venice: 1568.

[201] (Menéndez Pelayo, 1962, pp.11). For Menéndez Pelayo's full gloss of Hebreo's text, see: pp. 11-43 in the same volume.

More importantly, Hebreo's text was the key philosophical treatise behind Montemayor's *Diana* and it would form the bedrock of Cervantes' own philosophical outlook for the duration of his literary career, particularly manifest in the *Galatea* but pursued all the way through the *Persiles y Sigismunda.*[202] As José-María Reyes Cano observes:

> En cuanto a su resonancia en España...para darnos cuenta del impacto que una obra de este tipo (que venía, por otra parte, a ahondar en la brecha abierta por *El Cortesano*) causó en la literatura de la época, tanto en poesía como en prosa, ... de los Argensola, Villamediana, Figueroa o, finalmente, Jorge de Montemayor y Cervantes, autores estos últimos que en la *Diana* y en el libro IV de *La Galatea*, respectivamente, no sólo continúan y siguen una vía amorosa neoplatónica, sino que llegan a reproducir pasajes completos de los *Diálogos de amor* de Hebreo.
>
> (As far as its resonance in Spain...to give us an idea of the extent of the impact that a work of this time (which came, from another side, to deepen the breach opened by the *Book of the Courtier*) caused in the literature of the epoch, as much in the poetry as in the prose, ... of the Argensola, Villamediana, Figueroa or, finally, Jorge de Montemayor and Cervantes, authors these last two who in the *Diana* and in Book 5 of *La Galatea*, respectively, not only continued and followed an amorous Neoplatonic path, but who managed to reproduce complete passages of the *Dialogues of Love* of Hebreo.)[203]

Hebreo's text provided the key philosophical structure behind the way amorous poetry was thought, felt, lived and written. Its impact gave shape to the way in which the beloved was conceptualized as the *lady of his thoughts* and keeper, not only of the poet's heart, but also of his soul. This was in conjunction with the widespread influence of Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier* which had been translated into Spanish by Juan Boscán in 1534.[204] These two texts brought together the courtly myth and the myth of Neoplatonic love under the literary rubric of the myth of the pastoral. And yet, far from retreating into what have been

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[202] As Cervantes states in the prologue to the first part of the *Don Quijote* in 1605: "Si tratáredes de amores, con dos onzas que sepáis de la lengua toscana, toparéis con León Hebreo que os hecha las medidas," (Cervantes,1999 , pp.16). Menéndez Pelayo observes: "pero es cierto que en el libro IV de esa novela pastoril [*La Galatea*], primicias del juvenil ingenio del rey de nuestros escritores, se intercala una controversia de amor y de hermosura (enteramente escolástica hasta en la forma) entre *el discreto Tirsi* [Francisco de Figueroa] y *el desamorado Lenio* [unidentified], y que el sentido de esta controversia es enteramente platónico y derivado de León Hebreo, hasta en las palabras, de tal suerte que podríamos suprimirlas, a no ser por la reverencia debida a todas las que salieron de la pluma de Cervantes," (1962, p..71, brackets mine). For full discussion: (*Ibid*, pp.71-74). See: (López Estrada, 1952) on the *Galatea*. For Hebreo and the *Persiles*, see: (Wilson, 1991). For a more thorough treatment of love in the *Galatea*, (see: chapters 5 and 6).

[203] (Reyes Cano, see: Hebreo, 1993, pp.59)

[204] "The Spanish translation of 1534 was the first into a foreign language, appropriately enough, given the author's years in Spain. The translator was Juan Boscà Almogáver (a Catalan patrician, though writing in Castilian and better known as Juan Boscán). A leading Spanish poet in the manner of Petrarch, Boscán was aware of contemporary Italian discussions of creative imitation, which he practiced in his prose as well as his poetry. At least twelve and perhaps as many as sixteen editions of his translation had been published by the end of the sixteenth century (three of them in Antwerp)," (Burke, 1995, pp.62-63).

considered fantastical topologies (the Courtly, Platonic and Arcadian archetypes), the courtiers and authors of the 1560s actualized and reinvented these exemplars in the space of their own lives through the lens of their own particular passions. Within this erudite topography of forms, lived experience reorganized literary expectations so that the world of experience was allowed to shape the world of forms. Because the shepherd-poets took seriously literary myths and Neoplatonic doctrines within their own lives the path to a poetry of *erotic mysticism*, heterodox as it may seem, was easily and fully laid out before them.

> Por una parte, como la crítica ha puesto de manifiesto, los tratados, las discusiones amorosas representadas en *El Cortesano* y en los *Diálogos de amor* (habría que añadir también *Los Asolanos* de Bembo) no fueron muy del gusto de la Iglesia, la cual, ya desde antes de la Contrarreforma y del Concilio de Trento, había ejercitado la suficiente presión para que principalmente la lírica amorosa fuese adquiriendo un cierto tono y significado espiritual y transcendente que en un principio lo era ajeno, lo que desembocó en los *contrafacta*, las versiones *a lo divino* de la literatura profana.
>
> (On the one hand, as criticism has shown, the treatises, the amorous discussions found in *The Book of the Courtier* and in the *Dialogues of Love* (it should also be added *The Asolanos* of Bembo) were not much in keeping with the tastes of the Church, which, already since the Counter-Reformation and the Council of Trent, had exercised sufficient previsions in order that principally the amorous lyric went about aquiring a certain tone and spiritual significance and transcendence which at the start was distant, it that flowed into the contrafactum, the versions *in the style of the divine* of the profane literature.) [205]

In spite of the Index of Prohibited Books--it should not be forgotten that both Montemayor's verse and prose had been subjected to prohibition and expurgation--the strength with which these treatises conditioned the mindset of the court occasioned a poetry in which the divine beloved replaced the traditional monotheistic-god ("Dios") of the mystic poets who pertained to the same century. Unfortunately, much of what has been written on *poesía a lo divino* has overlooked the *erotic mysticism* of these sixteenth-century poets and the culture to which they pertained.[206] Nonetheless, Menéndez Pelayo was quick to link Hebreo to the erotic poets of Spain and to include Cervantes among them:

> en los poetas eróticos, tales como Camoens, Herrera y Cervantes, los cuales, como que no procedían discursiva sino intuitivamente, y no aspiraban al lauro de fundadores de ninguna escuela metafísica, ni cifraban su gloria en la contemplación especulativa, sino que tomaban sus ideas del medio intelectual en que se educaban y vivían, nos dan mucho mejor que los

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[205] (Hebreo, 1993, pp.57)

[206] On the religious poetry *a lo divino* Wardropper has aptly observed: "Es la canción antigua, cuyo efecto conmovedor ha probado la experiencia, la que sigue conmoviendo. Otra vez sale triunfante la sencillez. Y no es que la sencillez sea una virtud poética, como se creía en el siglo XIX, sino que la técnica del *contrafactum* la exige. En las versiones a lo divino se trata de un tema *conocido* de una manera *sencilla* para conseguir un efecto deseado: el estímulo de la devoción directa y afectiva en las almas simples para quienes el dogma--la elaboración teológica de un fenómeno histórico--queda sin significación personal. En esto estriba la diferencia entre el arte de Valdivielso y el de Calderón: el poeta de la penitencia no pide a su lector más que lágrimas; el poeta dogmático le piede, además de una reacción afectiva, la comprensión intelectual de la emoción," (1958, pp.172). Unfortunately, while many corallaries could be drawn between the religious poets and the amorous poets Wardropper did not include the pastoral poets of *erotic mysticism* in his study.

filósofos de profesión, ya escolásticos, ya místicos, ya independientes, el nivel de la cultura estética de su edad, mostrándonos prácticamente y con el ejemplo, cómo depuraban y transformaban estas ideas la manifestación poética del amor profano, y cómo al pasar éste por la red de oro de la forma poética, perdía cada vez más su esencia terrena, y llegaba a confundirse en la expresión con el amor místico, como si el calor y la intensidad del afecto depurase y engrandeciera hasta el objeto mismo de la pasión.

(in the erotic poets, such as Camoes, Herrera and Cervantes, who, who did not proceed discursively but rather intuitively, and who did not aspire to the laurel of founders of any metaphysical school, nor did they root their glory in speculative contemplation, but rather took up their ideas from intellectual means in which they were educated and lived, they give us much better than the philosphers by profession, the scholastics, the mystics, the independents, the level of cultural aesthetics of their age, showing practically and by example, how they refined and transformed these ideas with the poetic manifestation of profane love, and how this by passing through the golden net of poetic form, it lost more each time its earthly essence, and arrived to be confused with the expression of mystic love, as if the heat and intensity of the affect refined and egrandized into the same object of passion.) [207]

This ecstatic contemplation of the divine beloved enacted by lyric poets of the period was given full weight by León Hebreo in the third dialogue on the origin of love which addresses amorous meditation. To his beloved Sofía, *diosa de mi deseo* (godess of my desire)[208], Filón explains:

...te diré que mi mente, abstraída en contemplar, como suele hacerlo, la belleza que se ha formado en ti, grabada su imagen en ella y siempre deseada, me ha hecho desatender los sentidos experiores.... si tu expléndida hermosura no me hubiese entrado por los ojos, no me habría podido lacerar tanto como lo hizo los sentidos y la fantasía; y si no hubiese penetrado hasta el corazón, no habría tomado mi mente por eterna morada (como lo hizo), llenándola con la escultura de tu imagen....El éxtasis o enajenamiento causado por la cavilación amorosa, que es más de media muerte.

(...I will tell you that my mind, absorbed in [the] contemplation [of], as it happens to do it, the beauty which has been formed in you, recorded your image in it [the mind] and always desired [your image], has caused me to discard the exterior senses...if your splendid beauty had not entered me by way of the eyes, it would not have been able to lacerate me as much as it did in both my senses and my fantasy; and if [your beauty] hadn't penetrated to my heart, it would not have taken my mind as its eternal dwelling, filling it with the sculpture of your image...The ecstasy or alienation caused by the amorous meditation, which is more than [a] half death). [209]

Here Neoplatonic contemplation of the beloved *materia* (the beautiful lady) as *forma* (the thought of her) leads to the transcendent ecstasy more commonly associated with religious mystics without ever departing from the lady towards a universal godhead. This implicitly liberated the poet's lyric subjectivity (Dasein, soul) as

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[207] (Menéndez Pelayo, 1962, pp.65).

[208] Lest this term get wrapped up in the psychoanalytic discourse on *desire*, it should be remembered that since Augustine the *desire* or the *Will* (*Voluntad*) comprised the future-oriented component of the tripartite structure of the soul. Within the terms of Hebreo and his sixteenth-century readers the spiritual dimensions of this term were self-evident.

[209] (Hebreo, 1993, pp. 326-327). Reyes Cano underscores Hebreo's conceptual framework in explicit relation to lyric verse: "Hay que aludir, por último, a otro elemento que se integra en la cultura de estos momentos: la literatura trovadesca, que encuentra un perfecto acomodado en los programas del *Dolce stil nuovo* y a cuya casuística se le inyecta la suficiente carga filosófica como para que unos moldes poéticos antiguos, ya convertidos en meros tópicos, adquieren nueva fuerza, se revaloricen y salgan otra vez a la luz como portadores de unos nuevos significados: el caso de la rendición del amado ante la amada, por ejemplo, presente en los *Diálogos*, o la utlización de la imagen de la mujer como un ser cuya belleza es capaz de transportar al amado a la contemplación de la belleza suprema," (Hebreo, 1993, pp.32).
It is important to understand that Hebreo was as an inheritor of Petrarch and troubadour poetry as any of the poets who inherited Hebreo.

active within the space of the sensual or existential world. Filón is very clear about the process: he experiences her sensually by way of the eyes; and the affect penetrates through to his heart; by way of his heart she occupies his mind forever. The experience is at once sensual, emotional and metaphysical. The eyes are the organ or sense which facilitate this process because they connect at once to both the corporeal and metaphysical world. Filón explains:

> Puede ver que el órgano de la visión es más claro, espiritual y de mayor artificio que el de los otros sentidos. Los ojos no parecen a las otras partes del cuerpo; no son de carne, sino brillantes, diáfonos y espírituales; parecen estrellas y aventajan en hermosura a las demás partes del cuerpo.
>
> (It can be seen that the organ of vision is more clear, spiritual and of greater artifice than those of the other organs. The eyes do not seem to be like the other parts of the body; they are not flesh, rather [they are] brilliant, diaphanous and spiritual; they seem like stars and overtake in beauty the other parts of the body.)[210]

The primacy which Filón places on the heart in relation to affect throughout his body, his mind and soul, was in keeping with medical doctrines of the day, such as Velázquez's *Libro de la Melancholía*, [211] and it mirrors the experience which had already been described by Petrarch in several sonnets of his *Canzoniere.*[v] Moreover, it is the heart which sustains whilst the other organs, even the digestive organs, go dormant during amorous meditation. And it is the heart which connects the superior part (metaphysical, emotional, spiritual functions) of the body with the inferior (digestive, sexual, reproductive functions):

> el cuerpo humano sólo manda en la función vital del corazón, de la que te he dicho que es continuo guardián de la vida. Esta facultad ocupa un sitio intermedio, por lugar y dignidad, entre todas las del cuerpo humano y enlaza la parte superior con la inferior.
>
> (the human body is in the sole charge of the vital function of the heart, which I have told you is the continual guardian of life. This faculty occupies an intermediate space, in both place and dignity, amongst all others of the human body and it it connects the superior part with the inferior.)[212]

Again, Filón experiences sensually and metaphysically by way of his eyes and by way of this sensory experience, his heart is affected. From his eyes and heart, he retreats into himself, intellect and soul, in

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[210] (Hebreo, 1993, pp.343)

[211] " Es el corazón de tanta excelencia, dignidad y primacía, que han querido afirmar algunos, que es el más principal de todos nuestros miembros principales: porque es fuente, principio, y origen de nuestro calor natural. Sin cuya lesión ni daño nadie puede morir: aunque sea el daño gravísimo en cualquiera otra parte," (Velázquez, 1585, pp. B4 r, transcription mine). While Velázquez's text was not published until 1585, it builds upon medical understandings in circulation throughout the previous decades.

There is no space to treat of contemporary affect theory and the way in which affect was conceptualized in the sixteenth-century in the space of this dissertation. However, it should be noted that love was always first a sensual experience and usually heavily conditioned by the sense of sight. For Hebreo on sight and the eyes, see "Amor de lo bello, intelectual y sensible, causa de las mutaciones del alma y de la luna", dialogue III, 2.2,: (Hebreo, 1993, pp. 359-362).

[212] (Hebreo, 1993, pp.333-334)

amorous contemplation. It is important to understand that Filón's conception of the superior part of the body is more complex than our modern idea of "reason" or the "mind". The *entendimiento* (comprehension) was also one of the three constituents of the tripartite structure of the soul, oriented to the present-tense this was a receptive faculty. The function described by Hebreo is at once intellectual, emotional and metaphysical:

> Cuando la mente espiritual (que es corazón de nuestra corazón y alma de nuestra alma), por la fuerza del deseo, se retrae en sí misma para contemplar un objeto íntimo y deseado, repliega en sí toda el alma y la concentra en una indivisible unidad; con ella se retiran los espíritus, aunque éstos no actúan, y se reúnen en medio de la cabeza, en donde está el pensamiento, o en el centro del corazón, en donde se halla el deseo;
>
> (When the spiritual mind (that is heart of our heart and soul of our soul), by the force of the desire, retreats into itself in order to contemplate an intimate and desired object, the soul withdraws [folds up] in itself and concentrates into an indivisible unity; with this the spirits are retreated, even though these don't act, and are united in the middle of the head, in which is found the thought [*pensamiento*], or in the center of the heart, in which is found the desire;)[213]

Filón's reference in the first citation above, not only to the two-dimensional image, but the three-dimensional sculpture of the beloved in the lover's mind underscores that she is at once corporeal and idea, *materia y forma* and that she takes full form in the "indivisible unidad" (indivisible unity) at Filón's core. She has a shape in the *pequeño mundo del hombre* (tiny world of man) of Filón. Once the image of the beloved is ingrained in his mind she exercises a transcendental force over his interior and exterior experience.[214] Or as the shepherd-poet, Gálvez de Montalvo, beautifully wrote:

> Llega a la vista de la vista al pecho
> del pecho al corazón y dél al alma
> pasa la fuerza de tus ojos tiernos.
> Por quien las flechas hacen bien su hecho
> de los hierros de amor lleva la palma
> y son los lazos justamente eternos.
> (It arrives from the sight [hers] to the sight [his] to the breast
> from the breast to the heart and from there to the soul
> it passes, the force of your tender eyes.
> For whom the arrows make well their making
> of the wounds of love, he raises a palm

[213] (Hebreo, 1993, pp.333)

[214] In phenomenological terms, she becomes the phenomenon which is at once manifest (materia) and transcends the manifest to concept (forma).

and the bonds are justly eternal.)[215]

It is important to underscore that in the poetry of Gálvez de Montalvo it is not simply the sight of the beloved, but the sight of her eyes in his eyes. In his poetry the "mundo espiritual"(spiritual or metaphysical world) of vision is manifest not only in the poet's eyes but also in the eyes of his beloved: sight is the nexus of two worlds (two indeterminate Beings, Subjectivities, Daseine). Hebreo continues to elucidate amorous meditation by having Filón situate Sofia at his very core, telling her:

Los rayos del sol no atraviesan con tanta facilidad los cuerpos celestes o los elementos que están por debajo de ellos hasta la tierra, como lo hizo en mí la efigie de tu hermosura, hasta situarse en el centro del corazón y en el corazón la mente.

(The rays of the sun do not pierce with such facility the celestial bodies or the elements which are below them to the earth, as your beauty made its effigy in me, to the extent to be situated in the center of my heart and in the heart the mind.)[216]

Filón's references to astrology and the four elements further underscored the notion of a convergence of the *pequeño mundo del hombre* (tiny world of man) at his core, an *omphalos*, which Sofia, the beloved, occupies.[217] She is the center of his world: both ideal thought and ideal corporeal manifestation.[vi] As Figueroa wrote:

Scorto dal mio desio pronto e leggero
ne' miei prim'anni semplicetto il piede
posi nel faticoso aspro sentiero
che fiera stella camminar mi diede;
né molto andai che duo begli occhi fero
de'miei vaghi pensieri intere prede,

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[215] For this previously unknown and unedited sonnet, see my article: (Ponce, 2013, pp.171). Gálvez de Montalvo's emphasis on not only the sight of the poet, but also the sight of the lady (that is two gazes) is crucial to the way in which his lyric verse captures the philosophical propositions of Hebreo.

[216] (Hebreo, 1993, pp.327)

[217] Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, in a sonnet of an entirely different tone, reifies this conception of the human. (See endnotes). See also: Francisco Rico. *El pequeño mundo del hombre*: "Conocemos ya el trasfondo macrocósmico de la teoría, piedra angular de la medicina clásica .... Los cuatro humores (y los cuatro temperamentos correlativos) no son sino la versión en el hombre de los cuatro elementos que fija en el mundo la interacción, par a par, de las cuatro cualidades.... Lo hemos visto repetido una y otra vez con pretensiones más o menos científicas; y pronto comprobaremos la validez poética del aserto.... Ahora bien, la correspondencia de elementos, cualidades, humores y temperamentos es sólo un aspect de la correspondencia de macrocosmos y microcosmos. Pues cuanto ocurre en la tierra, habida cuenta de que es el nuestro un universo coherente, por fuerza ha de reflejar en algún modo cuanto ocurre más allá de la esfera de la luna.... Durante muchos siglos, la ciencia médica--mano a mano con la astrología--consistió en buena medida en determinar la casuística de tales axiomas," (pp.129-130).

Hebreo himself will qualify this *pequeño mundo del hombre* as a microcosmic/macrocosmic framework in his disucssion of the astrological bodies as *simulacra*. See: (Hebreo, 1993, pp.336-362).

e cominciaro in me, lasso, a nutrire
nuova fiamma d'amor, nuovo desire.
...
Ben e pur vaglia il ver, porto nel seno
non picciol segno della piaga antica,
e per le vene ancor erra il veneno
che negli occhi bevvei di mia nemica;
ma la fiamma e il desio venuto a meno
colla speme ch'Amor sveglia e nutrica,
né piú m'apporterà gioia o martire
nuova fiamma d'amor, nuovo desire.

(Glimpsed of my desire quick and light/ in my first simple years the foot/ I put on the fatiguing rugged path/ which the fierce star gave me to walk;/ Nor much [far] I went that two beautiful eyes wounded/ of my vague thoughts [they became] the entirety of the spoils,/ and it began in me, exhausted, to nourish/ a new flame, new desire./ .../ Good and pure wanting to see, I carry in the breast/ not a small sign of the old lesion,/ and for the vein still it was the venom/ that in the eyes drank of my enemy;/ but the flame and the desire come to less/ with the hope that Love wakes and nourishes/ nor more will it produce joy or martyrdom/ new flame of love, new desire.)[218]

The result of this relationship between the poet-lover and the, increasingly divinized, beloved was a heterodox poetry of *erotic mysticism* in which the erotic spirituality of the poet was directed toward the divine beloved lady, what Menéndez Pelayo has called a *metafísica estética* (metaphysical aesthetic)[219]. In the lyrics of the shepherd-poets of the 1560s, the heterodox passions explored by both Garcilaso de la Vega and Jorge de Montemayor gave way to the most radical of conceptual frameworks in which the mortal beloved lady actually became the divine *summa belleza* of nature and governess of the poet's existence. Here again,

[218] (Figueroa, 1989, pp.230-231)

[219] (Menéndez Pelayo, 1962, pp.23). He concludes his gloss: "Perdónase tan largo extracto de un libro, apenas leído hoy de nadie, pero que no deja por eso de ser el monumento más notable de la filosofía platónica en el siglo XVI, y aun lo más bello que esa filosofía produjo desde Plotino acá.... Ñunca, antes de Hegel, ha sido desarrollada con más amplitud la estética idealista. Nadie ha espiritualizado tanto como él el concepto de la forma, nadie le ha unificado más, y nadie se ha atrevido a llegar tan lejos en las conclusiones de la teoría platónica," (*Ibid.* pp.42, emphasis mine). As this dissertation seeks to demonstrate, the conceptual outlook of León Hebreo, fully embodied by the lyric poetry in which Cervantes was an active participant, would give shape to the conceptual framework behind the genesis of the *Don Quijote.* That Cervantes mentioned Hebreo in the prologue is no accident. Menéndez Pelayo's incisive link from Hebreo to Hegel distills much of our modern encounter with the Cervantine text. As Judith Butler has observed: "Like Don Quixote, Hegel's subject is an impossible identity who pursues reality in systematically mistaken ways,"(Butler, 1999, pp.23).

Menéndez Pelayo provides useful observations on this overlooked and central aspect of sixteenth-century Spanish poetry:

> Sería largo recorrer la literatura castellana del siglo de oro para enumerar a todos los que corrieron en pos de esta «Somma bellezza», desde el momento en que Boscán «se atrevió (como dice ásperamente Herrera) a traer las joyas de Petrarca en su mal compuesto vestido». La poesía erótica del siglo XVI es un filtro quintescenciado de Platón, del Petrarca y de Ausías March, diversamente combinados. Así se hacían las églogas y las canciones así las elegías y los sonetos. Todos estos platónicos enamorados como escala para levantarse al *movedor primero*, peregrinando antes por una y otra imagen suya: viaje agradable, aunque largo, y no muy seguro ni muy directo, porque suele acontecer quedarse en el camino.... si el punto común de arranque, que es la doctrina de Platón y de Plotino; y el grado de difusión y de influjo popular que esta doctrina logró durante el siglo XVI, no ya en los centros universitarios, sino entre los poetas del amor, entre los ingenios más independientes y más ajenos de enseñanzas de escuela, entre los escritores *legos*, como se decía en el siglo XVI.
>
> (It would be lengthy to review the Castilian literature of the Golden Age in order to enumerate all of those who ran in possession of this "Summa belleza", from the moment in which Boscán "dared (as Herrera harshly says) to bring the jewels of Petrarch in his poorly composed dress". The erotic poetry of the sixteenth century is a quintessential filter of Plato, of Petrarch and of Ausias March, diversely combined. In this way that made eclogues and "canciones" in this way elegies and sonnets. All of them enamored Platonists like a stairway for raising oneself up to the *first mover*, making their pilgrimage for one and another of their images: pleasant journey, though long, and not very secure nor very direct, because it often happend that they remained on the path... if the common point of departure, which is the doctrine of Plato and of Plotinus; and the level of difusion and popular influence that this doctrine achieved during the sixteenth century, not in the university centers, but rather among amorous poets, among the most independent *ingenios* and most distant from the teachings of the classroom, among the *lego* writers, as was said in the sixteenth century.)[220]

However, as this chapter and the following will show, the traditional hierarchical conception of Neoplatonic love, the "escala para levantarse" (ladder of transcendence), was diverted from a godhead and reverberated within the sensual world of the poet by the presence of the divine beloved lady. The poet sees her, ascends to her in his mind, and returns to earth governed, sensually, emotionally, metaphysically, by her material form. This is a sensual rather than a Christian Neoplatonism. At times this *erotic mysticism* was carried over into religious and encomiastic poetry. Often the same metaphorical structures employed in the transcendent encounter with the beloved lady were copied in laud of the Virgin Mary or for noblewomen and patrons of the court, including the queen herself: holy mother, beloved lady, and divinized monarch were, in the space of the lyric (which is to say in the space of the poet's mind), one and the same.[221] This is particularly evident, for example, in the sonnets which Pedro Laynez (Damón)composed for his beloved lady (Fili) in the pastoral mode, in the religious mode for the Virgin Mary, and in encomiastic mode for the Princess Juana de Austria:

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[220] (Menéndez Pelayo, 1962, pp.64-65, emphasis mine)

[221] It will not be possible to treat of the mystic poetry devoted to the cults of the Virgin Mary in the space of this chapter or dissertation. For an extensive study of *poesía a lo divino*, see: (Wardropper, 1958). Indeed, nearly all of the authors engaged in the poetry of *erotic mysticism* also composed religious poetry. Heterodox as it may seem, the coincidence of religious and amorous faith under the conceptual rubric of Neoplatonism was no impediment to erotic verse.

Fili

Hermosíssima Fili, en quien florece
alto valor y rara hermosura,
y en cuyos claros ojos y figura
el bien del alto cielo resplandece;
por quien dulce y suaue me parece
la pasada y presente desuentura,
viendo en tan alta cumbre mi ventura,
que te acuerdas del mal que me adolece;
el qual, aunque me priua de la gloria
que la alma recibía sólo en verte,
no me podrá quitar el contemplarte.
Porque este bien, ni el tiempo ni la muerte
ni amor ni desamor pueden ser parte
para apartarme ya de mi memoria.

Virgin Mary

O, sol, de quien es rayo el sol del cielo,
con cuyo resplandor era alumbrada
mi alma, que en tinieblas sepultada
viuió sin ver tu lumbre en este suelo!
No sufras, claro sol, que escuro velo
de ausencia cubra esta alma desdichada,
que, aunqu[*ue*] de donde estás está apartada,
aspira siempre a ti con alto buelo.
Temor de oluido, graue mal de ausencia,
del tiempo el vario curso y de Fortuna,
y el mal no te ver, estoi passando;
mas por rodar del cielo, sol y luna,
no temas, claro sol, que tu presencia
oluide, pues por fe la estoi mirando.

Juana de Austria

Altíssima princesa, en quien el cielo
con abundante mano a derramado
la gloria y el valor tan estremado,
por quien se estima en alto precio el suelo;
cuyo saber, beldad y onesto zelo,
digno de eternamente ser loado,
nos muestra claro ser claro traslado
de aquel que te leuanta a tanto buelo;
si en los altos oídos se consiente
llegar alguna vez el baxo canto,
desculpa hallará mi atreuimiento,
pues ver los claros ojos y alta frente
vañados con tan largo y tierno llanto,
subió tan alto mi atreuido intento.

(Fili: Beautiful Fili, in whom it flowers/ high valor and rare beauty,/ in whose clear eyes and figure; the Good of the high heaven resplendors;/ for whom it seems to me sweet and smooth/ the past and present misfortune,/ seeing in such a high peak my fortune,/ that you recall the Bad from which I suffer;/ that which, although I am deprived of the glory/ that the soul receives only in seeing you,/I cannot resist from contemplating you./ Because this Good, neither time nor death/ nor love nor lack thereof can play a part/ in dividing me from my memory.

Virgin Mary: Oh sun, of whom the sun is just one ray,/with whose splendor it was illuminated/ my soul, that in the dark sepulchre/ lived without seeing your light on this earth!/ Don't suffer, clear sun, that[the] obscure veil/ of absence covers this unhappy soul,/ which although from where you are is removed,/ aspires always to you with a high flight./ Fear of being forgotten,/ grave Bad of absence,/ of the varied course of time, and of Fortune,/ and the Bad of not seeing you, is happening to me;/ but to roll down from the heaven, sun and moon, don't fear, clear sun, that your presence/ is forgotten, well by faith I am looking at you.

Juana de Austria: Highest princess, in whom the heaven/ with abundant hand has scattered/ such extreme valor and glory,/ for whom the earth esteems a high price;/ whose knowledge, beauty and honest zeal,/ worthy of being eternally lauded,/ demonstrates to us a clear being transposed/ of that which raises you in a high flight;/ if in those high ears it is consented/ to arrive for once a lowly song,/ excuse what you will find my boldness, well to see those clear eyes and high forehead/ bathed with such a long and tender weeping,/ it went so high my daring intent.)[222]

What is particularly stunning about these lyrics is that the mysticism of erotic poetry gave shape to the religious verse, and not the other way around as we might be inclined to assume. Most of the shepherd-poets writing through the third quarter of the century turned to religious verse only after being disappointed in a divine beloved lady, or on occasion for religious festivities: Luis Gálvez de Montalvo, Luis Camoes, Pedro de Padilla, and Miguel de Cervantes, to name only a few who followed this trajectory. While more sublimated than the individualistic passions of Garcilaso and Montemayor, the divinization of a materially present beloved was the most heterodox of lyrical conceits, particularly when employed in erotic pursuit, and moreover, because it freed lyric subjectivity from the doctrinal limitations by which this period is typically

[222] (Laynez, 1951, pp.214 [Fili], pp.196-197 [Virgin Mary], pp.226 [Juana de Austria])

studied and characterized.[223] The implications of this type of love were in fact so heterodox that it is necessary to imagine this, as Menéndez Pelayo suggests, as an intuitive rather than dogmatic process. Intuitive or intentional, it is the dominant conception of love--and of the poet's own being in the world-- in the works of this period. This amorous ecstasy is easily observed, for example, in the verses of Francisco de Figueroa who not only wrote throughout the decade but who would also appear under the guise of his pastoral pseudonym, *Tirsi*, in the pages of Cervantes' pastoral novel, the *Galatea* (1585), and in the eclogues of Pedro Laynez:

> Perdido ando, señora, entre la gente
> sin vos, sin mí, sin ser, sin Dios, sin vida;
> sin vos, porque no sois de mí servida,
> sin mí, porque no estoy con vos presente;
> sin ser, porque de vos estando ausente,
> no hay cosa que del ser no me despida,
> sin Dios, porque mi alma a Dios olvida
> por contemplar en vos continuamente.
>
> (Lost I go, lady, among the people
> without you, without myself, without being, without God, without life;
> without you, because you are not served by me,
> without me, because I am not present with you;
> without being, because of you being [is] absent,
> there is nothing that from my being does not dismiss me,
> without God, because my soul forgets God
> to contemplate you continuously)[224]

[223] This concept was then the strongest iteration of philosophical writings of Italian humanism, Ficino's Neo-Platonism and, most powerfully, the lyric figure of Venus drawn from the classical world. This was particularly apparent in the poetry which Francisco de Aldana contemporaneously was composing in Florence. For example, in the introduction to his edition of Aldana's verse, Elias Rivers writes, "Aldana sintetiza fácilmente el sensualismo y el cristianismo: "Hasta en el ángel hay santa lujuria | de pegarse al Autor por quien se informa" (vs. 539-540). Y cuando en 1562 Varchi llamó a Aldana "pio poeta", es de suponer que ya habría escrito poems religiosas, probablemente el Poema XXI, *Parto de la Virgen*, en gran parte imitación del *De Partu Virginis* de Sannazaro, tiene una armazón épica que es enteramente pagana: el Arcángel San Gabriel, al ir del Cielo a la Tierra a hacer a Nuestra Señora la Anunciación, se detiene para charlar un rato con el dios romano de cada esfera planetaria," (Aldana, 1966, pp.xvi-xvii).

[224] (Figueroa, 1989, pp.132, emphasis mine)

The last two lines above should require no explication. The sonnet is explicit in the substitution of the religious for the erotic, as well as its reiteration of Hebreo's text. Moreover, it makes clear the ways in which erotic love assumed the qualities of agape and philia within a single framework, a unity which has not heretofore been explored and whose fuller explication I will have to leave for later projects. Within the space of the *locos ameonus* the beloved lady acted as the divine governess and mover of the pastoral (or Natural) world. While the social customs of courtly love and the charge of escapism in relation to the pastoral myth would otherwise seem at odds with one another, the Neoplatonic doctrine of Hebreo linked the central desire of each practice, "for a communion of the pure" (Cody, 1969, pp.61) under the literary and cultural practice of the pastoral. Present in the work of all the poets pertaining to this period, this was particularly evident in the poetry of Gálvez de Montalvo's in his pastoral novel, *El pastor de Fílida* and in Cervantes' earliest verses which I will treat in the following chapter.

Primordial Ingenios:
Cervantes, Gálvez de Montalvo and Lyric Subjectivity in Court Practice

Siendo verdad que el alma que me ampara
es sólo un rayo de esa luz pendiente,
cuando no me miráis es cosa clara
que estoy del alma con que vivo ausente;
(Being true that the soul that protects me/ is just a ray of this pending light,/ when you don't look at me it is clear/ that I am of the soul with which I live absent;)[225]

Several events coincided to make way for the court of Isabel de Valois. The publication of *La Diana* (1559), the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559), the marriage of Isabel to Philip II (1560), and the transfer and solidification of the court in Madrid (1561) united a community of poets within a centralized space which would remain at the heart of literary creation for the duration of the Spanish Golden Age. Prior to 1560 the itinerant court of Charles V had become rather small and private during the regencies of the Princess Juana de Austria which were held in Valladolid.[226] Nonetheless, it should be remembered that Jorge de Montemayor was in the service of Juana, and perhaps also Philip, and he dedicated his first *Cancionero* (1554) to Juana and her husband, Prince Juan of Portugal.[vii] It is likely that the pastoral vogue which Isabel would foster was enriched and Hispanized by way of her close friendship with the erudite and *ingeniosa*, Princess Juana. However, limited historical reconstructions of Juana's court have thus far prohibited further investigation in this regard.[227]

Isabel de Valois (1546-1568) was fourteen years old at the time of her marriage to Philip II. Daughter of Henry II of France (1519-1559) and Catherine de Medici (1519-1589), the French *infanta* had been educated in one of the most erudite Renaissance courts of the period. As Amezúa y Mayo observed,

> Aquel retorno al paganismo que el Renacimiento trae consigo en ninguna Corte de Europa se advierta y campea tanto como en la francesa....justas y torneos, naumaquias y cabalgatas, bailes y comedias, en las que los príncipes y princesas de

[225] (Gálvez de Montalvo, 2006, pp.183).
[226] For Juana de Austria, see: (Cruz, 2009, pp.103-122), and (Martínez Millan, 1994, pp.73-105)
[227] In the inventory taken at Juana's death, several copies of the first edition of *La Diana* were found in her possession. See: (Cruz, 2009, pp.106). See chapter 2 of this dissertation for extant data surrounding this period and Montemayor's place within it.

sangre real y más linajudas y hermosas damas de la Corte representan las farsas del Ariosto y de los poetas italianos....Pero lo que caracteriza sobre todo aquella sociedad francesa de los Valois es una vitalidad inaudita, un poderoso dinamismo...

(That return to paganism which the Renaissance brought with it in no court of Europe was so observed and distinguished as in the French one...jousts and tournaments, naval combats, and parades, dances and comedies, in which the princes and princesses of royal blood and the most well-lineaged and beautiful lades of the court represented the farses of Ariosto and the Italian poets...But what characterises it above all that French society of the Valois is a unprecedented vitality, a powerful dynamism.)[228]

It was this decidedly liberal and Hellenistic culture which the young princess would bring to meet with the pastoral and Petrarchan tastes of the Spanish poets. While still a girl, Isabel had been fully integrated into a culture in which the ladies in waiting of her mother, Catherine, were renown for their mastery of both Greek and Latin.[229] In like manner, the cultural mastery of her aunt, Marguerite de Valois, made Duchess of Savoy by the same Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, would also influence Isabel as a young girl. As Amezúa y Mayo relates:

aunque ella, Doña Isabel, no llegase a poseer aquella vastísima cultura y sólida ciencia de su tía Margarita de Valois, la futura Duquesa de Saboya, a quien, por su experta sabiduría del latín, del griego e italiano, llamaban en su tiempo la *Minerva de Francia*, el ambiente doctísimo que en aquella Corte se respiraba, la constante presencia en ella de helenistas como Amyot y de poetas como Du Bellay y Ronsard contribuyeron, a no dudarlo, a que se desarrollasen y avivaran sus prendas nativas, su precoz inteligencia, su felicísima memoria, su amor de las artes bellas, singularmente a la poesía, de cuyos libros gustó por extremo, según atestigua Branthôm.

(although she, Doña Isabel, did not acquire that vast culture and sound science of her aunt Marguarite of Valois, the future Duchess of Savoy, to whom, for her expert knowledge of Latin, Greek and Italian, was called in her time the *Minerva of France*, the extremely erudite environment of that court was breathed, the constant presence in it of Hellenists such as Amyot and of poets like Du Bellay and Ronsard contributed, without a doubt, such that they were developed and enlivened her native gifts, her precocious intelligence, her felicitious memory, her love of fine arts, singularly of poetry, of whose books she liked in the extreme, according to the testimonies of Branthôm.)[230]

Isabel's taste for poetry should come as no surprise. During her youth Pierre Ronsard, "prince of poets", was the official court poet in France. Just as Cervantes would write in laud of Isabel in 1567, Ronsard had already dedicated verses to the young princess and her sisters in their youth. Early on the pastoral, with all of its mythological resonance, became visible in the imaginative world of the future queen of Spain. In a poem dedicated to the royal family Ronsard depicted Isabel and her sisters as the Three Graces or the allegorical figuration of the tripartite structure of Venus.

Mais de quel vers pleins de grace
Vous iray-je decorant?
Chanteray-je vostro race,
Ou l'honneur de vostre face
D'un teint brun se colorant?

[228] (Amezúa y Mayo, 1949, v.1, pp.4–5)
[229] (Amezúa y Mayo, 1944, pp.26)
[230] (Amezúa y Mayo, 1949, v.1, pp.20)

Divin est votre lignage;
Et le brun que vous voyez
Rougir en vostre visage
En rien ne vous endommage
Que très belles ne soyez.

Les Charites sont brunettes;
Bruns les Muses ont les yeux,
Toutefois belles et nettes,
Reluisent comme planettes
Parmy la troupe des Dieux.

(But of whom towards full of grace/ I will go beautifying you?/ Will I sing your race,/ or the honor of your face,/ of a brown tint it is colored?/ Divine lineage;/ And the brown that you see/ blushes in your visage/ in no way are you damaged/ nor not so beautiful./ The Graces are brunettes;/ the muses have brown eyes,/ all beautiful and clear,/ resplendent like planets/ for me the troup of God.)[231]

While the shepherd-poets of Spain would, in their pursuit of an *erotic mysticism*, exceed the encomiastic conceit of a divine noble lady, Ronsard's assertion that the princesses shined like planets as if they were angels, anticipated the future Spanish lyrics which would be directed at Isabel. "Parmy la troupe des Dieux" anticipates Cervantes' encomiastic for Isabel in the late 1560s. Moreover, the taste for the pastoral was fully ingrained in the princess prior to her arrival in Spain. In her exemplary study of this cultural phenomenon within the French court, Meredith Martin, has made plain how Catherine's own taste for the pastoral became the model on which Marie Antoinette, centuries later, resurrected this early *pastoral play* at Versailles.[232]

There is no space here to reconstruct all of the rich festivities which took place in Paris and in various cities in Spain for the marriage of Isabel and Philip. The two were first married by proxy--the Duke of Alba, Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, stood in for Philip--at the Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris on June 22nd, 1559.[233] The death of Isabel's father, Henry II, in a joust on the 30th of the same month delayed her

[231] As cited in: (Amezúa y Mayo, 1949, v.1, pp.26). See also: pp.22-23

[232] "...it was part of an established tradition of dairy construction within the French royal and elite gardens that began in the sixteenth century with Catherine de' Medici at the court in Fontainebleu," (Martin, 2011, pp.4).

[233] "Aquella noche, después de la comida en el Palacio del Louvre, hubo fiesta de máscaras y bailes con figuras de ninfas y sátiros, retirándose las Reinas de España y Francia antes de que acabase. No iban tampoco solas: seguíanlas las Princesas y Principes de la sangre y el Duque de Alba además: iba a cumplirse--esta vez en imagen--la ceremonia tradicionalmente practicada en la Corte de Francia de

journey to Spain. Isabel did not in fact enter the Iberian kingdom until she arrived at Roncesvalles on the 6th of January, 1560. While it was rumored that Philip was among the masked group of *caballeros* which witnessed the entrance of her entourage into Spain, the two did not formally meet until February 2nd, 1560 in Guadalajara at the Palace of the Infantado of the Mendoza family whose hospitality the Princess Juana de Austria helped to orchestrate.[234]

The Mendoza of Infantado, one of the oldest and most powerful families in Spain, aside from overseeing the royal wedding, were also responsible for the patronage of one of the most important prose authors and poets of the period: Luis Gálvez de Montalvo.[235] Gálvez de Montalvo was specifically in the service of Don Enrique de Mendoza y Aragón, brother of the 5th Duke of Infantado, Don Íñigo López de Mendoza. His father was Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Count of Saldaña and Marquis of Cañete. His grandfather, Don Íñigo López de Mendoza, 4th Duke of Infantado (homonym of his grandson, Enrique's brother), was host to the marriage festivities of Isabel and Philip at the Palace of Infantado in 1560.[236] Both Enrique and Gálvez de Montalvo lived and were educated within the court of the Palace of the Infantado.[237] Gálvez de Montalvo was roughly thirteen years old at the time of the festivities, just a year younger than the

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acostar a los nuevos esposos; pero faltando uno de ellos, el Rey Católico, su procurador el Duque de Alba, cumpliendo puntualmente las instrucciones para que el ceremonial del casamiento tenía recibidas de la Cancillería española llegados que fueron a la alcoba de Doña Isabel, hizo una gran reverencia al magnífico concurso, y en presencia de todos, para probar simbólicamente que su Señor y mandante Don Felipe II tomaba posesión del tálamo regio, puso un brazo y una pierna sobre la cama, y levantándose, se retiró," (Amezúa y Mayo, 1949, v.1, pp.62)

[234] For Philip's alleged appearance at Roncevalles, see: (Amezúa y Mayo, 1949, v.1, pp.100)

[235] Luis de Salazar y Castro in his *Historia Genealógica de la Casa de Lara... (*Madrid, 1696), writes: "la Casa de Mendoza es una de las familias más alta de España y aun de toda Europa: sus hijos conservaron siempre la alta calidad de Ricoshombres de sangre, sus estados fueron muchos y de gran extensión, sus alianzas matrimoniales han sido las primeras de la nación, sus dignidades temporales o hereditarias fueron las mayores y de las más antiguas"(pp.9-10). As cited by Arribas Reboyo in (Gálvez de Montalvo, 2006, pp.115)

[236] (Gálvez de Montalvo, 2006, pp.41)

[237] "Su educación, a juzgar por su obra, perece que fue refinada; bien pudo nutrirse de la excelente biblioteca de los Duques del Infantado, aunque debido a su incendio sea ahora ésta dificil de reconstruir. Gálvez de Montalvo fue un hombre de su tiempo: cortesano y aristocrático refinado, caballero aventurero y galán, inclinado al servicio militar y dotado al mismo tiempo de una exquisita sensibilidad poética y gusto por la lectura...Sirvió a la Casa de los Duques de Infantado," (Gálvez de Montalvo, 2006, pp.19)

new queen. As in the case of Mateo Vázquez in the household of Ovando, or of Figueroa in the home of Morales, private education in a noble or royal household was of the highest caliber, a tradition which had been fully developed by the Empress Isabel earlier in the century.[238] An education in the household of his patron's grandfather, 4th Duke of Infantado, meant an education in one of the most erudite households in Spain.[239] As Amezúa y Mayo relates:

> Don Íñigo López de Mendoza, IV Duque de este título, dueño y cabeza de una de las casas más antiguas, nobles y opulentes de España, había nacido en 1493; tenía, pues, a la sazón [de las bodas] sesenta y seis años; alto de cuerpo, airoso de presencia, hermoso de rostro y aspecto grave, era por extremo culto y ansioso de saber, y continuando la gloriosa tradición literaria de la casa de Santillana, no sólo empleaba largas horas en el estudio de los buenos libros y magníficos códices heredados de sus mayores, que él también acrecentó, sino que además llevó la imprenta a Guadalajara para sacar a luz en un precioso volumen el fruto de su bien empleada ociosidad.
>
> (Don Iñigo López de Mendoza, 4th Duke of this title, proprietor and head of one of the oldest, noblest and most opulent houses of Spain, had been born in 1493; he was, then, in the season [of the weddings] sixty-six years old; tall and with much presence, handsome in the face and with a grave aspect, he was extremely erudite and anxious to learn, continuing the glorious literary tradition of the house of Santillana, not only did he employ long hours in his study of good books and magnificent codexes inherited from his seniors, which he also augmented, but he also brought the printing press to Guadalajara in order to bring to light a precious volume of the fruit of his employed leisure.)[240]

This was the household to which Gálvez de Montalvo pertained. Among others, he encoded his young patron, Enrique de Mendoza, in his pastoral novel, *El pastor de Fílida.* Enrique, appeared in the novel as Mendino, and Enrique's grandfather, 4th Duke of Infantado, as Mendiano. More importantly, Rodríguez Marín identified the 1560 marriage festivities for Isabel and Philip at the Palace of the Infantado as the occasion which brought together Gálvez de Montalvo and his beloved Fílida: Magdalena Girón, the

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[238] "Mateo [Vázquez] se educó en una escuala doméstica que Ovando decidió organizar para sus pajes, y en la que impartían las lecciones unos jóvenes licenciados Benito Arias Montano y Francisco Pacheco. Este sistema educativo doméstico se había extendido en España gracias al ejemplo que había proporcionado la restauración, hacia 1530, en la Casa de la emperatriz Isabel de la figura del maestro de los pajes, un oficio áulico que teníua antecedentes en época de los Reyes Católicos y en la etiqueta de la corte borgoñona de Carlos V," (Gonzalo, Sánchez-Molero, 2010, pp.188-189).

"De esta enseñanza privada que Morales ejercía paralelamente al magisterio universitario, y que él mismo teorizó en su discurso «Lo mucho que importa la crianza de los hijos» (D. XIII), sin duda se aprovechó Figueroa en esa temprana edad que antecede a su marcha para Italia," (Figueroa, 1989, ppp.19)

[239] As don Quijote reminds Sancho in the palace of the duke and duchess, the erudition of the squire refelcted on that of the knight: "Mira, pecador de ti, que en tanto más es tenido el señor cuanto tiene más honrados y bien nacidos criados, y que aunque una de las ventajas mayores que llevan los príncipes a los demás hombres es que se sirven de criados tan buenos como ellos," (Cervantes, 1999, II: 31, pp.883)

[240] (Amezúa y Mayo, 1949, v.1, pp.95, emphasis mine)

youngest daughter of Don Juan Téllez de Girón, Count of Ureña and sister to Don Pedro.[241] In 1559 Magdalena's widowed mother, María de la Cueva, her brother Pedro, then Count of Ureña, and Magdalena traveled to the frontiers of Spain to meet with and receive Isabel's entourage upon her arrival to Spain at the request of Philip II[242]. Doña María was named *camarera mayor* of Isabel's household and Magdalena one of her most beautiful ladies in waiting, at times favored greatly by Prince Carlos.[243] Magdalena, like Isabel, was fourteen years old at the time of the marriage festivities, just a year older than Gálvez de Montalvo. Thanks to the work of Amezúa y Mayo and Rodríguez Marín the historical documentation for all persons involved makes it explicitly clear that Gálvez de Montalvo (Siralvo), Magdalena de Girón (Fílida), the 4th Duke of Infantado (Mendiano) and Enrique de Mendoza y Aragón (Mendino) were all present for the marriage festivities which took place in February of 1560 in Guadalajara. All of these persons would appear in Gálvez de Montalvo's novel, *El pastor de Fílida* (1582) under their parenthetical pseudonyms which opens on the shores of the river Tajo:

> Cuando de más apuestos y lucidos pastores florecía el Tajo, morada antigua de las sagradas musas, vino a su celebrada ribera el caudaloso Mendino, nieto del gran rabadán Mendiano, con cuya llegada el claro río ensoberbecío sus corrientes, los altos montes de luz y gloria se visitieron, el fértil campo renovó su casi perdidad hermosura; pues los pastores de él, incitados de aquella sobrenatural virtud, de manera siguieron sus pisadas que, invidioso Ebro, confuso Tormes, Pisuerga y Guadalquivir admirados, inclinaron sus cabezas, y hinchadas urnas manaron con un silencio admirable. Sólo el felice Tajo resonaba, y lo

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[241] In fact, Rodríguez Marín did not explicitly identify the marriage festivities as the impetus for this Neoplatonic love affair. He places Doña Magdalena in the household of Isabel and Gálvez de Montalvo under the protection of Don Enrique Mendoza. This is a connection which later critics such as Marañón (1960) and Arribas Rebollo (2006) have at once embellished and dismissed. Rodríguez Marín states: "doña Magdalena Girón es *la Fílida de Gálvez de Montalvo*, resumiendo de camino lo que he logrado saber acer de *el Gálvez de Montalvo de Fílida*, no pastor, ciertamente--como observó la Cura al hacer el escutrino en la liberería de don Quijote--,"sino muy discreto cortesano", cuyo libro debía guardarse "como joya preciosa," (Rodríguez Marín, 1927, pp.39). It is one of the explicit intents of this chapter to reaffirm the reading of Rodríguez Marín, to place both Magdalena and Gálvez de Montalvo with regard to the royal party beginning with Isabel's arrival in 1560 and to illuminate the courtly atmosphere of *El pastor de Fílida* within the context of Isabel's first year in Toledo.

[242] (Rodríguez Marín, 1927, pp.15-16)

[243] "Y una de las españolas que entraron al servicio de doña Isabel fué doña Magdalena Girón, la cual perteneció a su cámara aun antes de cumplir los diez y seis años, mínima con que se solía obtener tan honroso empleo," (Rodríguez Marín, 1927, pp.16-18). "El príncipe don Carlos, de suyo tan mal avenido con casi todos los de Palacio, distinguíala sobremanera y le solía enviar ricos presentes, como se echa de ver en las cuentas de 1560 a 1563, que rindió Garci Álvarez Osorio: "En Madrid a 29 de junio se dieron a doña Magdalena Girón, dama de nuestra señora la Reina, cincuenta botones de cristal guarnecidos de oro." "En Madrid, a 16 de diciembre, a doña Magdalena Girón, una poma de ébano guarnecida de oro que iba llena de ámbar, que se compró a un platero de Sevilla," (*Ibid*, pp.18)

mejor de su son era Mendino, cuya ausencia sintió de suerte Henares, su nativo río, que con sus ojos acrecentó tributo a las arenas de oro.

(When the most positioned and splendid shepherds flowered the Tajo, ancient abode of the sacred muses, the mighty Mendino came to its celebrated riverbank, grandsom of the great head-shepherd Mendiano, with whose arrival the clear river became proud of its currents, the high hills of the light and glory were dressed, the fertile countryside renewed its almost lost beauty; well the shepherds of it, incited by that supernatural virtue, in such a manner that they followed its steps which, envious Ebro, confused Tormes, Pisguera and Guadalquivir admired, inclined their heads and swollen urns flowed with an admirable silence Only the happy Tajo resounded, and the best of its sound was Mendino, whose absence was felt by the Henares, his native river, with which his eyes he increased the tribute to the sands of gold.) [244]

The geography of this pastoral world should be the source of some confusion and it requires further explication. The Palace of the Infantado is not set on the banks of the river Tajo; the nearest river to Guadalajara is the river Henares. The Tajo most likely refers to the city of Toledo. When Gálvez de Montalvo writes that Mendino, grandson of Mendiano, arrived to the Tajo from the Henares, he is telling his reader that Enrique de Mendoza, grandson of Don Íñigo López de Mendoza, 4th Duke of Infantado arrived to the city of Toledo from Guadalajara. In keeping with the precedent set by Garcilaso in his Eclogue II, the rivers of Spain and the mention of funeral urns were often used as metonymies for noble families.[245] Arribas Rebollo concludes that the mention of other rivers--Pisuerga, Guadalquivir and Ebro--were employed by Gálvez de Montalvo to refer to other noble families present in Toledo--Manrique de Lara, Medina Sidonia, and Luna, respectively.[246] The reference to Henares functions as a reference to Don Enrique's youth at the Palace of Infantado: as I have said, Guadalajara pertains to the river Henares.

It is more likely that the novel opens with the marriage festivities which took place, not in Guadalajara, but in Toledo, 10 days later. Philip and Isabel were received in Toledo on February 12th, 1560 and remained in residence throughout 1560 and the first part of 1561 until the royal family took up residence in the Alcázar of Madrid in May 1561 (passing nearly a year and a half in the Alcázar of Toledo). The entirety of Gálvez de Montalvo's novel takes place on the river Tajo, which is to say in Toledo; the duration of the novel is roughly three years and three months. The extraordinary grandeur of the festivities in Toledo accounts for the presence of the other noble families which Gálvez de Montalvo arranges by way of

[244] (Gálvez de Montavlo, 2006, pp.113-114)
[245] "Garcilaso usa de estas metonimias asociadas (urna y río Tormes) para expresar figurativamente la heroicidad del linaje y el lugar de señorío del mismo," (Gálvez de Montalvo, 2006, pp.114)
[246] (Gálvez de Montalvo, 2006, pp.114-115)

metonymy with the rivers mentioned in this opening passage.[247] That several young noble personages congregated in Toledo both for the marriage festivities and in the court throughout the following year and a half there should be no doubt. The shepherd Siralvo (Gálvez de Montalvo) is already in love with Fílida (Magdalena Girón) when the novel begins in Toledo. The young poet would have had plenty of time to come to know and fall in love with the young Magdalena Girón by the time the royal family entered Toledo.

During the fall of 1559, it had been arranged by Philip II by way of epistolary correspondence that the Duke of Infantado (Gálvez de Montalvo's patrons), the Condesa of Ureña (Magdalena's mother), and the Cardinal of Burgos form a greeting party to meet with Isabel's entourage in Pamplona and escort the young bride to the Palace of the Infantado in Guadalajara. Both the IV Duke of Infantado, his son Don Diego de Mendoza, and presumably his grandson, Don Enrique, along with a party of nearly 4000 persons set out on the diplomatic mission of greeting the new queen.[248] Amidst this extraordinary group of noble personages and their pages it is impossible to imagine that the poet, Gálvez de Montalvo, and his patron, Don Enrique were not present with Enrique's grandfather and father to meet with the entourage of the Countess of Ureña and her daughter Magdalena Girón who had likewise come at the behest of the king. Moreover, Mendino's (Don Enrique) arrival to Toledo would have been made in the company of the royal family made on February 12th, 1560. The Mendoza family traveled in the company of the king and queen after Guadalajara and remained with them in Toledo. It is well known that the Mendoza family was particularly close to the Princess Juana de Austria who had been regent of Spain for much of the 1550s. The death of Enrique's father, Don Diego, in a joust which Philip organized on the outskirts of Toledo on February 28th, at the end of the

[247] The chronicles of these celebrations were numerous. Amezúa y Mayo lists as many as nine: (1949, v.1, pp.131-132)

[248] " Solamente los pajes y lacayos a su [el IV duque de Infantado] servicio y al de su hijo, el Marqués de Cenete, luciendo todos riquísimos libreas, cortadas para el caso, sumaban 150 personas, sin contar los que traían consigo los trece titulados y caballeros de su linaje que venían acompañandole para mayor ostentación de su embajada, asistidos de treinta gentilhombres, con pajes propios, no menos ataviados y vistosos. Seguíanle en fila interminable los oficiales de la casa, acemileros y soldados de la escolta. El número de los caballeros de silla con los acémillas pasaba en junto de cuatro mil, lujosa y trashumante corte que vivió y lució a costa exclusiva del Duque y del Cardenal durante esta jornada, con un gasto que los cronistas de entonces hacen subir solamente para el primero a mil ducados diarios," (Amezúa y Mayo, 1949, v.1, pp.95).

same month makes their presence in the court definitive.[249] The marriage party had already passed through the cities of Alcalá de Henares and Madrid after departing Guadalajara and it is reasonable to believe that Don Enrique and Gálvez de Montalvo were then present with the royal party from Isabel's entrance in Pamplona on January 7th, 1560 through to her arrival in Toledo on February 12th, 1560, ample time for the Neoplatonic love affair which would inspire the poet's verse and prose. To my knowledge, the marriage festivities in Toledo and the year which followed have never been investigated in relation to *El pastor de Fílida*.

Moreover, as the Mendoza of Infantado held one of the highest noble stations in Philip's court, it is likely that they not only pertained to palace life but perhaps were even housed in the Alcázar in Toledo. Gálvez de Montalvo's proximity to Magdalena Girón would have been extreme, though as a lower hidalgo he would not have had direct access to her; as he explains in the novel:

> Andaba [Siralvo/Gálvez de Montalvo] furiosamente herido de los amores de Fílida. Fílida, que por lo menos en hermosura era llamada sin par, y en suerte no la tenía. Y como los días, con la ocupación del ganado y el recelo de Vandalio y sus pastores (adonde Fílida estaba), no le daban lugar a procurar verla ni oírla...
>
> (He went [Siralvo/Gálvez de Montalvo] furiously wounded for love of Fílida. Fílida, who at the least in beauty was called peerless, and in luck had none. And as the days, with the occupation of the flock and recalcitrance of Vandalio and its shepherds (where Fílida was), did not give him place to procure to see her nor hear her...)[250]

While Vandalio at times referred to the region of Andalucía, it is clear here that it refers to the household of Isabel de Valois, which though highly visible also functioned under strict etiquette and oversight by the *guardia mayor*. As a page of the elite Mendino (Enrique de Mendoza), Siralvo (Gálvez de Montalvo) is sent to deliver Mendino's letter to his beloved Elisa, also of the same noble station as Mendino. We must imagine that by way of errands Gálvez de Montalvo was enmeshed in the highest ranks of Castilian nobility in the royal circles of Toledo at this time. The mention of "billetes" in the following passage demonstrates how pervasive these love letters and their messengers were in palace life and how difficult it would have been for Gálvez de Montalvo to pursue Magdalena Girón within the *cámara* of Isabel. Later on, it is this same manner of courtship, natural to both palace life and pastoral prose, which don Quijote will resurrect in the letter which he pens to Dulcinea from the Sierra Morena. The difficulty which Siralvo faces in the novel was

[249] (Amezúa y Mayo, 1949, v.1, pp.139-140)
[250] (Gálvez de Montalvo, 2006, pp.131)

in keeping with the etiquette set out for the ladies in waiting of the queen, which was very strict, if rarely successful.[251]

Set on the banks of the Tajo among the highest echelons of Castilian nobility, it is evident that Gálvez de Montalvo's novel pertains to this period which marked the beginning of Isabel's reign in Toledo. Madrid did not become the capital and seat of the royal residence until the spring of 1561. Moreover, the 4th Duke of Infantado, who is mentioned at the opening of the novel as Mendiano, died in 1566. The novel obviously pertains to a period between 1560-1566, with select additions made late in the novel and closer to the date of publication, 1582. The conglomeration of royal families at the outset of the work definitively signals the marriage festivities in Toledo in February of 1560. Moreover, the presence of various noble ranks and the lower hidalgos who served as poets and musicians within the court is explicit in Gálvez de Montalvo's description of court life in Toledo as Enrique de Mendoza would have known it. Following the happy resolution of the lovers, Mendino and Elisa, in Part 1, the gathering and celebration is related as follows:

> el viejo Sileno [Elisa's father] aseguró su pecho, y el trato como primero con más deleite tornó en todos, y los placeres y fiestas lo mismo, porque para cualquier género de ejercicio había en la ribera bastantísima compañía. En fuerza y maña: Mendino [Enrique de Mendoza], Castalio [don Luis Hurtado de Mendoza], Cardenio, y Coridón. En la divina alteza de la poesía: Arciolo [Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga], Tirsi [Francisco de Figueroa], Campiano [Dr. Francisco Campuzano], y Siralvo [Gálvez de Montalvo]. En la música y canto: con la hermosa Belisa, Sasio, Matunto, Filardo y Arsinio.
>
> (the old Sileno [Elisa's father] firmed his chest [steadied himself], and the agreement as before with much pleasure returned in all, and the pleasures and festivities the same, because for any genre of exercises he had on the riverbank plenty of

[251] " la custodia y vigilancia que las Instrucciones de Palacio encomendaban a la Guarda mayor de damas; muchas jóvenes todas, lindas, de las más linajudas familias, grandes partidos, que diríamos hoy, ¿quién podía impedir que el amor se filtrase al través de puertas, rejas y tocas para hacer de las suyas? Porque aunque las curiosísimas e inéditas Instrucciones...extremasen todas las severidades y rigores para evitarlo, con muy copiosas y meditadas reglas, por más que encomendasen a la Guarda mayor de damas que tuviera «mucha vigilancia, recato y cuydado con su buen recaudo», obligándolas a asistir de continuo en la cámara de la reina, mandando cerrar sus ventanas y echar candados en ellas «cuando así pareciere», visitando de improviso sus aposentos, para sorprenderlas, a más del constante acecho de la portería llamada de damas, de la prohibición de recibir billetes, recados y vistas de fuera, así como el salir de Palacio, no siendo por enfermedad y acompañada de la Guarda mayor, y menos aún hacer noche fuera de él «sino con gran ocasión y licencia de la Reina», con otras muchas más restricciones, cuya enumeración haría enfadoso y prolijo este relato, quedábales no obstante a las damas palatinas una ocasión propicia para conversar a su salvo con jóvenes y apuestos caballeros de la nobleza, como era la de las comidas públicas de la Reina, a las cuales, por antigua y recibida costumbre, podían éstos asistir...," (Amezúa y Mayo, 1949, v.1, pp.160-161, emphasis mine). See also the 1559 "Orden y Oficios de la Servidumbre de la Casa de Doña Isabel" sent likely sent from Aranjeuz in November", included in Amezúa y Mayo's Appendix (1949, v.3, pp.92-93)

company. In force and skill: Mendino [Enrqiue de Mendoza], Castalio [don Luis Hurtado de Mendoza], Cardenio, and Coridón. In the divine highness of poetry: Arciolo [Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga], Tirsi [Francisco de Figueroa], Campiano [Dr. Francisco Campuzano], and Siralvo [Gálvez de Montalvo]. In music and song: with the beauty of Belisa, Sasio, Matunto, Filardo and Arsinio.)[252]

I have included the historical names of each shepherd which has been successfully identified in brackets to demonstrate the veiled realism of the novel. It is much closer to chronicle than to myth. Unfortunately, none of the musicians or singers encoded in this passage has been the subject of historical scholarship.[253] Elsewhere in the novel, the poets Benito Caldera (Batto), Pedro Laynez (Damón), Gregorio Silvestre (Silvano) and Luis Camoes (Licio) enter the Toledan landscape. Prince Carlos (Livio) who fell in Alcalá while chasing Doña Mariana de Garcetas (Arsia) and the events of his fall are included in the novel.[254] And the Marquis of Coria (Coriano) Fadrique Álvarez de Toledo y Enríquez de Guzmán appears in reference to Gálvez de Montalvo's own father (Montano). Several characters remain to be identified, but there should be no doubt as to the thinly veiled history which lies behind the text. This matters greatly to the conceptualization of the *Don Quijote* as a history (and a history of lyric subjectivity) because throughout Cervantes' literary formation the pastoral was the genre which explicitly priviliged the discourse of immediate personal experience as the historical content of literary works. As Julián Arribas Rebollo has observed:

> Es evidente que Gálvez de Montalvo usa de nombre y disfraz pastoril para introducir personajes reales. Algunos son nobles principales, contemporáneos al autor, como el mismo Mendino que esconde a don Enrique de Mendoza y Aragón, nieto del IV Duque del Infantado y hermano del V Duque, ambos de nombre Íñigo López de Mendoza. Los dos duques también están citados en la novela: el primero con el nombre de Mendiano y éste último simplemente aludido. Algunos personajes son nobles de rango algo inferior a estos primeros, otros son poetas contemporáneos y aun amigos del autor, y hay aún otros que son sirvientes y pastores. Y de eso modo Gálvez de Montalvo jerarquiza una ficción pastoril, reflejo de una sociedad cortesana, que sufre experiencias amorosas universales en casos particulares de amor.
>
> (It is evident that Gálvez de Montalvo used the pastoral pseudonym and disguise in order to introduce real personages. Some are noble principles, contemporaries of the author, such as Mendino who conceals Don Enrique de Mendoza y Aragón, grandson of the 4th Duke of Infantado and brother of the 5th Duke, both called Iñigo de Mendoza. The dukes are also cited in the novel: the first with the name of Mendiano, and the latter simply alluded to. Some personages are of noble rank but inferior to these first ones, others are poets, contemporaries and firends of the author, and there are even others who were servants and shepherds. And in this way Gálvez de Montalvo hierarchized a pastoral fiction, reflection of a courtly society, which suffering universal amorous experiences in particular cases of love.)[255]

Gálvez de Montalvo makes little pretense of the Arcadian landscape, never denying the station of his characters; he is in fact rather attuned and clear as to each character's social standing. For example, Mendino

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[252] (Gálvez de Montalvo, 2006, pp.132, brackets mine)

[253] For the musicians employed in Isabel's household, see: (Amezúa y Mayo, 1944, pp.38-40)

[254] (Rodríguez Marín, 1927, pp.41-44). Rodríguez Marín identified Coriano as the Marquis of Coria. The identification of the Marquis of Coria, as Fadrique Álvarez de Toledo is mine.

[255] (Gálvez de Montalvo, 2006, pp.31).

(his patron) was "siempre acompañados de la mayor nobleza de la pastoría" (always acompanied by the highest nobility of the shepherd-community), (2006, pp.116). The shepherds who meet to play games, partake in *pláticas* (discourses or philosophical dialogues), and recite verse also return to the "amparo de nobles mayorales" (refuge of the noble overseers), (2006, pp.124). The astute reader can easily discern that Gálvez de Montalvo is narrating the daily goings-on of court life, replete with the various households of the royal family, various visiting nobility, and the myriad of pages, servants and entertainers who pertained to each. Again, Isabel's private household alone counted as many as 315 persons.[256] I would like to underscore that the nobility of Enrique de Mendoza was second only to the royal family. The novel could take place nowhere else than in pertinence to the royal palace and in the circles of the highest nobility present in Toledo. That many of the shepherds are *forasteros* (foreigners) of Toledo further augments the conglomeration of noblemen from all over Spain around the new court of Isabel de Valois in 1560.

But the novel is not simply a chronicle of noble life in the 1560s. It is a pastiche of amorous incidents which took place in the court and its central feature is the poet's own unwavering love for Magdalena Girón. Gálvez de Montalvo occupied the central role in the novel as the unrequited *pastor* of Fílida, Siralvo, just as Cervantes would later make his own presence felt in the *Galatea* as Lauso. In many ways the novel becomes a showcase of the poet's own verse, which to the great benefit of literary history, situates Gálvez de Montalvo's life as a courtier, shepherd-poet, within that of his contemporaries: patrons and poets alike. Already in 1560 there was no question that the pastoral was a framework for the thinly veiled *mimetic realism* that Jorge de Montemayor had employed in order to make literature of his own emotional history and experience in court. As the Portuguese author and Habsburg courtier stated at the opening of *La Diana*:

> Y de aquí comiença el primero libro y en los demás hallarán muy diversas hystorias, de casos que verdaderamente an sucedido, aunque van disfraçados debaxo de nombres y estilo pastoril.
>
> (And here commences the first book and in the others will be found many diverse histories, of cases which truly have happened, even though they go disguised under pastoral pseudonyms and style.)[257]

While Mayans (1792) and Arribas Rebollo (2006) have tended to interpret the novel and the persons encoded within it as pertaining to the late 1570s, which is to say the court of Ann of Austria, I have found Rodríguez

[256] (Amezúa y Mayo, 1949, v.1, pp.157)
[257] (Montemayor, 1970, pp.7)

Marín's attention to details which reveal a pertinence to the earlier years of the 1560s under Isabel de Valois irrefutable. The unanimous and uncontested identification of Mendino as Enrique de Mendoza y Aragón solidifies the central timeline of the novel and further underscores the veracity of Rodríguez Marín's scholarship. The novel, as I have stated, spans three and a half years, most of which unfolds in the Part 1 of seven parts: the duration for this first part is three years. The central plot of Part 1 concerns the love and courtship of Mendino (Enrique de Mendoza) with Elisa, a noble shepherdess of the same rank as Mendino who has heretofore not been identified. Part 1 concludes with the tragic death of Elisa only three years after she falls in love with Mendino. In 1563 Ana Florencia de la Cerda Bernemicort, daughter of Ana de Bernemicort of France and Fernando de la Cerda y Silva, *sumiller de corps* of Charles V, and, most importantly, the young wife of Enrique de Mendoza, died.[258] That is to say that the novel opens in Toledo in 1560 with Mendino's (Enrique de Mendoza) love and courtship with Elisa (Ana Florencia) and that the first part of the novel concludes three years later with the untimely death of Elisa (Ana Florencia) in 1563.[259] This timeline coincides with Siralvo's (Gálvez de Montalvo) acquaintance with and lover for Fílida (Magdalena Girón) beginning in Pamplona in January 1560.

However, it would be reductive to suggest that Gálvez de Montalvo had simply taken the private lives of court and encoded them within an Arcadian landscape of literary invention. The pastoral world was in fact a lived experience in court life. The precedence for pastoral culture within the court, which had already been set in France in the court of the Valois and in which Isabel would continue to indulge--as in the episode with which opened the previous chapter--was clearly already present in the courtly practices in Spain, as the marriage festivities in Guadalajara reveal. In addition to triumphal arches filled with lyric verse

[258] Because Enrique de Mendoza was not the first son of Don Diego de Mendoza y Aragón, biographical records for this patron of Gálvez de Montalvo are limited. From the *Historia de la Casa de Silva* (Madrid: 1685, pp.564-565), it is clear that the two wear married sometime between 1598 and 1560. The marriage was concluded in 1563 presumably upon the death of Ana Florencia. The marriage was without issue. Like most noble ladies of the time, biographical data for Ana has not been recorded.

[259] While Ana Florencia did not pertain to Isabel's household, she could easily have pertained to that of Juana de Austria or simply by way of her noble station been present in Toledo with access to the court. Moreover, as her father served as *sumillier de corps* to Charles V, she had likely pertained to courtlife in Toledo long before Isabel's arrival in 1560. In the novel, it is clear that she is not one of Isabel's ladies in waiting as she is not restricted from excursions in the same way as Siralvo's beloved Fílida.

and allegorical emblems, an artificial forest was constructed from the bank of the Alamin to the Puerta del Mercado for the reception of Isabel in Guadalajara. This pastoral construction had been reputedly filled with wild animals and the artifice was so successful as to have appeared real:

> un bosque de encinas tan natural, que parezía verdadero; avia en él mucha caça de conexos, liebres, venados y muchas aves en las rramas de las encinas,
>
> (a forest of oaks so natural that they seemed true; there were in it much game of rabbits, hares, deer and many birds in the branches of the oaks,)[260]

This was in addition to those festivities already celebrated during the queen's two days in Pamplona where, as I have said, both the parties of the Infantado and the Countess of Ureña had gone to meet and entertain the young queen. These too were of an imaginative character, as Amezúa y Mayo relates:

> Las dos jornadas restantes que Doña Isabel pasó en Pamplona discurrieron bulliciosamente...en toda suerte de fiestas, danzas, máscaras, juegos de artificio, cohetes voladores y girandolas, toros muertos con lanzas y rejones, colaciones y festines
>
> (The two remaining days which Doña Isabel passed in Pamplona were passed boisterously...in every manner of festivity, dance, masks, fireworks, flying and spinning rockets, bulls killed with lances and pikes, candies and banquets)[261]

Upon her arrival to Guadalajara, the queen was escorted to the Palace of the Infantado where she met with the Princess Juana--a great friend of the dukes of Infantado--for the first time on the terrace the following morning on January 28th, 1560. The use of masks and costume was not limited to the literature of the pastoral or to the masquerades of the palace. Philip II notoriously arrived masked and on horseback to the palace the night before the wedding ceremony was to take place, hiding in his chambers in order to catch a glimpse of the new queen as she passed to take her dinner amongst her ladies. Isabel had been accompanied to Spain by an elite group of French ladies in waiting.[262] While several were sent back to France, at least

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[260] (Amezúa y Mayo, 1949, v.1, pp.118)

[261] (Amezúa y Mayo, 1949, v.1, pp.109)

[262] "Y claro está que, tratándose de una Reina, hija, además, de Reyes, parecía obligado, en sumisión al protocolo de la época, que no faltaran entre sus damas algunas de superior alcurnia y sangre real, como lo fueron Madamisela de Montpensier, hija segunda del Duque de este título, y Susana de Borbón, que lo era del Príncipe de la Roche-sur-Yon, a quien los cronistas llaman Madama de Rieux por el señorío de su marido, Conde de Harcourt. Tras ellas venían dos personas de respeto, Madamas de Clermont y de Vineux, gobernando el inquieto y gentil escuadrón de las 13 damas jóvenes, pertenecientes a las más nobles estirpes francesas, con nueve camaristas, dos capellanes, cuatro secretarios, dos médicos y la chusma alborotada de la cablleriza y el tinelo. Una parte pequeña de esta servidumbre volvió a Francia desde Roncevalles, cuando tuvo lugar la entrega de Doña Isabel; pero la mayoría continuó con ella hasta Toledo, como tendremos ocasión de ver y aun de sufrir más adelante," (Amezúa y Mayo, 1949, v.1, pp.85-86). For a complete register of Isabel's household as of May 1560 in Toledo, see: (Amezúa y Mayo, 1949, v.3, pp.120-122)

four French ladies remained in her company. To these Philip added Spanish noblewomen from the most esteemed families, including Magdalena de Girón and her mother María, who were already in Isabel's company.[263]

Isabel's reception in Toledo is exemplary of the imaginative world already alive in Spain which the young queen would continue to cultivate. The citizens of Toledo had erected a giant figure of the Greek god, Bacchus, over the Hospital from whom a font of wine flowed freely for the enjoyment of the general public. In addition to four triumphal arches replete with images, allegories and poems designed by Alvar Gómez, there were a variety of allegorical statues which included a representation of the river Tajo and a Venus from whose breasts flowed fountains of water. The statues were painted, *a lo Romano*, in keeping with conception of the classical world, as Vicino Orsini would later repeat in his Gardens of Bomarzo outside of Rome. [264] The paintings included a plethora of birds and other Arcadian figures. The queen entered in rich adornment on top of a white horse in conversation with the Cardinal of Burgos and the Almirante de Castilla, her *mayordomo mayor*. Philip, along with the Duke of Alba and another magnate rode masked amid the crowd. The streets were filled with minstrels, choir children, gypsies and nymphs. As in Guadalajara, artificial forests were erected in the city for Isabel's arrival.[265] Following the festivities, the king and queen settled in the royal Alcázar of Toledo where they would remain until May 1561. Thus begins the period of Gálvez de Montalvo's novel. Given Isabel's pastoral education in the French court, of which Ronsard's verses are exemplary, the pastoral taste already alive in Spain, and Juana's patronage of the first Spanish pastoral novelist, Jorge de Montemayor, the imaginative court of the queen which followed was neither lacking in models nor precedent.

Nor can Isabel's pastoral escapade, which took place during the royal honeymoon in Aranjuez from May 16th-28th of 1560, related at the opening of the previous chapter be taken lightly. To erect an allegorical figure of Venus for festivities in Toledo was a sign of festive erudition, but to play at shepherdess took the court into another level of *mimetic play* which has heretofore been overlooked. What marked this

[263] (Amezúa y Mayo, 1944, pp.27)
[264] See: chapter 3 of this dissertation.
[265] For a complete recount of the festivities in Toledo, see: (Amezúa y Mayo, 1949, v.1, pp.132-138)

particularly revelatory episode was not its *theatricality*, but its innocence. The presence of an audience and, consequently, the aspect of performance are noticeably absent in the pastoral episode related above. Even in the decision of the young queen and the princess to make use of the wagon, *carrota*, during their outing, theatricality fails to enter into the dynamic which they created. The *carrota*, which served as the stage in *autos sacramentales*, and which has long been linked to the birth of the modern theatre, materializes in this episode as host to the *amateur play-making* of a nobility without an audience. In other words, their *play* lacks a referent and indeed is without representation. As Matthew Potolsky makes clear, "Theatre is incomplete, almost unimaginable, without an audience," (2006, pp.74). They were not performing at the rustic life; they were improvising and experiencing it. It should matter greatly to our understanding of the *Don Quijote* that the essence of his madness rids him of the possibility of the very *theatricality* of which the duke and duchess are capable, as well as the *performativity* in which Sancho and others, at times, engage. This imaginative experience which, when transfered to the genre of the romances of chivalry, would become madness, was within the pastoral genre a readily accepted practice.

The experience of pastoral life--outside of the artistic boundaries of plastic, staged and novelistic representation--was fully cultivated in the court by Philip, Juana and Isabel. Philip already had the habit of passing the springtime in pastoral settings:

> Don Felipe, llegado el tiempo de la primavera, trasladarse a alguna de las residencias reales; ordinariamente para esta estación solía escoger el sito de Aranjuez, mientras que los meses calurosos del verano y buena parte del otoño hasta San Andrés pasábalos como lugar más fresco, unas veces en el Palacio del Pardo, y otras en el llamado Bosque de Segovia o Valsaín.
>
> (Don Philip, when the spring arrived, was transposed to one of the royal residences; ordinarily during this season he had the habit to choose the site of Aranjuez, meanwhile the hot months of summer and a good part of the autumn until San Andrés he passed the days in a fresher place, sometimes in the Palace of the Pardo, and others in the place called the Forest of Segovia or Valsaín.)[266]

At the end of February 1560 Philip had taken leave of Toledo to go hunting in the nearby village of Seseña. More importantly, throughout their residence in Toledo, Isabel and Juana made a habit of excursions to the countryside, particularly to locations on the banks of the river Tajo, often taking picnics along the river which Philip had ordered to be prepared for the two royal ladies. In these rustic excursions the natural and ancient landscape of the river gave way to a passion, at once bucolic and literary. Isabel was particularly fond of the ruins of the Palaces of Galina which had pertained to a beautiful Arabian *infanta* and which the people

[266] (Amezúa y Mayo, 1949, v.1, pp.185)

of Toledo related back to Charlemagne and Bradamante. One afternoon, the two ladies along with their ladies in waiting ventured out of the palace to visit the ruins, lured by the rumor that centuries prior a Moorish queen had the habit of bathing nude in an artificial pool of the patio, which they located and took their picnic nearby. Nearby the ruins there was a small island in the Tajo in which Isabel took such great interest that she had Philip order the construction of a footbridge to reach it. (The island would have been the size appropriate to that of Sancho in the palace of the duke and duchess in *Don Quijote II.)* There on the tiny island, on the 23rd of April, 1560, Isabel hosted a banquet and party to which Doña Ana de Austria and the ladies in waiting of both queen and princess, as well as Don Juan de Austria and any number of *galanes* or courtiers were invited to attend; no doubt Enrique de Mendoza, and perhaps even Gálvez de Montalvo, were in their company.[267]

In fact, Gálvez de Montalvo opens his novel--which I argue is set in April of 1560--with similar activities. The author narrates how the highly esteemed nobleman, Mendino, comes to know Elisa on the banks of the Tajo in just such a type of festive occasion replete with any number of courtiers:

> Sólo Mendino entre todos era tan señor de sí en sus tratos que si todos no le amaran, todos le fueran invidiosos; mas ¿quién gozará perseverancia en tanto bien contra las fuerzas del tiempo, si donde unas no bastan, otras sobran? Curiosamente Mendino, guiado de los pastores de la nueva ribera, vido las más hermosas pastoras y ninfas de ella, la gracia y gallardía de Filena y Nise, la gran hermosura de Padelia y Clori, la sin igual discreción de Nerea, acostumbrada a vencer en versos a los más celebrados poetas del Tajo, el dulcísimo canto de Belisa, acompañado de igual valor, y otras muchas que no quedaban atrás, no bastaron a que la libertad de Mendino no pasase por muchos días adelante hasta llegar el plazo de su deuda, que fue un día del florido abril entre los sauces del río donde, retirados de los silvestres juegos los más validos pastores y pastoras de más beldad, Elisa entre ellas fue señalada para venganza de amor, a quien Mendino rindió las fuerzas y la voluntad a punto.
>
> (Only Mendino among all of them was in such possession of himself that in his dealings it was that if everyone did not love him, everyone was envious of him; but, who could enjoy perseverance in so much good against the forces of time, if where others are not enough, others are too much? Curiously Mendino, guided by the shephers of the riverbank, saw the most beautiful shepherdesses and nymphs of that place, the grace and gallantry of Filena and Nise, the great beauty of Padelia and Clori, the peerless discretion of Nerea, acustomed to winning in verse over the most celebrated shepherds of the Tajo, the sweet song of Belisa, acompanied by the same valour, and many others who were in no way lacking from the others, but they were not sufficient such that the liberty of Mendino did not pass many days more until it arrived the place of his debt, which was one day of the flowering April among the willows of the river where, retired from the wild games of the most valid shephers and shepherdesses of greater beauty, Elisa among them was signaled for the vengence of love, who conquered Mendino in his forces and will in a single point.)[268]

When the author relates that Mendino, son of the Dukes of Infantado, came upon the "más válidos pastores y pastoras" (most esteemed shepherds and shepherdesses) it is clear that the visiting Enrique de Mendoza met with a group of esteemed noble and royal personages. That the novel coincides with Isabel's pastoral island party of April 1560 seems, for the pages of literary history, too precise to be believed. Yet, the

[267] (Amezúa y Mayo, 1949, v.1, pp.184)

[268] (Gálvez de Montalvo, 2006, pp.116, emphasis mine)

correspondence is clear and there would, moreover, have been ample opportunity for these sorts of meetings and gatherings. Like the adventure which opened this chapter, the island party was not unique to the young queen's reign. Moreover, the mention of Nerea in the above passage signals the presence of one of Juana de Austria's ladies in waiting, heretofore unidentified, and therefore likely the princess herself. In accordance with Rodrígeuz Marín's scholarship it is clear to me that Nerea represented Juana de Austria's lady in waiting, Magdalena de Bobadilla: "poetisa y gran latina, dama de la Princesa de Portugal doña Juana", (poet and great Latinist, lady of the Princess of Portugal, Doña Juana), (1927, pp.22). Her pertinence to the *cámara* of Juana de Austria would have given her ample time and experience to "vencer en versos a los más celebrados poetas del Tajo" (triumph in verses over the most celebrated poets of the Tajo). More imporantly, her presence at Mendino's meeting with Elisa further cements the likelihood that the novel pertains to courtiers who served and congregated around the royal court.

Isabel's presence on the riverbanks of the Tajo was frequent throughout the year of 1560. She was known to go riding with her ladies in waiting, accompanied only by her *mayordomo mayor*, the Count of Alba de Lista. At times riding all the way to San Bernardo to meet with the famous Princess of Eboli, Ana de Mendoza, who likewise went out on horseback to meet with the party of the queen. The two were great friends and Ana de Mendoza was often present in the chambers of the queen throughout the 1560s.[269] On her way to Aranjuez it is known that Isabel stopped in Villaseca to spend the night. Following lunch Isabel and her ladies took their horses over a rustic bridge to another small island in the river in order to partake in a rabbit hunt which had been arranged for her entertainment. During her stay in Aranjuez she was known to go hunting with Don Juan de Austria, who was a particularly skilled archer and her teacher in the sport. Philip, in spite of the reputation he would gain decades later following the death of Ann of Austria, was known to hunt with the young queen and take country outings in the afternoon with her. During the same stay in Aranjuez Isabel taught Juana to ride *al estilo francés*, which is to say straddling the saddle, and to hunt deer with a bow and arrow while mounted on horseback. It is likely that the allusions to the cult of Diana found in the pages of pastoral verse and prose most likely alluded to the hunting practices of various royal and noble ladies. Not all of their excursions to the small islands which dotted the river were a success. On

[269] (Amezúa y Mayo, 1949, v.1, pp.194-195)

another afternoon, Juana fell from the small footbridge into the river and had to be taken to bed with a cold by the evening.[270]

In fact, Isabel spent most of her days during the autumn of 1560 not in the Alcázar of Toledo but in the *Huerta del Capiscol* on the left bank of the river Tajo which pertained to Don García Manrique:

> Llévanse a ella, al efecto, las ropas de las damas y el menaje de los oficios de su casa palatina, y la Reina come y descansa allí a la sombra de una ramada que se ha levantado en la huerta para defenderla del sol, entretenida con los juegos de naipes y en otras diversiones.
>
> (They brought to her, in effect, the clothing of the ladies and the furnishings of the rooms of her palace house, and the queen eats and rests there in the shade of a branch which has been raised in the orchard in order to shield her from the sun, entertained with games of cards and other diversions.)[271]

All of these first months in Toledo coincide with the pastoral games and amorous episodes which color the pages of Gálvez de Montalvo's novel, for example:

> Pues como un día, entre otros, Elisa, Fílis y Clori, Mendino, Galafrón y Castalio se hallasen juntos a la sombra y frescura de un manso arroyo, habiendo pasado gran rato en dulces pláticas y razones...
>
> (For instance one day, among others, Elisa, Fílis and Clori, Mendino, Galafrón and Castalia found themselves together in the shade and freshness of a placid stream, having passed a long time in sweet discourses and reasons...)[272]

But the pastoral world of the 1560s was not limited to this first year and half in Toledo, nor to the pages of *El pastor de Fílida.* As the Marquis of Villa-Urrutia remarked in his response to Francisco Rodríguez Marín's study of Montalvo's *El pastor de Fílida*:

> Todas estas garridas pastoras de poéticos nombres no fueron, como la Dulcinea del Toboso, mera creación de la quijotesca locura y del cervantino ingenio, sino mujeres de carne y hueso, linajudas damas...
>
> (All of these gallant shepherdesses of poetic names were not, as with the Dulcinea del Toboso, the mere creation of the quixotic madness and of the cervantine *ingenio*, but rather women of flesh and bone, highborn ladies...)[273]

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[270] (Amezúa y Mayo, 1949, v.1, pp.184-190)

[271] (Amezúa y Mayo, 1949, v.1, pp.197)

[272] (Gálvez de Montalvo, pp.119)

[273] "... de quienes se prendaron eximios escritores que en verso y prosa cantaron los peregrinos hechizos de la amada, hechizos que dejaron de ser perecederos, como humanos, al imprimirles el indeleble sello de la eterna belleza y de la perdurable fama de las letras. Tuvo doña Magdalena Girón la singular fortuna de que sus castos amores pasaran a la posteridad referidos por la elegante pluma de Montalvo en su preciosa novela, y no fué menor la que siglos después le cupo cuando don Francisco Rodríguez Marín la descubrió bajo el campesino disfraz de Fílida y dió con la clave del idilio.... No pudo esta historia terminar satisfactoriamente con el venturoso enlace que Fílida y su pastora habían soñado: siguió la vida su curso normal, monótono y prosaico: casó Magdalena con el Marqués de Torresnovas; que enviudó y murió sin que se reanudaran sus amores relaciones con el pastor de Fílida, el cual jamás la olvidó y vivió manejando ora la espada ora la pluma, y no halló la muerte que buscaba del soldado, sino la que le deparó su deventura pereciendo ahogado en el puerto de Palermo por el hundimiento del muelle en que aguardaba con otras muchas personas la llegada del Virrey de Sicilia," (de Villa-Urrutia, 1927, pp.79-

While the case of Luis Gálvez de Montalvo and Magdalena de Girón is perhaps the most infamous of the unhappy courtly love affairs which took place in the pastoral sphere of Isabel de Valois, all of the poets of the decade lived their amorous verse within an imaginative cultural space which required little abstraction or embellishment from its literary reflection. In truth, all of the shepherd-poets who pertained to the court of Isabel de Valois (1560-1568) were courtiers of various ranks of the *hidalgo* rank. In like manner, it could be said that following the publication of *La Diana* (1559), Montemayor had become a shepherd-poet. What distinguishes the generation which wrote for Philip II's young queen from their lyric predecessors is that the pastoral landscape and community, still confined to the pages of prose fiction for Montemayor, was reimagined, actualized and celebrated in the court of the Queen.

In this context, the use of pastoral pseudonyms became widely popular during the decade of the 1560s. Figueroa, Laynez, Silvestre (who all make their first appearance in Gálvez de Montalvo's novel) and many others not only wrote under pseudonyms but, with an appropriate sense of courtly discretion, concealed the identity of the beloved under the same. Often this *nom d'amour* was recycled and reused by various poets and in various contexts. So it was that *Fili*, for example, would appear as a stand-in for any number of beloved ladies over the course of the subsequent fifty years. The two key features of these *noms d'amour* were primarily that they recalled a decidedly Greco-Roman pastoral and pagan reality and, at times (but not consistently), that they were in some way sonic variants of the actual name of the poet or lady whom they concealed. For example, Don Juan de Austria would later appear in Cervantes' *Galatea* as *Australiano*. The poet Francisco de Figueroa, in contrast, would come to be known as *Tirsi*. These *noms d'amour* were readily employed in palace life, in Toledo, in Madrid, and in any number of country retreats to Aranjuez, El Pardo and Valsaín, as well as any number of the palaces of noble literati, such as that of the Mendoza on the Guadalquiver. So it was that the chief feature of the shepherd-poet's lyric work was that of a noble lover in a pantheistic *locos amoenus* which in fact existed in the daily life of those pertaining to this cultural milieu. The confluence of these spaces of pastoral play and the literature which resulted became the idealized counterparts to the political obligations of arranged marriage within the Spanish court, but they retained the

80). The response of the Marquis of Villa-Urrutia to Francisco Rodríguez Marín's study of *El pastor de Fílida* was printed in the same volume. See the bibliography of this chapter for the complete reference.

etiquette of the very world for which they served as an alternative. Discretion, genuflection, adulation were all attributes of this most noble of lyric lovers, the shepherd. But in practice he was a gentleman most thinly veiled in this most transparent of disguises.

Moreover, the literature not only imitated palace life, in palace life the various tropes and figures from the extant imaginative literature--romances of chivalry, sentimental novels, byzantine novels, Moorish romances, theatre, and lyric verse--served as mimetic models for the *play-making* of Queen Isabel and Princess Juana, and the hundreds of personages who pertained to the palace. Of all the imaginative literature upon which Isabel and Juana drew, pastoral verse and prose, namely that found in and inspired by Montemayor, served as the cultural discourse by way of which the court developed. This was particularly marked in the exchange of palace epistles and *motes*, often in the the form of prohibited *billetes*. The case of Magdalena de Bobadilla (above identified as Nerea) is of particular interest for the type of play which took place in the court. She was known to have entertained an epistolary correspondence with Don Juan de Silva, future Count of Portalegre in which they took the pseudonyms of the "saudosa Corisandra" and the "caballero don Florestán" from the romances of chivalry.[274] Forty years before Alonso Quijano's exemplary reading of the romances of chivalry, playing at the romances of chivalry was a practice alive and well within the royal palace. Pedro Laynez's poem, "Embiando a Fili un Amadís en Toscano" (Sending to Fili an Amadís in Tuscan) reveals to what extant the knight errant had become an ideal of amorous devotion within the immediate culture of the 1560s:

> Del famoso Amadís la insigne historia
> nos muestra la alta fama que a dexado
> de leal amador; y quanto gloria
> se le deue al que es firme enamorado;
> pues en el siglo nuestro su memoria
> no menos viua está que en el pasado
> (Of the famous Amadís the distinguished history/ shows us the high fame that he has left/ the loyal lover; and how much glory/ is owed to one who is firmly in love;/ well in our century his memory/ is not less alive than in the past.)[275]

[274] (Rodríguez Marín, 1927, pp.22)
[275] (Laynez, 1951, v.2, pp.251)

It was this model which Amadís represented for don Quijote during his amorous penitence in the Sierra Morena, and the reference to an Amadís in Tuscan recalls that other exemplary figure, the Orlando of Ariosto's versified romance.[276] Both knight and shepherd exemplified the ideal of courtly love and it was by way of amorous discourse and experience that the two figures occur pervasively in literature and practice. Alonso Quijano himself will oscilate between the romance of chivalry and the pastoral as generic alternatives to one another throughout the novel, and perhaps most poignantly in the invention of the pastoral pseudonym, Quijotiz, towards the close of the second part. Moreover, Cervantes called explicit attention to this historical reality of *play-making* in the palace of the duke and duchess in Part II of *Don Quijote*.[277] However, the mimetic boundary frequently dissolved the mimetic boundary delineating art and life. Play quickly led to earnest experience--a theme which Cervantes reprises in his fiction. Throughout the 1560s, the gallant duels of the romances of chivalry were not limited to the pages of these books, or the epistles of the ingenious Magdalena. Discord regarding verses which had passed between Don Diego de Leyva and Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza led to a duel within the royal palace between the two in 1568 and resulted in the exile of both from court. Taste for the genre nonetheless extended to the queen herself, who in 1563 paid 121 *reales* for seven romances of chivalry and in 1564 requested the purchase of *Los cuatro libros de Amadís de Gaula* in French.[278] Hieronimo de Contrera's dedication of the *Selva de aventuras* to Isabel in 1565 is a testiment to how readily the young queen's literary preferences conditioned practice and authorship in the court. As Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza's "Sátira contra las damas de palacio" attests, the diversion of

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[276] "Por otra parte, veo que Amadís de Gaula, sin perder el juicio y sin hacer locura, alcanzó tanta fama de enamorado como el que más, porque lo hizo, según su historia, no fue más de que por verse desdeñado de su señora Oriana, que le había mandado que no pareciese ante su presencia hasta que fuese su voluntad, de que retiró a la Peña Pobre en compañía de un ermitaño.... Viva la memoria de Amadís, y sea imitado de don Quijote de la Mancha en todo lo que pudiere...; y si yo no soy desechado ni desdeñado de Dulcinea del Toboso, bástame, como ya he dicho, austente della. Ea, pues, manos a la obra: venid a mi memoria, cosas de Amadís, y enseñadme por dónde tengo de comenzar a imitaros," (Cervantes, 1999, I: 26, pp.291)

[277] "El duque, poco a poco y como quien de un pesado sueño recuerda, fue volviendo en sí, y por el mismo tenor la duquesa y todos los que por el jardín estaban caídos, con tales muestras de maravilla y espanto, que casi se podían dar a entender haberles acontecido de veras lo que tan bien sabían fingir de burlas," (Cervantes, 1999, II:41, pp.964, emphasis mine).

[278] (Amezúa y Mayo, 1949, v.1, pp.247)

motes ("hablar por cartapacio") and *play-making* in the court often ended in real scandal and the seclusion of the lady in a convent:

Dales esa fantasía
verse damas de Palacio
y el hablar por cartapacio
toda la noche y el día.
...
Los melindres de Diana,
los celillos de Sireno,
el quejarse al tiempo bueno
de la noche a la mañana.
Y las cartas de Ataguía
que llevaba Felismena,
la sabia Felica llena
de dijes de argentería.
El querer ser Orianas,
y el gustar de Galaores,
y el servirse de señores
y hacérnos soberanas.
...
Y las pastoras extrañas,
diosas en Montemayor,
se arrojan tras un pastor
por los riscos y montañas.
Pues por acá en las ciudades,
donde usa más clemencia,
no hay más dilación de audiencia
que el decir de dos verdades.
A manadas las mozuelas,
a media noche despiertas,
a las ventanas y puertas
andan hechas centinelas.
...
No se estén vuesas mercedes
con tanta gracia y donaire
las lindas bocas al aire,
las caras a las paredes,
que en mudándose la suerte
las dejará su Cupido

hechas ejemplo de olvido

y memoria de la muerte.

Y, al fin, viéndose perdidas,

habrán pagado el ser falsas

con meterse en las Descalsas [sic]

o en las Arrepentidas,

(Give them this fantasy/ to be seen ladies of the court/ and to speak by way of notes/ all night and all day./.../ The sweet cakes of Diana,/ The diligencies of Sireno,/ the complaints in good times,/ from the night to the morning./ And the letters of Ataguía/ which Felismena carried,/ the wise Felicia full/ of the sayings of silver smithing./The desire to be Orianas,/ and the pleasure of Galaores,/ and the to be served by sirs,/ and to make themselves sovereigns./ .../ And the foreign shepherdesses,/ godesses of Montemayor,/ throw themselves after a shepherd/ over the crags and mountains./ Well here in the city,/where more clemency is used/ there is no great delay of an audience/ than to say two truths./ In packs the girls,/ at midnight wide awake,/ at the windows and the doors,/ they go about made centinels./ .../ They are not, your graces,/ with such grace and finesse,/ the pretty mouths to the wind,/ the faces to the walls,/ that in changing the luck/ their Cupid will leave them/ made examples of forgetfulness/ and memory of the death./ And, in the end, seeing themselves lost,/ they will have made the to be false/ by putting themselves in the Descalsas/ or in the Arrepentidas,)[279]

In fact, this was exactly the case of another Magdalena, Magdalena de Guzmán, also a lady in waiting to Isabel. Late in 1566 or early in 1567, the first son of the Duke of Alba, Don Fadrique de Toledo, Marquis de Coria, had secretly promised marriage to Magdalena de Guzmán. The young nobleman and heir to the Dukedom of Alba had already suffered the death of his first wife, Guiomar de Aragón, in 1557. She was daughter to the Duke of Segorbe, Alfonso de Aragón y Portugal, to whom Diego Ramírez Pagán dedicated his *Floresta de varia poesía* in 1562. The collection included elegiac verses for Doña Guiomar, as well as Don Fadrique's personal, and Petrarchan elegy:

Ramírez no me trates de consuelo,

Dexa pagar mis ojos su tributo:

Resuene mi alarido hasta el cielo,

Vista mi cuerpo xerga, mi alma un luto

Que acompañe mi llanto y desconsuelo,

Mi rostro alegra ya no más, ni enxuto

Que imitando a Petrarcha, noche y día

Deste arte lloraré a la Diosa mía.

(Ramírez don't treat me of consolation,/ Let my eyes pay their tribute:/ Resound my shriek until the heaven,/Seen my argot body,/ my soul a mourning/ Which accompanies my sorrow and grief,/ My happy face already no more, nor guant/ That imitating Petrarch, night and day/ From this art I will cry to my godess.)[280]

[279] (Hurtado de Mendoza, pp.213-220)

[280] (Pagán, 1950, v.1, pp.57)

By the second half of the 1560s, Don Fadrique had become close to Doña Magdalena. The two were presumably both residing in the palace at this time. As in the books of chivalry, the unlawful marriage had been consummated on the word of the bride and groom. In this instance the amorous union, quickly disolved into the play of the court, and not without consequence. After Magdalena complained to Philip she was first banished from court and cloistered within her own house and then subsequently within the Convent of Santa Fe in Toledo. on February 12th, 1567. Don Fadrique was sent to serve in Oran for ten years. A decade later, in 1578 Magdalena was still petitioning the king, from her seclusion, to offer a reprieve of her sentence and enforce the marriage which had been promised. While, the Great Duke of Alba, was able to convince Philip to allow his son to serve with him in Flanders, the royal favor did not last long. At Magdalena's request, during the months of June-September, 1578, Philip reopened the case and temporarily held don Fadrique under arrest in Tordesillas. Don Fadrique escaped, and with the permission of his father, the Great Duke of Alba, married Doña María de Toledo in secret. When Philip found out he locked Don Fadrique in the Castle of the Mota and the Great Duke of Alba in the Castle of Uceda. Doña María was sent to the Convent of San Leonardo in Alba de Tormes. Frivolous or no, the pastoral play of the court, and the serious amorous intrigues which it gave rise to often ended in the most grave of consequences. It was by way of these amorous intrigues that the most influential minister of Spain, Philip's greatest general, the Great Duke fell from power, (and it was over a duel of a similar nature which the poet, diplomat and courtier, Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza was exiled to Granada).[281] Both ladies appeared in the *Canto de Erión* in Gálvez de Montalvo's novel.

Motes were particularly responsible for this transference between imaginative play and authentically enamored courtiers within the palace. The social space of the palace, much like the *hermosos prados* which speckle the pages of the pastoral novels, was known as the *terrero*. Within the space of the *terrero*, which occupied the central terrace of the Alcázar, courtiers were known to meet and pass amongst one another the various verses and *motes*, in oral and epistolary fashion, which led to the various love affairs recounted in the sanctions of the king and the pages of verse and poetry which pertain to this moment. During this period, Pedro Laynez lived in the palace as *camarero* to Prince Carlos. Gálvez de Montalvo would have been present

[281] (Gálvez de Montalvo, 2006, pp.43-45) and (Rodríguez Marín, 1927, pp.35-36)

with his patron Enrique de Mendoza on any number of visits the young nobleman likely made to the court. Francisco de Figueroa had known the circles of the young queen since his diplomatic presence in France in 1559-1560.[282] While the poet remained in France during the court's first period in Toledo, from 1561-1567 he wrote within the court in Madrid in service to Philip II:

> Es el tiempo en que une estrechos vínculos de amistad con Laynez, poeta ya habituado a la corte desde su niñez.[283]

This was also the period in which Cervantes would enter court life and begin his literary career as a poet. And the choice of Madrid as the permanent seat of the court in 1561 brought any number of poets from all over Spain, often in the service of the greater nobility, to participate in the culture of the palace.

But the poets of this period were not the only authors of these palace *motes* which consisted of both humorous and earnest entreaties in verse. All of the ladies and gentleman of the court were poets. As the disgraced, Don Diego de Leyva wrote:

> Ni quiero música dar
> en el terrero a tal hora,
> que en ella oiga mi señora
> cuanto yo la quiero hablar.
> (I don't want to give music/ in the earth at such an hour,/ which in it my lady hears/ how much I want to talk to her.)[284]

Thanks to an anonymous seventeenth-century manuscript pertaining to the Casa de Osuna, Rodríguez Marín was able to offer a contemporary description of this court practice[285]. The *motes*, like the art of the pastoral, were conceptual in nature and they hinged on the notion of saying something simply and clearly in verse: "y aunque ponga el arte en lo que se dice y cómo se dice, ha de estar tan encubierto, que no parezca que costó cuidado", (and although there is an art in what is said and how it is said, it should be so concealed, that it does not seem that it cost great care). This was very near, and likely inspired by, Castilgione's notion of

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[282] (Figueroa, 1989, pp.31)
[283] "Poetas sedentarios, palaciegos como Laynez, no eligen ya la acción porque caminan al ritmo impuesto por el soberano, ...Una vez abandonda Italia, y ya en España, el poeta participa de ese sedentarismo cortesano....Madrid, la corte, le acoge en calidad de contino, como descubrió Astrana Marín, desde el primero de octubre 1561 y permanece estable hasta 1567," (Figueroa, 1989, pp.35-37)
[284] As cited in: (Rodríguez Marín, 1927, pp.23)
[285] (Rodríguez Marín, 1927, pp.23-26)

sprezzatura at the heart of the *Book of the Courtier*.[286] The *motes*, though brief, began in a proposition and ended in a question and retained all of the gallantry and courtesy expected of the courtier. In practice, this was not always the case. But it was understood that they hinged upon the conceptual wit rather than the verbal artistry of the author. They could be directed to a single lady or gentleman or intended for public consumption, in which case they were meant as the departure point for the amorous philosophy (Hebreo and Castiglione) which occupied the *pláticas* of court life and pastoral novels and the innumerable glosses in lyric verse of these witty phrases.[287] They were a source of flirtation, erudition, jest, entertainment and courtship. The etiquette which was applied to the practice of *motes* was at times so strict that it inspired the ridicule of the ladies who, "Otras veces usaban ellas y ellos, nombres de las damas y los galanes que figuran en los libros de caballerías,", (Other times they used the names of the ladies and gentleman found in the books of chivalry), (*Ibid*, pp.25), or who jesting of their rigid etiquette, signed these little scraps of paper as, "soror Magdalena" (sister Magdalena), or "soror Eufrasi" (sister Eufrasi), a practice of play-making which ironically foreshadowed the acutal religious incarcerations of the most audacious of these ladies.

Of course, the danger of falling into one's own play-making was one which Cervantes would explore several times in his own fiction. This problem of *becoming* by way of *play-making* first occurs in the interpolated tale of Timbrio and Silero in the *Galatea*, but it is Alonso Quijano's pseudonymic adventure as don Quijote which has been most readily read and discussed. Ironically, this most obvious of threads in Cervantes' literary oeuvre has never been drawn out or attributed to the author's earliest and most indelible experiences as a shepherd-poet in the court of Isabel de Valolis. Not only a danger for the ladies of the court, the courtier-poets of this period literally became shepherds by way of cultural festivities and as shepherd-poets wrote amorous pastoral poetry which adulated and praised a divine and, often, unattainable flesh and blood lady. Nor were these unrequited languishings limited to the verse of Figueroa and Laynez. As a Portuguese caballero wrote in a *mote* for a lady of the palace:

Mortos se levantarão
para morrerem por vos.

[286] (Burke, 1995,pp.52-53)
[287] See the section on Book 3 of the *Galatea* in chapter 6 of this dissertation for an example of how *motes* became the departure point for versified glosses.

(Dead I get up/ in order to die over you.)

The ladies of the palace, like the disdainful Galatea of Cervantes' first novel, were most discrete in their authorship. Gálvez de Montalvo's own Magdalena Girón was an expert in the game. Though firm in her refusal of the various *caballeros* with whom she entered into verbal joust, her *motes* reveal both the humor and erudition of the court:

Don Diego de Acuña a Madalena Girón

Quien está sin esperanza,
partido le es el destierro.

Respuesta:

No la tiene por perdida
quien sabe tornar por si.

(Who is without hope/ parted him it is the exile. /.../ Don't have him for lost/ he who knows how to return for himself.)

Don Luis Quijada a Madalena Girón

¿Que puede haber tras mentir,
sino sólo haber mentido?

Respuesta:

Que aunque diga la verdad,
no se crea.

(What can there be after lying,/ but only to have lied?/.../ That although he says the truth,/ it is not believed.)

Don Enrique de Guzmán a Madalena Girón

¿Qué espera de su verdad
remedio podrá tener?

Respuesta:

Que si la verdad es grande,
remedio podrá tener.

(What is hoped of his truth/ remedy could it be had?/ .../ That if the truth is great,/ remedy should be had.)

Don Juan Pacheco a Madalena Girón

¿Qué muda en mudar fortuna
quien no muda voluntad?

Respuesta:

Que alguna vez sea segura
la fortuna, aunque imposible.

(What change in to change fortune/ he who does not change the will?/ .../ That one time it be secure/ the fortune, although impossible.)[288]

Moreover, the links between idyllic courtly love and the chivalry of the pastoral was not new to the court of Isabel. Philip II's own affair with one of Princess Juana's ladies, Isabel Ossorio had been memorialized in a pastoral manuscript of verse: "Sobre los amores que el Príncipe Don Felipe, rey nuestro, trata con una dama de la Infanta Juana, y llámase Doña Isabel Ossorio" (About the loves of which the Prince Don Felipe, our king, had treated with a lady of the *infanta* Juana, and called Doña Isabel Ossorio). As Amezúa y Mayo related:

En ellos se presenta a ambos amantes--siguendo la moda literaria de aquel siglo--bajo el usual disfraz de rústicos pastores, con sus acostumbrados coloquios sentimentales...

Soy zagalexo, soy pulidillo,

Soy enamorado y no oso dezillo.

...

Porque su belleza es más que Diana.

(In these it is presented to both lovers--in accordance to the literary fashion of that century--under the usual disguise of rustic shepherds, with their customary sentimental colloquies...

I am a shepherd, I am refined,

I am in love and I don't dare to say it.

... Because her beauty is more than that of Diana.)[289]

In direct precedence to the *desengaño* which marked the close of the century and the advent of Baroque culture under Philip III (reign: 1598-1621), the period of the 1560s marks a moment of *authentic play*, *earnest mimesis* and *sincere engaño* which would ultimately lead later generations to reject this interactive, extemporaneous and unpredictable world. It is resuscitated only in fiction, most explicitly by Cervantes in the episodes of the Duke and Duchess in the *Don Quijote II*. We must think of Sancho glimpsing the world like a mustard seed atop Clavileño.[290] The make-believe or *authentic play* which took place in the 1560s was conventionally different from that which would take place on a theatrical stage in the *corrales* of the 1580s. The stage, which is partitioned off from a live audience, enjoys a boundary line between the place of fiction and the audience as a place of lived experience. This convention reinforces a socially agreed upon faith in its

[288] (Rodríguez Marín, 1927, pp.27)

[289] (Amezúa y Mayo, 1949, v.1, pp.398-399)

[290] "...y parecióme que toda ella no era mayor que un grano de mostaza, y los hombres que andaban sobre ella, poco mayores que avellanas: porque se vea cuán altos debíamos de ir entonces," (Cervantes, 1999, I:41, pp.964).

own reality in contrast to the imaginative goings on of the theatrical performance. The absence of this boundary resulted in extensive mimetic transference in the celebrations of Isabel's festive court. While all of this may seem a far cry from the author of the *Quijote*, it was into this exact cultural space of ambiguous play-making and sincere enamourment that the young Castilian *hidalgo* became an author and poet of the court. The adulation of the supreme lady, already in use by Figueroa, by Laynez, by Gálvez de Montalvo, would be taken up by the young Cervantes' in his first known literary compositions which praised and deified the young queen through the use of conceptual tropes for the divine beloved common to his day. While not erotic in nature, the conceptual frameworks for these encomiastic lyrics were explicitly of an amorous and Neoplatonic origin.

The poetry which Cervantes produced for the court of the queen in 1567 and 1568 is not extensive and the works have been largely overlooked by literary history. From this time five poems remain: two sonnets, a *redondilla* (or *copla real*), a lyric of eight *quintillas*, and an elegy in *terza rima*.[291] The first sonnet was composed in 1567 to celebrate the birth of Isabel's second daughter, Catalina Micaela on October 10th of that year, coincident with the author's own feast day. This sonnet survives in a manuscript collection of sixteenth and seventeenth century poetry, predominantly pastoral and courtly--which is to say amorous--, which pertained to the court, and is now held in the National Library of Paris.[292] The other four poems pertain to the funeral exequies for the young queen whose death, occasioned by complications with her subsequent pregnancy, almost one year later on October 3rd, 1568. All of these poems appeared in the

[291] For full text, see: (Cervantes, 1974, pp.325-335)

[292] "Consta en un *Recueil de poesies castillanes du XVI.e et du SVII.e siècle*, manuscrito 373 del Fondo español de la Biblioteca Nacional de París (catalogación de 1860), fols. 73 v.-74. Fué descubierto por Alfred Morel-Fatio y señalado con el núm. 602 en su *Catalogue des manuscrits espagnols et des manuscrits portugais* (París, 1892). Lo publicó R. Foulché-Delbosc con el título de *La plus ancienne oeuvre de Cervantes* en la *Revue Hispanique* (1899), vol. VI, págs. 508-509," (Astrana Marín, 1949, v.2, pp.157). I have not had the opportunity to examine the manuscript in Paris. However, I have examined the above mentioned catalog of Morel-Fatio; the poetry is predominantly courtly and pastoral and pertains the literary milieu described herein.

Astrana Marín drew a parallel between this first sonnet by Cervantes and that which his friend and lyric mentor, Pedro Laynez, composed for the ill-fated Prince Carlos. To my knowledge this sonnet has not been treated by literary history, nor has it been read in relation to the development of Cervantes' better studied works.

commemorative volume which López de Hoyos, chronicler of the court and master of the *Estudio de la Villa*, published in 1569. In this volume, *Historia y relación verdadera*..., Cervantes was the featured court poet and the fourth of his poems, an elegy directed to the then powerful Cardinal Espinosa, served as the centerpiece among other works.[293] The four poems which appeared in the *Historia y relación verdadera* are better studied than the sonnet of 1567,[294] however, none of the poetry of this time, nor Cervantes' career as a poet, have been taken seriously within studies of his literary development and the genesis of the *Don Quijote*.[295] To excise this conceptual world of poetry from its position at the bedrock of Cervantes' prose texts is to do considerable violence to the mindset behind these pioneering works of modern fiction. Cervantes' earnest engagement with the culture of the courtly pastoral at the outset of his career is manifest in the poetry and prose which he produced subsequent to his departure from Madrid, such as his octaves for Antonio Veneziano (1579), the *Galatea* (1585), and the *Don Quijote* (1605 & 1615),[296] all of which are drawn from the biographical and literary topography of Isabel's amorous pastoral court. In order to understand the

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[293] This text was reprinted in fascimile in 1976 (see: López de Hoyos, 1976), along with the 1572 chronicle of Philip's marriage to Ann of Austria also by López de Hoyos. Unfortunately, this fascimile did not include the poetry contained in the original. For Cervantes' verses, see: (Cervantes, 1974, pp.325-335).

[294] For a broad view of Cervantes as a poet throughout his career in verse and prose, see: (Florit, 1968). For Cervantes later work as a poet, particularly in the *Viaje del Parnaso*, see: (Rivers, 1970). Within the history of literary criticism, Cervantes has not often been treated as a poet. However those studies which have appeared have brought the attention of several of the most significant critics to have glossed the author and his work. See: (Menéndez Pelayo, 1941), (Castro, 1951), (Blecua, 1970), (Lewis Galanes, 1981), and (Ynduráin, 1985). For an exemplary and recent technical study of verse within the author's ouvre, see: (Domínguez Caparrós, 2002).

[295] E.C. Riley's study, *Cervantes's Theory of the Novel*, for example fails to consider poetry entirely in the genesis of the author's narrative outlook. He concludes, "The central issue in the poetics of the latter half of that century was the relationship of history and poetry. But what emerges most clearly from Cervantes's imaginative version of the problem in *Don Quixote* is that it far transcended critical theory and properly belonged to philosophy. The nature of truth and fiction indeed became in the seventeenth century the primary object of philosophical inquiry,"(Riley, 1992, pp.222).

Indeed, all literary studies of *Don Quixote* as novel have confined themselves to narrative history and theory. This anachronistic view which utterly ignores the development of narrative fiction out of lyric poetry, particularly pastoral and amorous, during the sixteenth century has completely excised the very content which answers the larger philosophical questions to which Riley refers.

[296] See: chapters 4, 5, and 6 of this dissertation.

magnitude which this lyric world of NeoPlatonic love exercised on the young *ingenio* it will be necessary to return to the verses of Gálvez de Montalvo, Figueroa and Laynez.

While all of the poets of the period pursued a deification of their beloved lady, nowhere is the *erotic mysticism* of the lyric more fully pronounced than in the poetry of Gálvez de Montalvo. His verses to Fílida never waver from the certainty of her divinity, and in keeping with the philosophy of León Hebreo, discussed in the previous chapter, the focal point of this verse is on the eyes. So it is that in the pages of *El pastor de Fílida*, Siralvo sings of Fílida's eyes:

> Al revolver de vuestra luz serena
> se alegran monte y valle, llano y cumbre.
> La triste noche de tinieblas llena
> halla su día en vuestra clara lumbre.
> Sois, ojos, vida y muerte, gloria y pena;
> el bien es natural, el mal costumbre.
> No más, ojos, no más, que es agraviaros.
> Sola el alma os alabe con amores.
>
> (To revolve around your serene light/ the hill and valley, plain and peak are made glad./ The sad night full of shadows/ finds its day in your clear light./ You are, eyes, life and death, glory and pain;/ the Good is natural, the Bad [evil] habit./ No more, eyes, no more,/ that it is to aggravate you./ Only the soul lauds you with love.)[297]

By way of these verses Fílida's eyes took on a magnitude which can only be disambiguated through the philosophy of León Hebreo. Her eyes are not simply a gateway to the soul, as was common in courtly love, they reverberate back toward Siralvo as a life-giving force and divine sovereign of the natural world. In other words, they replace all other conceptions of god as creator. Gálvez de Montalvo's beloved lady becomes the "entendimiento divino" of the universe, which, unsurprisingly, Hebreo identified as having its simulacrum in the sun:

> El sol es simulacro del entendimiento divino, del que depende cualquier otro entendimiento; y la luna es simulacro del alma del mundo, de la que proceden todas las almas.... Tú sabes que el mundo creado se divide en corporal y espiritual, o sea incorpóreo..... Has de saber que, entre los cinco sentidos, sólo el de la vista ocular es el que permite que todo el mundo físico sea sensible, al igual que la visión intelectual capacita para que lo incorpóreo sea inteligible.
>
> (The sun is the simulacrum of the divine *entendimiento*, on which it depends any other *entendimiento*; and the moon is the simulacrum of the soul of the world, of which they proceed all of the souls... You know that the created world is divided into the corporeal and the spiritual, or rather the incorporeal.... You must know that, among the five senses, only that of ocular vision is it which permits that all of the physical world is sensible, in the same way that the intellectual vision enables that the incorporeal becomes inteligible.) [298]

[297] (Gálvez de Montalvo, 2006, pp.185)

[298] (Hebreo, 1993, pp.337)

Gálvez de Montalvo is twice enamored, by the corporeal view of Fílida which he takes in through his sensory vision ("vista ocular") and by the incorporeal view of Fílida ("visión intelectual") which renders her a divine "entendimiento" and sovereign of the natural world whilst engaging the *ingenio* of the poet in creative acts of making. Heterodox indeed, the modern reader should easily observe that, intuitively, Gálvez de Montalvo has created a "mirror in a mirror" description of Neoplatonic love as sensually or physically manifest. The "entendimiento" of each--lover and beloved--are locked, by way of the eyes, in an at once sensory and metaphysical gaze which allows the natural world to unfold and manifest in relation to the divine "ingenio" of each. This again was in keeping with the medical and philosophical doctrines of Spain. As Huarte de San Juan understood it in his *Examen de ingenios*:

> Como pareció en la invención de este nombre, *ingenio*, que para descubrirla fue menester una contemplación muy delicada y llena de folosofía natural. En la cual discurriendo, hallaron que había en el hombre dos potencias generativas: una común con los brutos animales y plantas, y otra participante con las sustancias espirituales, Dios y los ángeles..... hablando con los filósofos naturales, ellos bien saben que el entendimiento es potencia generativa y que se empreña y pare, y que tiene hijos y nietos, y una partera (dice Platón) que le ayuda a parir. Porque de la manera que en la primera generación el animal o planta da ser real y sustantífico a su hijo, no lo tieniendo antes de la generación, así el entendimiento tiene virtud y fuerzas naturales de producir y parir dentro de sí un hijo, al cual llaman los filósofos naturales *noticia* o *concepto*, que es *verbum mentis*.
>
> As it appeared in the invention of this word, *ingenio*, which in order to discover it, a very delicate contemplation full of natural philosophy was required. In which discourse, they found that there was in Man two generative potencies: one in common with the brute animals and plants, and the other a participant with the spiritual substances, God and the angels... speaking with the natural philosophers, they well know that the entendimiento is a generative potency and it becomes pregnant and gives birth, and it has children and grandchildren, and a midwife (says Plato) which helps it give birth. Just as in the manner that in the first animal or plant generation gives a real and substantial being to its child, not having one prior to the generation, in the same way, the entendimiento, has the virtue and natural forces to produce and give birth within itself to a child, which the natural philosophers call a *noticia* or *concepto*, which is *verbum mentis*.[299]

In other words, the "entendimiento" of Fílida makes manifest the *materia* of the natural world and Siralvo makes manifest the *materia* of language. He is an ecstatic mystic poet but the place of divine "entendimiento" is not occupied by a godhead but by the *sight of his beloved's sight* (and the redundancy is important): she is the divine creator of his material world. This sensory interpretation of the *pequeño mundo del hombre* (tiny world of man) in which the microcosmic vision of the poet is linked with the macrocosmic vision of the beloved was implicit in the poetry of *erotic mysticism*. In the space of a single stanza, and by way of the philosophy of León Hebreo, Gálvez unfolds a microcosmic/macrocosmic structure of erotic love to express a very simple phenomenon: they locked eyes. The sensory is transcendent and transcendence is sensory. The exploration of the phenomenology of love will later be intrinsinc to the development of plot in the *Don Quijote* which is

[299] (Huarte de San Juan, 1989, pp.187-188)

contingent on Dulcinea as the referent for all of Alonso Quijano's lyric deeds. This aspect of lyric subjectivity was pervasive amongst the poets of this milieu.

This can be observed in the poetry of Gregorio Silvestre:

> Imagen ilustre y pura
> pintada en el alma mía,
> ante cuya hermosura
> la lumbre del claro día
> parece la noche oscura.
> En mirar tanta belleza
> ocupada mi torpeza,
> he tomado atrevimiento
> de loar vuestra grandeza.
> Pure and illustrious image/ painted in my soul,/ before whose beauty/ the light of the clear day/ seems an obscure night./ In looking at such beauty/ by clumsiness occupied,/ I have taken up [to be] daring/ to laud your greatness.)[300]

In the poetry of Luis Barahona de Soto:

> Claras hachas de Amor, aridentes, bellas,
> Que aquí alumbráis, allí abrasáis las vidas
> De quien os ama y os contempla y mira;
> Ojos, que sois del cielo dos estrellas
> (Clear candles of Love, ardent, beautiful,/ That here you illuminate, you burn the lives/ of whomever loves you and contemplates you and looks;/ Eyes, that you are of the heavens two stars)[301]

In Luis Camoes:

> Beautiful eyes, by which Nature looks
> to provide best proof of her vigor,
> if you wish to understand your power
> look at me, your finest handiwork.[302]

In Pedro Laynez:

> --Claro sol, si vna centella
> de la lumbre soberana
> que te pide esta Diana,

[300] (Silvestre, 1939, pp.3)
[301] As cited in: (García, 2001, pp.332)
[302] (Camoes, 2008 ,pp.102)

la hará más clara y bella

que el rubio Febo a su hermana,

porque el mundo claro vea

quan mayor tu poder sea

que el del sol, es justo agora,

hermosíssima señora,

que alcance lo que dessea.

(--Clear sun, if a spark/ of the sovereign light/ that you ask this Diana,/ will make it more clear and beautiful/ than the blonde Febo to his sister,/ because the clear world sees/ how much greater your power is/ than that of the sun, it is just now,/ beauitful lady,/ that you achieve what you desire.)

It was this same conceit which Cervantes, at the age of twenty-one, transposed in his elegy for Isabel de Valois in 1568:

Alma bella, del cielo merescida,

¡Mira cuál queda el miserable suelo

sin la luz de tu vista esclarecida!

Verás que en árbol verde no hace vuelo

el ave más alegre, antes ofrece

en su amoroso canto triste duelo.

(Beautiful soul, of the heaven worthy,/ Look how he remains the miserable earth/ without the light of your elucidated gaze!/ You will see that in green tree no flight is made/ [by] the happiest bird, rather it offers/ in its amorous song sad hurt.)[303]

The poetry of Gálvez de Montalvo and many others[304], witnesses not only a Neoplatonic ascent, but also a return from *amorous ecstasy* to the *materia* of the poet's world by way of the beloved's divine presence. To my knowledge neither Menéndez Pelayo, nor any other literary historian, has succeeded in observing the circularity of this framework: *materia-forma-materia.* The traditional Neoplatonic trajectory is hierarchal, progressive, and one-directional: from *materia* to *forma*, from vision to contemplation or transcendence. In the lyrics of *erotic mysticism*, and by way of León Hebreo, the return from contemplation was completed in a full circle in which the beloved as divine manifest not only in her own *summa belleza* but as the creative force behind the *summa belleza* of the natural world, as Gálvez de Montalvo writes in the above citation: "Al revolver de vuestra luz serena". She becomes the governing force behind all that is manifest, including the poet himself: she becomes the immediate referent for both his experience and his creation. While

[303] (Cervantes, 1974, pp.331)

[304] See, for example, Cervantes' own *erotic mysticism* in his verses for Antonio Veneziano. See: chapter 4 of this dissertation.

psychoanalytic discourse brings to this framework an analysis of projection and perhaps narcissism, it would be more acurate to observe the way in which the lyric poetry of the sixteenth-century objectifies the poet-lover to the divine subjectivity of the beloved. Where projection is read, what we actually observe is a recipient of the sensory world, which is to say reception, and where narcissism might be read, what we actually observe is agape, philia (perhaps even storge) in reference to the erotic love which is pursued and the humility of the creative acts made in pursuit. The material or sensory world literally, in the words of Gálvez de Montalvo, revolves around the divine light or life-giving force of the beloved lady, Fílida. That the beloved was often compared to the sun requires no further expansion here; it is a trope commonplace enough in Renaissance love poetry as to be considered mundane. But it's conceptual implications should not be overlooked, as they will make themselves readily apparent in Cervantes' earliest sonnet and throughout his later prose. It is after all Dulcinea who reifies the Quixotic vision of Alonso Quijano and supports his metaphysical gaze.

In Gálvez de Montalvo's poem, a total of nine stanzas in *octava rima*, the lyric is addressed to Fílida's eyes. In the divine light of Fílida's eyes the poet renders himself a singular idea within the live-giving force of her light: "Siendo verdad que el alma que me ampara/ es sólo un rayo de esa luz pendiente,", (Being true that the soul which protects me/ is only one ray of the pending light), (183). In this way the eyes of the beloved as the "luz serena" and "clara lumbre" respond to the soul ("alma") of the poet, bringing light to the "triste noche de tinieblas llena", (sad night full of shadows). By way of sight, which Hebreo understands as at once material and metaphysical, corporeal and divine, the poet experiences her divinity, and in keeping with the whole history of divine vision (we can think of Hebreo's comments on the divine "deadly kiss", pp.335) is overcome. She beings in his eyes (*materia*), enters his mind (*forma*) only to be re-experienced as the manifestation of the natural world (*materia*). The circle is completed by the poet's return from vision and his resolution to laud her with his amorous soul: "Sola el alma os alabe con amaros"; in other words by way of his lyric subjectivity and the verses he creates. But his reality never escapes her gaze and his soul is defined within her gaze. Perhaps because of its heterodox nature--both for the culture of the sixteenth-century and for our own--the conceptual framework behind this outlook is difficult to unpack. It is necessary to understand that the poet, perhaps intuitively rather than intentionally, is dealing with two *formas* and two

materias, two souls: his own and that of the beloved. If we turn to Hebreo's discussion of the circular movement of the soul, the complexity simplifies. Hebreo writes:

> el alma es inferior al entendimiento abstracto, porque éste es uniforme en todo, sin movimiento desde una cosa hacia otra ni desde sí mismo hacia cosa ajena.... Por ello decía Platón que el alma se compone de sí misma y de otro elemento, de indivisible y de divisible, y añade que es un número que se mueve a sí mismo, queriendo significar con esto que no es de naturaleza uniforme, como lo es el puro entendimiento, sino formada por varias naturalezas: no es corporal ni espiritual, y se mueve continuamente de una a otra.
>
> (the soul is inferior to the abstract *entendimiento*, because this is uniform in everything, without movement from one thing to another nor from itself to another thing... For this Plato said that the soul is composed of itself and another element, of indivisible and of divisible, and he adds that it is a number that is moved in itself, wanting to signify with this that it is not by nature uniform, as is the pure *entendimiento*, but rather formed of various natures: it is neither corporeal nor spiritual, and it is continually moved from one to the other.)[305]

The soul moves in a circular fashion. In the stanza which I have selected from Gálvez de Montalvo, there are two subjects each moving in a circular fashion, and each with an *entendimiento* and an *alma*. The poet understands this intuitively. When the beloved is divinized she replaces the "entendimiento divino" as the sun. Likewise, the divine capacity of the *ingenio*, the poet's own *entendimiento*, is enraptured by that of his beloved. In this way the beloved governs not only the heart, soul and mind of the poet, but becomes the sovereign light which illuminates the material world in which the poet is caught.[306] In like manner, the beloved is *forma* in the mind of the contemplative poet and rendered *materia* in the space of his verse which reinforces her mirroring position. So too Alonso Quijano's deeds as don Quijote reify the existence of Dulcinea, a process which becomes concrete once the publication of the first part of his history appears in *Don Quijote* II. In so far as lyric subjectivity is realized by the poet--either in verses or in deeds--so too the *forma* of the lady is realized and it is on the lady which the lyric subjectivity of the poet depends. This is why don Quijote tells the duchess that without Dulcinea, he is nothing more than a shadow, (II: 31, pp.897). In short, love makes a *pequeño mundo* between them. This conceptual framework was repeated by Gálvez de Montalvo throughout *El pastor de Fílida*. It is in most of Siralvo's lyrics, for example:

> Si distinto elemento el primor fuera
> de la tierra, del agua, el aire, el fuego,
> bella nariz, vos fuérades su esfera,
> pues do quiera que estéis se halla luego;
> centro de belleza verdadera,
> donde la perfeción goaza sosiego

[305] (Hebreo, 1993, pp.335-336)

[306] This 'bringing to light' or 'making manifest' is, as we know, the precise condition of the phenomenon.

y en quien naturaleza se remira,

dichosa el alma que por vos sospira.

(If distinct element the angel was/ of the earth, of the water, the air, the fire,/ the beautiful nose, you were its sphere,/ well wherever you were it is found later;/ center of true beauty,/ where the perfection enjoys peace/ and in whom Nature is seen agai,/ *happy the soul that for you breathes.)*[307]

And again:

Divino rostro, el alma que encendiste

y los ojos que helaste en tu figura

por ti responden y por ellos creo.

Rostro divino, que de entrambos fuiste

sacado en condición y en hermosura,

pues tiemblo y ardo el punto que te veo.

(Divine face, the soul which you ignited/ and the eyes that you froze in your figure/ for you they respond and by them I believe [create]./ Face divine, that between them you were/ taken out in condition and in beauty,/ well I tremble and burn [in] the point that I see you.)[308]

It is, as I have said, this same conceptual framework which Cervantes will have Alonso Quijano construct for himself and Aldonza de Lorenzo as don Quijote and Dulcinea del Toboso in the pages of the *Quijote*.[309] It is for this reason that Dulcinea's enchantment becomes the driving narrative force in the second part of the novel: don Quijote's existence is contingent on the mirror which she offers him, as he himself testifies.[310]

However, long before Cervantes took this lyric conceit to its full hyperbolic iteration in the *Quijote*, he wrote poetry for Isabel de Valois using these same Neoplatonic concepts. Cervantes' presence in the court of Isabel de Valois has heretofore been overlooked. Stemming from his nineteenth-century reputation as an *ingenio lego* his pertinence to any such court has long been dismissed by scholarship. At best Cervantes is thought to have been an outsider with a sort of loose pertinence to the *Estudio de la Villa* overseen by López de Hoyos. What Gálvez de Montalvo's novel reveals is that poets, courtiers and the lower levels of Spain's *hidalgo* class were much closer to this culture than has heretofore been considered. Moreover, as official

[307] (Gálvez de Montalvo, 2006, pp.199)

[308] (Gálvez de Montalvo, 2006, pp.202)

[309] See: chapter 6 of this dissertation.

[310] "porque quitarle a un cabellero andante su dama es quitarle a los ojos con que mira y el sol con que se alumbra y el sustento con que se mantiene. Otras muchas veces lo he dicho, y ahora lo vuelvo a decir: que el caballero andante sin dama es como el árbol sin hojas, el edificio sin cimiento y la sombra sin cuerpo de quien se cause," (Cervantes, 1999, II:32, pp.896-897, emphasis mine).

court chronicler, López de Hoyos worked under the close protection of Cardinal Diego de Espinosa.[311] The first official court chronicler of Madrid would have occupied a central role with full access to the culture of the court. His chronicle of the death of Isabel, after all, recounts her final days at her bedside:

A closer look at the festivities which surrounded the birth of Isabel's daughters in 1566 and 1567, the *infantas* Isabel Clara Eugenia (12 August 1566) and Catalina Micaela (10 October 1567), serves to further place Cervantes within this pastoral sphere. The celebrations which took place for these royal births were not to be exceeded by those which have previously been described for the marriage of Isabel and Philip, nor the interim activities in the palace. According to Amezúa y Mayo the festivities for the birth of Isabel Clara Eugenia in Toledo lasted for at least fifteen days, replete with any number of ladies dressed as nymphs and shepherdesses and every other form of imaginative art and entertainment.[312] What is most revealing of this moment, however, is the eclogue which Gómez de Tapia composed to commemorate this first occasion: "Égloga Pastoril: En que de descriue el Bosque de Aranjuez, y el Nascimiento [sic] de la Serenissima Infanta Doña Ysabel de España", (Pastoral Eclogue: In which is described the Wood of Aranjuez, and the Birth of the Serene *Infanta* Doña Isabel of Spain). The pastoral eclogue consisted of seventy-seven stanzas in *octavas* and is replete with mythical allusions and descriptions not only of the royal family but the entire company of noblemen, pages, poets, and entertainers. Of the royal festivities and pastoral recreations in Aranjuez on this happy occasion, the poet writes:

> De bello Bosque, y de la huerta amena
> la fama y dela casa peregrina
> del Artico al Antartico resuena
> y hasta a donde el rostro del Sol inclina,
> de gente esta la estancia siempre llena
> que de apartada parte y de vecina
> qual de obscuro linaje, qual de claro
> a ver concurren el milagro raro.
>
> Aqui concurren todos los pastores

[311] "Diego de Espinosa (1502-1572), Oidor de Sevilla, gozó de gran influencia cerca de Felipe II, que lo nombró Presidente del Consejo de Castilla e Inquisidor General. Promovido más tarde a obispo de Sigüenza y a Presidente del Consejo Privado de Estado, llegó a ser cardenal (1568). Al final de su vida cayó en desgracia con el rey," (Cervantes, 1974, pp.329).
[312] (Amezúa y Mayo, 1949, v.2, pp.392)

por la vecina tierra derramados
mientras del alto cielo los ardores
vedan el pasto tierno a los ganados,
dellos cuentan a veces sus amores
sobre la verde Yedra reclinados,
otros mil juegos rusticos pouando
estan las largas horas engañando.

Las bellas Ninfas del lugar dichoso,
estan de tal manera enamoradas
que dexan por el bosque deleitoso
muchos y largos ratos sus moradas,
las Nayades oluiden el teposo
delas amenas fuentes y mezcladas
andan en dulces corros con las Driadas
Oreadas, Napeas, y Amadriadas

Entre otros muchos dias que vinieron
y por el Bosque y Huerte se holgaron
un dia señalado concurrieron
que por solene fiesta celebraron
de varias flores multitud cogieron
y sus ruujas cabeças coronaron
al claro Tajo, a passo largo llegan,
y que sus Ninfas les embie, le ruegan.

(Of the beautiful wood and the pleasant orchard,/ the fame and of the pilgrim house/ of the Arctic to the Antarctic resound/ and to where the face of the sun inclines,/ of people the estate is always full/ that of distant parts and neighboring ones,/ those of obscure lineage, those of clear [ones]/ to see they come together the rare miracle./ Here they come together all the shepherds/ over the neighboring earth they are spread/ while of the high heaven the burnings/ prohibit the tender pastures to the flocks,/ of them they tell at times their loves,/ reclined over the green grass/ playing another thousand rustic games/ they are long hours deceiving themselves./ The beautiful nymphs famous of the place,/ are in such a manner enamored/ that they leave for the woods delightful/many and long hours their abode,/ the Naiads forget the meddling/ of the pleasant springs and mixed/ they go in sweet choirs with the Dryads/ Oreads, Napaeaes, and the Hamadryads./ Among many other days they came/ and by the Wood and Orchard they found/ a day signaled they came together/ that for the solemn feast they celebrated/ of various flowers, a multitud, they brought together/ and thier blonde heads they crowned/ to the clear Tajo, in strides they arrive,/ and that their Nymphs send them, they beg.) [313]

This eclogue, at once courtly and pastoral, like the pages of Gálvez de Montalvo's novel, reveal the widespread practice of pastoral life surrounding the court and the breadth of nobility and lower *hidalgos* from

[313] This eclogue was published in Gonzalo Argote de Molina's *Discurso sobre el libro de la montería* in 1582.

all over Spain who participated within it. Six years after Isabel's excursions on the banks of the Tajo, the rich literary character of her court remained unchanged, if not further developed and more widely known. Regardless of any scholarly disputes regarding the level of *hidalguía* to which the author of the *Quijote* pertained, it is inarguable that the young poet, Miguel de Cervantes, could not have been present in Aranjuez "de gente esta [sic] la estancia siempre llena/ que de apartada parte y de vecina,/ qual de obscuro linaje, qual de claro/ a ver concurren el milagro raro" (of people the estate is always full/ that of distant parts and neighboring ones,/ those of obscure lineage, those of clear [ones]). [314] The "milagro raro" (rare miracle), of course, was Isabel Clara Eugenia, the first of Isabel's daughters, and other than Prince Carlos the sole succession for Philip's vast kingdom. Cervantes' first sonnet, commemorating the birth of Catalina Micaela, the following year places him squarely in the middle of the circle of poets who occupied the court at this time. That the poem survives amidst a manuscript of amorous and courtly verse is indicative of the context in which he wrote. Cervantes' pertinence to the festivities for Catalina Micaela in October, 1568 is definitive. According to Astrana Marín:

> Getino de Guzmán, danzante y tañedor, ayudaba quizá en este menester a las compañías de cómicos que daban funciones en las posadas y corrales de Madrid. Era singular, a lo que parece, en la disposición de la escena; y tan entendido en invenciones y danzas para las fiestas, en levantar arcos, poner colgaduras y elaborar cartelas simbólicas y figurones alegóricos, que en las grandes solemnidades de la Corte, bautizos de príncipes o danzas para el Corpus, el Ayuntamenteo la encargaba, solo en unión de Diego de la Ostia, vecino de Toledo, de todos estos aparatos de pompa y esplandor. Ahora bien, los arcos triunfales y las cartelas iban siempres acompañados de versos y jeroglíficos, en cuya composición se mezclaba mucho la Mitología. Getino de Guzmán, por tanto, para llevar a buen término su cometido, necesitaba de un poeta. Este poeta, posiblemente, era el joven Cervantes. Si lo conoció en los corrales de comedias, o en casa de su padre, como se infiere de la información ya citada de 1569, ello es que Getino de Guzmán, y a nadie acudir mejor que al hijo de su amgio, debió solicitar algunas veces de Cervantes versos para los arcos triunfales y cartelas.
>
> (Getino de Guzmán, dancer and musician, helped perhaps in this need of the companies of comics [actors] that gave performances in the homes and *corrales* of Madrid. He was singular, as it seems, in the arrangement of scenes [sets]; and so expert in inventions and dances for feasts, in raising arches, putting up tapestries and in elaborating symbolic posters and allegorical figures, that in the great solemnities of the court, baptisms of princes or dances for the Corpus [Christi], the local government he was charged, only in union with Diego de la Ostia, neighbor of Toledo, with all of these appartuses of pomp and splendor. Now well, the triumphal arches and the posters went always acompanied with verses and hieroglyphs, in whose composition was mixed much Mythology. Getino de Guzmán, as much, in order to bring a good closure to his comitment, needed a poet. This poet, possibly, was the young Cervantes. If he met him in the comedies of the *corrales*, or in the house of his father, as is infered from the report already cited of 1569, which is that Getino de Guzmán, and to no one it would come to

[314] While Astrana Marín does not definitively place the Cervantes family in Madrid until January of 1567, Cervantes could already have been in the service, likely as a page given his age, of any number of noblemen, such as the 3rd Duke of Sessa who pertained to the royal court. The Dukes of Sessa were long time patrons of the Cervantes family as far back as the author's grandfather, and contemporaneously to this period of his uncle, Andrés. The III Duke of Sessa would become his patron and author of a letter of commendation on Cervantes' behalf during his period as a soldier-poet in Italy, 1571-1580.

better than to the son of his friend, he must have solicited some times Cervantes' verses for the triumphal arches and posters.)[315]

So it was that by 1567, the twenty-year old poet celebrated his own feast day by writing his first (surviving) sonnet to Queen Isabel de Valois in celebration of the birth of her second daughter.

Serenissima reyna, en quien se halla
lo que Dios pudo dar a un ser humano:
amparo universal del ser christiano
de quien la santa fama nunca calla:
arma feliz, de cuya fina malla
se viste el gran Phelippe soberano,
inclito rey del ancho suelo hyspano,
a quien fortuna y mundo se avasalla:
¿quál yngenio podria aventurarse
a pregonar el bien que estás mostrando,
si ya en divino viese convertirse?
Que en ser mortal, abrá de acobardarse
y assi le va mejor sentir callando
aquello que es difizil de dezirse.

(Serene Queen, in whom is found/ all that God could give to a mortal human,/ universal shield of Christian man/ of whom the saintly fame never falls silent:/ happy arm, in whose fine [chain] mail,/ Philip the sovereign is dressed,/ illustrious king of the wide Spanish earth,/to whom fortune and world are vassals:/what *ingenio* could dare/ to praise the Good that you are demonstrating,/ if already in divine you are seen to become?/ That in that mortal being, he must cower/and in this way it goes for him better to sense/feel [by] falling silent/[in] that which is difficult to say.) [316]

The conceit of the poem relied on the concept of the ineffable divine lady before whom the poet, in all his linguistic capacity, falls silent. The failure of language to describe a divinity was not a new concept on the continent. Augustine's *Confessions*, Dante's *Paradiso*, troubadour lyrics, Petrarch's sonnets, Ficino's Neoplatonism, and most importantly Gálvez de Montalvos' own lyrics had grappled with the same. In another poem to Fílida, Siralvo had concluded:

Rostro divino, que de entrambos fuiste
sacado en condición y en hermosura,

[315] (Astrana Marín, 1949, v.2, pp.153-154)
[316] (Cervantes, 1974, pp.325-326)

pues tiemblo y ardo el punto que te veo.

(Divine face, from which you were both/ born in condition and in beauty,/ well I tremble and burn the moment that I see you.)

That Cervantes, at the age of twenty, already understood a conceptual framework which Alonso Quijano would fall victim to, and was skilled enough to conceptually "enact" this in the form of a sonnet reveals much about the level of interpretation which might be expected of his later works. It underscores the conceptual complexity of an author whose intellectual outlook has been vastly underestimated and reduced to simplistic dualities throughout the modern era. It rejuvenates the distance which the author must have gradually earned from his literary creations. More imporantly, it reveals the earnest endevour of a young poet who would undergo nearly four more decades of authorial development and transformation prior to putting forth *Don Quijote*. And yet it is a way of thinking which he never fully dismissed. The same phenomenology of love correlates the lovers Persiles and Sigismunda in his last novel, and it is his last sonnet which comes at the close of the *Persiles* which repeats the structure of this first sonnet written in 1567.[viii] One cannot help but feel a tenderness for the delicate mind of the poet behind this first work.

The conceptual structure of the 1567 poem coincides with the sonnet divisions. The first quatrain identifies the subject (queen as perfect mortal). The second quatrain modifies the subject (queen as idealized demi-goddess). The first tercet complicates the subject (can the poet articulate such perfection?) and in doing so alters the subject yet again (queen as divinity). The final tercet answers the question by enacting the negation (the poet succumbs to his sense of ineffability before her divinity: silence). The clarity of the progression and the mirroring of concept in wordplay conceals the complexity of the poet's art.

In the first two lines, the division between religious divine and mortal perfection is clear:

where "ser humano" is juxtaposed to "Dios". The queen occupies what Northup Frye termed the *high-mimetic mode*; she is superior to her countrymen and subjects—a perfect human—but subject to natural laws which are imposed by a supreme divinity, here "Dios".[317] The second two lines underscore the sense of the first quatrain *and* transition to the sense of the second quatrain. "Amparo universal del ser christiano" describes the "serenísima reyna" and specifies the nature of her perfection, but it also paradoxically, amplifies the

[317] (Frye, 2000, pp.33-35)

subject (the queen). By way of metaphor the queen moves from "humano" towards "amparo", from the material toward the symbolic. I want to stress that the sonnet employs metaphor rather than simile. The queen is not *like* a universal shield; she *is* a universal shield. This duality is reinforced by observing the positioning of the human/divine in both sets of lines: Where *serenísima reyna* equates to *amparo universal* such that *Dios* in the first couplet is replaced by the queen's *santa fama* in the second. Additionally, the juxtaposition of "ser humano" and "ser christiano" draws out the shift which occurs between lines 2 and 3. In relation to "Dios" the queen is a "ser humano", but as protector of "ser christiano[s]" the queen is no longer material, but symbol. In Frye's terms she has transitioned to the *romantic mode.*

The second quatrain supplies two additional metaphors for the queen and places her as *a divine lady* in relation to the king, Philip II. In this way the queen as "amparo universal" becomes "arma feliz" which becomes "fina malla". Likewise, the "ser christiano" becomes the "gran Phelippe" who becomes the "inclito rey".[318] Mortal king and divine queen. She now verges on Frye's definition of the *mythic mode.* Here the second and third metaphors do not replace the previous signifiers but, rather, they are woven into the fabric of the first quatrain such that the octave as a whole progressively develops a single extended metaphor. In other words, "arma feliz" is a metaphor for the "serenísima reyna" but it is also a metaphor for the "amparo universal". "Amparo universal", a universal shield of Christianity, also, according to Covarrubias, denoted the figure of the mother who opens her arms to catch a falling child, a fitting image given that the poem celebrates the birth of Isabel's second daughter. Simultaneously, "amparo" links to "arma" as a shield is a form of a weapon. According to Covarrubias, "arma" possessed both the offensive and defensive valence: destroyer and protector.[319] Moreover, "amparo" and "arma" are not only linked in the military sense, but also in the sense of motherhood. "Arma" was also "la insignia del linaje y casa, porque se ponen en el escudo,"(118) or coat of arms. The queen, Isabel de Valois, daughter of Henry II of France and Catherine of Medici, was the well-famed lineage ("arma feliz") in whose womb (both "amparo universal" and "fina malla")

[318] This permits an alternate reading of lines 3-4 with the elimination of the coma at the end of line 3 so that line 4 modifies the "ser christiano" rather than the "amparo universal", i.e.: "ser christiano de quien la santa fama nunca calla").

[319] "Arma puede ser ofensiva como la espada, la lanza, etc., porque ofendemos con ella al enemigo, y defensiva, como la cota, el casco la rodela, el coselete, etc." (Covarrubias, 1995, 118).

Philip II cloaked his decedents. Moreover, that "fina malla" is itself a type of "amparo" brings the three synonyms full circle (in a chain)[320] and renders them at once similes for one another as well as three distinct metaphors.[321]

The second quatrain enacts a similar linguistic arc for Philip II, moving, as I have noted, from "ser christiano" to "gran Phelippe soberano" to "inclito rey" where Philip serves as the mortal or material grounding for the exalted divine lady, just as Gálvez de Montalvo had done in his poetry for Fílida. This conceptual and linguistic linking is perfected in the final line (8) of the octave at whose center appear the words "fortuna y mundo". The positioning of these two nouns at the center of the line, between pronoun and verb, highlights and emphatically repeats the divine/mortal duality articulated in lines 1-2. At the close of the octave both divine fortune (the *ineffable beloved*) and the mortal world (the kings subjects) are his vassals. But the poet's central concern, Isabel, has transcended to the status of a demi-god, like Siralvo's Fílida. She is the "amparo universal", the "arma feliz", the "fina malla", the *metaphysical* ***fortuna*** which enables and protects the sovereign.

The first tercet of the sextet turns rhetorically inward and places the mortal poet and his metaphysical *ingenio* in relation to the poem's subject, the *divine* queen. In the space of this question the poet ("ingenio") is introduced, the suggestion of the queen's divinity ("bien")[322] is put forth and the conversion into "divino" is enacted. The use of *ingenio* as a synonym for the poet echoes Hebreo's discussion of the *entendimiento*, as well as Huarte de San Juan. The question at once demonstrates the power of language to

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[320] Without pushing the limits of language and representation, it merits noting Covarrubias' definition of *malla* as "Las sortijitas de acero encadenadas unas en otras, de que se hacen las cotas y otros reparos y defensas contra los golpes del contrario. 2. También decimos **mallas** las aberturas de la red entre ñudo, que en latín se llaman MACULAE, de donde trae su origen la palabra malla. Ovidio, en la epístola de Aenone a Paris: *Retia saepe comes maculis distinca tetendi. ...* **5. Tragamalla**, nombre fingido" (730). Here *malla* serves as a metaphor for linguistic and conceptual linking in the poem, as so many loops of iron in chain mail. The fifth valence of "nombre fingido" also recalls the use of poetic pseudonyms or metaphors. This valence is more pertinent to the literary critic than the function/structure of this sonnet.

[321] The listing of three adjectives, which are at once disparate and metaphorically linked, in a single line and in reference to a single noun has been signaled as a key trait in Cervantes' verse, see: (Arata, 1992).

[322] According to Covarrubias,"absolutamente sólo Dios es bueno y sumo bien, y todas las cosas que Él crió, en cuento son hechura de Dios, de quien tienen ser, son buenas,"(188).

enact that which it posits. Line 11 is simultaneously the completion of a question (or proposition) but also the moment in which the queen is *converted* to a divinity with the word *convertirse*. It is by virtue of the question that her prior state of demi-goddess is elevated to the divine or *mythic mode*.

The final tercet enacts rather than articulates the answer to the question of the first tercet and reconstitutes the conversion of the queen to a divine figure. By substituting "ser mortal" for "yngenio" and "aquello que es difizil de dezirse" for "divino" the mortal/divine duality of the first quatrain is inverted. The duality: mortal (queen)/ divine (God) from the sonnet's opening becomes the duality: mortal (poet)/ divine (queen) at the sonnet's close. "Divino" in reference to the queen is secular and female, as had been the case in nearly all of the lyric poets of the period. This closing tercet suggests that the mortal poet should cower before the task of articulating public praise of the queen because praise of such divine perfection was better understood with silence. Thus when the poet says "mejor sentir callando" the sense is exactly (the paradox of) articulation through silence. Or as Sir Philip Sidney stated in a similar sonnet, "that his right badge is worn but in the heart." The enactment of this paradox in language curiously proves, within the space of the sonnet, both the divine ineffability of the subject and the veracity of the poet's genuflection.

It is clear that both the sonic and conceptual architecture have heretofore been entirely written out of the author's oeuvre, not only because the historical-culture context of their making has been heretofore ignored, but because the complexity of the *ingenio* behind this sonnet complicates all prior readings of *Don Quijote* as they have arrived to us by way of the eighteenth-century English satirists, the nineteenth-century German Romantics and the twentieth-century Spanish and American realists. As the *Licenciado vidriera* would make plain in Cervantes' later novela (1613) the pretense of ornate language could not compare with the conceptual poets of the late sixteenth century who, Cervantes among them, *mostraron* (showed):

> la divinidad de sus ingenios y la alteza de sus conceptos, a despecho y pesar del circunspecto ignorante que juzga de lo que no sabe y aborece lo que no entiende.
>
> (the divinity of their *ingenios* and the heights of their concepts, to the spite and weight of the circumspect ignorant who judges of what he doens't know and abhores what he doesn't understand.[323]

There is no space in this chapter to elucidate all of the verses which Cervantes composed during his first forays as a conceptual poet in Madrid. Nonetheless, his identity as a lyric poet and his pertinence to the

[323] (Cervantes, 2001, pp.59)

poetry of Gálvez de Montalvo, Francisco de Figueroa and Pedro Laynez, among so many others, is indisputable. Moreso, that Cervantes never relinquished this early relationship to the world of the lyric is evident not only in his later prose fiction, but clearly stated in his late lyric work, *El viaje del Parnaso* (1614) in which the aging author lamented the deficiency of his own versified output as well as the state of poetry in practice throughout the last decades of his life. The extent to which Cervantes' identity as a lyric poet permeated his works of the 1570s, the 1580s and the first decades of the seventeeth-century will be the subject of the chapters which follow.

This chapter has demonstrated that this first period of authorial marksmanship shaped the beginning of Cervantes' literary career in lyric verse. During this time, the young poet, just twenty years old at the date of his first known literary composition, employed complex conceptual verse in adulation of the young queen and by way of lyric conceits which were in keeping with the *mystical erotic poetry* of his contemporaries. In doing so, the lyric conceit of the divine beloved lady was realized within the poet's lived reality in which the queen in fact occupied two bodies: corporeal and divine.[324] While the poet would leave Madrid following the death of Isabel in October 1568, the conceit of the divinized beloved would remain intact within his literary outlook and continue to manifest in his subsequent prose and fiction, most famously in the amplification of Aldonza Lorenzo as Dulcinea del Toboso.

Inspired by the world of *La Diana*, and other exemplars of pastoral literature, the festive context in which Cervantes and his contemporaries wrote was both a collectively imagined space and an actuality which explicitly affected their emotional biographies and the contents of their literary works. While not all poets went so far as Gálvez de Montalvo to link souls with the beloved to the phenomenlogical affect of their material world, all of these poets found in the beloved a governess of their own souls which they treated in

[324] "To summarize, it cannot be denied that isolated features are recognizable in classical political philosophy and political theology which would suggest that the substance of the diea of hte King's Two Bodies had been anticipated in pagan Antiquity. Moreover, it sounds plausible enough that one or another of those antique theorems became effective in the High Renaissance when, in addition to the literary sources, the archaeological and numistic material also became available again. There is no doubt that the classical model occasionally served to *rationalize* certain phenomena (as, for example, the display of effigies at royal funerals) which had originated and developed from totally different conditions and strata," (Kantorowicz, 1951, pp.505).

the idylic and courtly pastoral world of literature. The spiritual magnitude of Neoplatonic love, occurred both in the lyrical conceits of their poetry, and also in the lived experiences of the palace. Few generations have so proven the dictum that all poetry is indeed written in blood. The poets of the 1560s did not need to imagine a pastoral world on the page, they lived a pastoral world and commemorated actual experiences in pastoral works. At this time the distance between lived experience and lyric literature vastly diminished and this historical reality, perhaps more than any other, was behind the confusion which led Alonso Quijano to take up his sheild and armour almost half a century later.

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Landscapes of the Interior:

Lyric Subjectivity as Manifest Practice in Rome

"non ho mai havuto disiderio maggiore, che di servirvi quanto è stato in me, di celebrarvi, & di essaltarvi, havendo posta tutta la mia fatica, e tutto lo studio mio in quella maniera di lettere, le quali più vi potessero piacere, & darvi nome: che è l'eccellentia della Poesia, cosa veramente divina, & degna della vostra divinità."

(I have never had a greater desire, than to serve you as much as has been in me, to celebrate you, and to exalt you, having put all of my effort, and all of my study in that manner of Letters, which could please you, and give you name: that is the excellency of Poetry, a truly divine thing, and worthy of your divinity.)[325]

Introduction

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1568 marked a great exodus of lyric poets and patrons from Madrid. Whether in exile, as in the case of Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, in pursuit of a sentimental education, as in the case of Miguel de Cervantes, or in pursuit of the military experience expected of any true soldier-poet, as in the case of Juan Rufo Gutiérrez and Pedro Laynez, most of the major living lyric poets of the Habsburg court left Madrid.[326] 1568 was a year of scandal and grief which saw the death of the prince and heir, Carlos, in July, and later Philip's young queen, Isabel de Valois, due to complications with her third pregnancy in October. Imaginative cultural practices diminished with the passing of the chief patroness and cultivator of the

[325] This citation is taken from Mutio Manfredi's address, "Alle Donne Romane", published in *Donne Romane. Rime di diversi. Raccolte, & Dedicate al Signor Giacomo Buencompagni. Da Mutio Manfredi.* (Bologna: Alessandro Benacci, 1575, pp.4v). As a cumulative volume this publication revises the contours of the literary milieu which Cervantes encountered during his period in Rome. As is evident in the above citation, as well as the many verses contained in this volume, the intellectual and literary climate in Rome was conversant with those of Madrid which I have expounded in the previous chapters. The recipient of this volume, Giacomo Buencompagni, was the illegitimate son of Pope Gregory XIII (elected in 1572); he was named *castellan* of the Castel Sant'Angelo shortly thereafter.

[326] Both Rufo and Laynez benefited from the patronage of Don Juan de Austria while traveling in his immediate entourage to Lepanto. Rufo served as the nobleman's chronicler. (Astrana Marin, 1948, II, pp.296-298). Following the arranged marriage of Magdalena Girón, Luis Gálvez de Montalvo also left Madrid to enlist as a soldier in the wars of the Alpujarras.

pastoral court.[327] The young queen's funeral exequies brought a grave closure to the gradual decline in play which began with Prince Carlos's confinement in his room on the 17th of January, 1568 following his alleged conspiration with the Dutch against his father. These machinations were not far from the ears of the young poet and courtier: Cervantes was twenty-one years old at the time and his close friend and lyric mentor, the poet Pedro Laynez, was *camarero* to the prince. As Astrana Marín observes:

> Nos imaginamos a Cervantes enterándose del fin trágico del principe: sin duda, de la boca misma de su amigo Pedro Laynez, el poeta camarero al que se atribuye una relación manuscrita del arresto.
>
> (We imagine Cervantes learning of the tragic end of the prince: without a doubt, from the mouth of his friend, Pedro Laynez, the poet chamberman to whom the manuscript report of the arrest is attributed.) [328]

An amorous scandal in June of 1568 resulted in Hurtado de Mendoza's exile to Granada.[329] The Moorish uprising in the Alpujarras, 1568-1571, which Hurtado de Mendoza would memorialize in his *Guerra*

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[327] For the death and funeral exequies of Isabel de Valois and Cervantes' pertinence to this historical moment, see: Astrana-Marín, v.2, ch. 19, pp.151-217. For a full historical narration of the year of 1568 in the court of Isabel, see chapter 15 of *Isabel de Valois, reina de España* (Amezúa y Mayo, 1949, v.2, pp. 437-551). See also: chapter 3 of this dissertation.

[328] (Canavaggio, 1992, pp.49). Astrana-Marín narrates the same incident to which Laynez was a witness: "Sobre el acontecimiento hay la version anónima de un testigo presencial, ayuda de cámara del Príncipe, obra, en nuestra opinion, del gran amigo de Cervantes, Pedro Laínez, que era el único escritor y poeta entre los ayudas de cámara de don Carlos", (1949, v.2, pp. 168). For the complete version of the anonymous testimony, see: Gachard, 1863, Appendix B. An extensive narration of the incident can also be found in *Historia de España. España en tiempo de Felipe II. 1556-1598.* (1958, v.1, pp.752-777).

[329] "Nada, empero, podría dar tan clara muestra de lo que en realidad era en aquel tiempo la vida de Palacio, en cuanto a las damas y galanes, como las sabrosamente chismosas cartas que por los años de 1562 se cruzaron entre doña Magdalena de Bobadilla, poetisa y gran latina, dama de la Princesa de Portugal doña Juana, y don Juan de Silva, después conde de Portalegre, que tuvo la alegría en el alma aún más que en el título. En tales donosas epístolas, bajo el pintoresco disfraz de todo un onomastición tomado de los libros de caballerías (más leídos entonces por las damas que los de horas de la Santísima Virgen), se cuentan mil donaires palaciegos del orden amatorio, y hasta algún lance aldeano en que lo picante pesa un si es, no es, de la raya. Esta ingeniosa Bobadilla se llama en su escrito, "la saudosa Corisandra", y Silva, "el caballero don Florestán". Y si, leídas tales cartas, se quiere ampliar, examinando otros documentos, la noticia de las invenciones, intrigüelas y dimes y diretes con que procuraban no aburrirse las guardadísimas damas de la cámara de la Reina, bien colmarán las medidas de nuestra curiosidad las redondillas en que don Diego de Leyva, hermano del Príncipe de Ascoli, se despidió festivamente de Casa de la Princesa y la respuesta que en otros versos le dió don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, tan destemplada y satírica que, motivando entre los dos en los corredores de Palacio un lance en que Mendoza, para defenderse, echó mano a un puñal, trajo por consecuencia la prisión y el subsiguiente destierro de ambos,"(Rodríguez Marín, 1927, pp.22). For the pseudonymic epistles of Bobadilla and Silva, see: Ms. 1439, Biblioteca Nacional de España (Rodríguez Marín, 1927,pp.22, n.1). For a selection of Leyva's verses which mention Bobadilla, see: Astrana Marín,1949, v.2, pp. 203. For Astrana Marín's narration of the incident, see: pp.201-204 of the same volume.

de Granada, brought those Castilian soldier-poets who were not destined for Italy to the south of Spain.[330] Many of those who went abroad would later appear in the hundreds of pages dedicated to the victory at Lepanto in 1571. [331] There is no space to do justice to this second resurgence of soldier-poets some forty years after Garcilaso de la Vega.[332] This chapter concerns the cultural practices and lyric works of the literary milieu of Rome which Cervantes encountered between 1569-1571 prior to his period as a soldier-poet in the Mediterranean campaigns in service to Don Juan de Austria, the III Duke of Sessa (Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba) and Marco Antonio Colonna.

While no writing by Cervantes (either in verse or prose) remains from the Roman period, the cultural climate and literary milieu which he found in the *caput mundi* not only echoed that which he had left behind in Madrid, but undoubtedly served to continue his development as a lyric poet of the period in the service of several of the most powerful patrons in Spain and Italy. In the same volume compiled by Mutio Manfredi referenced at the opening of this chapter, various verses to members to the two most powerful Roman families--the Colonna and Orsini--may be found.[333] This volume, published in 1575 compiled the work of numerous Roman poets of the 1560s and early 1570s; the majority of these works were composed for noble ladies and grandees of Rome. As such, it records and gives voice to the very milieu which Cervantes encountered as a young courtier-poet in service to Giulio Acquaviva at this time; it also reveals which patronesses would have been most frequent amongst the literary milieu in which Acquaviva circulated. This volume also reveals the extent to which the lyric culture of the divine beloved (we cannot forget Dante and Petrarch) observed in the court of Isabel in the previous chapters was native to literary discourse in Italy. For example, the verses to the sister-in-law of Ascanio Colonna--to whom Cervantes would dedicate the *Galatea*-, Anna Colonna di Paliano (Borromeo), reprise the amorous and laudatory conceits of the divine lady as discussed in the previous chapters.[ix] The verse octaves which Cervantes would later pen for Antonio

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[330] See: (Hurtado de Mendoza, 1970); and, (Johnson, 2010).
[331] For the poetry of Lepanto, see: *Los poetas de Lepanto*. (López de Toro, 1950).
[332] See: (Gaylord, 2004)
[333] These two families, the most powerful in Rome, had been united by the marraige of Felice Orsini and Marco Antonio Colonna, parents of the Ascanio Colonna to whom Cervantes dedicated the *Galatea*. The two families, along with the Acquaviva (Cervantes' patron in Rome) were closely linked to one another and to the literary milieu which they patronized.

Veneziano from Algiers are evidence of the depth and degree to which Cervantes continued as an active participant in the conceptual mindset of lyric authors throughout Spain and Italy--a shared aesthetic discourse.

In this chapter I will treat Vicino Orsini's Gardens at Bomarzo just outside of Rome as paradigmatic of the cultural context and aesthetic discourse of the moment. In the next chapter (4), I will draw these threads together through an analysis of Cervantes' surviving poetry composed during the Algerian captivity. Both Vicino Orsini and the Roman poets, as well as the Sicilian poet, Antonio Veneziano, recontextualize Cervantes' most significant literary work of the period within the discourse of amorous lyric verse and pastoral poetry as it was practiced and written, experienced and aestheticized. The purpose is to recover the discourse with which Cervantes was most readily engaged. To my knowledge, the lexicon of lyric subjectivity as it was practiced and written has been heretofore eclipsed by studies of political, religious and economic discourse. Consonant with the discourse of *erotic mysticism*--to which Cervantes had already been party in the court of Isabel de Valois--these milieu mark the further development of lyric subjectivity as central to the poet's thought and works. The significance of the ways in which lyric subjectivity was cultivated and pursued by poets during both in the Roman and Algerian period has heretofore been left unexamined, and severed from the conceptual and thematic structures of the *Don Quijote*. This chapter brings to light heretofore unconsidered elements of Cervantes' authorial identity and its relevance to the genesis of the *Don Quijote* within his literary outlook and orientation. In addition, this chapter implicitly brings to light the literary milieu of Rome as it concerned amorous and pastoral lyric works, a key constituent of mid-sixteenth-century literary culture often eclipsed by the translations, commentaries and debates regarding Aristotle's *Poetics*.[334]

II

When the young poet, Miguel de Cervantes, departed from the Madrileño court, still in mourning for the deaths of Prince Carlos (24 July 1568) and Queen Isabel (3 October 1568), for the *caput mundi* of the

[334] For these debates see: (Weinberg, 1963, v.1-2), and more recently (Zatti, 2006).

Mediterranean Renaissance, he entered into a tradition of voyages to Rome, common to European writers of his day and throughout modernity. As Frederic de Armas has indicated,

> Italian sojourns were almost *de rigueur* for Spanish poets, writers of prose fiction, and humanists during the early modern period. Cervantes' voyage, then, resembled the ones of Acuña, Aldana, the brothers Argensola, Cetina, Figueroa, Garcilaso, Hurtado de Mendoza, Medrano, Santillana, and Villamediana. Such voyages were facilitated by the fact that the kingdom of Naples was part of the Spanish empire, while other regions of the peninsula were under Habsburg influence.[335]

The impact of the Roman experience has been both underexamined and often outright ignored or pushed aside in criticism, often in manners anachronistic to the aesthetic discourse shared between Spain, its Italian territories and allied states.[336] When Cervantes' service to the Cardinal Giulio Acquaviva is not outright questioned by the literary scholar, little attention has been paid to the imaginative culture which members of the papal court were cultivating within Rome and its surrounding regions, cultural practices which were wholly out of keeping with the brief tenure of Pius V. [337] Religious discourse was hardly requisite among the circles of power populated by Italian nobleman who outlived, and often out-maneuvered or even occupied, the changing tides of the papal seat. Fernando de Cervantes has observed this critical fallacy of papal piety--which should better be understood as political and economic modes of power--within the sixteenth-century world. In his own article on the subject he writes,

> To the modern mind, the admiration of the grandeur of pagan Rome can often seem incompatible with a genuine belief in the devotional practices of Tridentine Catholicism…. In fact, the irony that modern readers of Cervantes often seem keen to detect in the seemingly problematic coexistence of his admiration for Rome's pagan past and his respect for Tridentine Catholic piety, tells us more about modern preconceptions than about contemporary realities.[338]

Indeed, Cervantes' writing is frequently ambiguous and never naïve in this regard; in chapters 5 and 6 I will demonstrate how Cervantes appropriated religious rhetoric in order to gloss the *cosmos of erotic mysticism* throughout his first novel, the *Galatea.*[339] Like most of his patrons and contemporaries he would have been

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[335] (De Armas, 2002, pp.32)

[336] In addition to the article cited in the previous note, Frederick de Armas research into the Roman moment has added much Italian and Classical culture to critical picture we have of Cervantes as a young poet and the formation which he no doubt cultivated prior to his late experimentation with prose fiction. See: (Armas, 1998 and 2006).

[337] As with any lionized author, the nationalistic demands placed on Cervantes are often very pronounced in spite of the fact that nationalism as we know it is entirely anachronistic to this period of the European Renaissance, particularly in the Mediterranean.

[338] (2005, pp.327, 330)

[339] It is important not to conflate affiliations with political powers (often inextricably woven into religious platforms) with religious affiliation of individual poets, patrons, and thinkers. Hurtado de Mendoza, nobleman, poet and ambassador to several cities, including the Vatican still did not hesitate to

easily aware of the fact that the interchange between papal power (most Cardinals were second and third sons to the most powerful families in Italy) and noble power was fluid over the course of the sixteenth century, and the papal seat was more often a position of political, monetary, and noble positioning than one of religious service. It would be inappropriate--if not outright naive--to conflate religious positions of power with earnest piety. The Grand Duke of Tuscany, son of Cosimo de Medici and Leonora of Toledo, Ferdinando I de Medici (1549-1609), for example, served as cardinal in Rome and founded the Villa Medici[340] there prior to his return to Florence to assume the Grand Dukedom following the death of his elder brother, Francesco I in 1587. Pope Leo X (papacy, 1513-1521) was the second son of Lorenzo, the Magnificent, and Clement VII (papacy, 1523-1534) was his nephew. Paul III (papacy 1534-1549) was the first son of Pier Luigi I Farnese, Signore of Montalto; his mother was a Caetani and he was educated in the court of Lorenzo the Magnificent. Paul VI, a Carafa, came to Rome from Neapolitan nobility. Alexander VI (1492-1503) and Juilus II (1503-1513) were openly licentious without sanction and the Julius III's (1550-1555) peculiar favor for a young peasant boy (Innocenzo Ciocchi del Monte) became known as the Innocenzo scandal.[341] When Antonio Ghislieri (1504-1572) was elected to the papacy as Pius V on January 8th, 1566 his humble beginnings and clerical devotion were unheard of, and not altogether popular, within the papal court.[342] In 1567 he was responsible for banishing Innocenzo, made Cardinal by Julius, after the latter was accused of raping two peasant women.[343] Many of his reforms and the rigidity of his court not only unnerved

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write to the Bishop of Aras from Rome on September 1st, 1548, "Y esto hablo como philosopho y como moro de Granada, o como marrano," (Spivakovsky, 1970, pp.3).

[340] For the construction and history of the Villa Medici and its relationship to pastoral and imaginative culture, see: *La Villa Médicis* (1989).

[341] For the most thoroughly documented and extensive study of the papal court, see Ludwig Pastor's voluminous *The History of the Popes* (1899).

[342] "What Carafa and many others had foreseen, was verified only too soon. The nomination gave the greatest scandal, and far and wide Julias was declared to be the father of Innocenzo; indeed, the accusation was by no means the worst of the crimes of which his enemies at once pronounced him guilty," (Pastor, 1899, v. xiii, pp.71).

[343] "It was the unhappy Innocenzo del Monte, however, who gave the Pope the greatest trouble. On many different occasions it had been made evident how inexcusable had been the action of Julius III. when he had raised such a man to the purple. Pius IV. had kept this man, who had been depraved from his youth, a prisoner in the Castle of St. Angelo for sixteen months, and under Pius V., del Monte was again placed in the same prison on account of further charges, though the commission of Cardinals appointed to try his case decided that his guilt was not deserving of death or degradation. In 1569 Pius

longstanding cardinals such as Farnese and Carafa, but alienated many of a more imaginative and humanist taste, such as Vicenzo Orsini, who were accustomed to a much more liberal papal court.[344] During Pius V's "cleaning up" of Rome, the tradition of Renaissance gardens and villas as the *logos ameonus* of erudite circles became increasingly popular among the Roman elite who, while weilding significant power within the walls of the Vatican, also sought relief from these strict environs.

Traditionally, the papal seat was a vying ground for the hightest echelons of European nobility. Marriage ties between Spanish and Italian families gave southern European courts a multilingual and trans-European character. Since the sack of Rome by the troops of Charles V on May 6th, 1527, the *caput mundi* was fully threaded with Spanish power. Habsburg possessions in Milan, Naples and Sicily had brought a large portion of the Italian continent under Spanish influence and control. When Cervantes arrived in Rome, the Spanish viceroy of Naples was Pedro Afán de Ribera.[345] Previously viceroy of Cataluña (1554-1558), 2nd Marques of Tarifa, 4th Count of Los Molares and *Adelantado* of Andalucia, his death on April 2nd, 1571 would occasion Cardinal Granvelle to assume the viceroyalty for the duration of Cervantes' tenure in Italy ending

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banished him with some servants to Montecassino, where two Jesuits were given the difficult task of trying to bring him to a better moral state," (Pastor, 1899, v.xvii, pp.150-151).

[344] "At the coronation of Pius IV., several persons had been crushed to death in the crowds; the new Pope, therefore, did not have money scattered among the people, but sent instead large alms to the poor and religious houses. His first act after his coronation, and one which was in itself a sign of his strict views, was to give orders for the dismissal from the Vatican of Doctor Buccia, the court jester of Pius IV. In 1567 the custom of celebrating the anniversary of the coronation by the state banquet was abolished, and the money which would have been spent was distributed to the poor…. Under pain of excommunication, a *motu proprio* demanded from all the Cardinals a list of the revenues and benefices which they had received from Pius IV., since, so the new Pope declared, he did not wish to help rich Cardinals," (Pastor, 1899, v.xvii, 70-71). And again, "The Romans had many other opportunites of realizing with what ruthless severity Pius V. punished moral offenses. As early as January 19th, 1566, Caligari informed his friend Commendone of the publication of a stern edict agains the immorality prevalent in Rome. At the consistory of January 23rd the Pope spoke, not only of the need of reform among clergy, but also of his intention of taking action against blasphemy and concubinage. To give effect to this intention he issued, on April 1st, 1566, an edict which imposed the severest penalities for the disturbance of divine worship, the profanation of Sundays and festivals, simony, blasphemy, sodomy and concubinage…"(*Ibid*, pp.86). The volume provides exhaustive examples in its narration to this effect. It is easy to observe the horror which Vicino Orsini, and also the young courtier-poet, Cervantes, must have, at least secretly, felt at the rigid piety of the new pope. See also v.xviii of the same work.

[345] For cultural relations between Spain and Italy, see: (Colomer, 2009), (Martínez Millan, 2010), and (Croce, 1922).

in 1575.[346] Juan de Zúñiga had just succeeded his brother, Luís de Requeséns, as Spanish ambassador to Rome.[347] Rome itself was rich with Spanish culture and the factions of power surrounding the papacy of Pius V, were interwoven with Spanish ties at all levels. As Thomas Dandelet has observed,

> In addition to these leaders of the factions [Pacheco, Cardinals Granvelle and Medici], there were other cardinals in the 1560s and 1570s who were loyal vassals of the king. In 1569, for example, Cardinal Marcoantonio Colonna [a close relation to Marco Antonio and his son, Cardinal Ascanio Colonna] wrote to Philip II thanking him for the royal favor that had been shown to his family—he had just been granted a 3,000-ducat pension from the diocese of Siguenza—and assuring the king that he would work hard to secure the renewal of the cruzada. Both Colonna and Cardinal Sforza sat on the congregation that handled the cruzada, and Sforza, too, wrote to the king in 1569 assuring him that he "worked in your service in the negotiation of the cruzada" and that "the desire to serve your Majesty grows always greater in me…. Cardinals Aragona, Chiesa, Gesualdo, and Alciato were also recommended by Zúñiga as "good vassals," and by the early 1570s Aquaviva, Giustiniano, and Alessandrino were being included in the expanding group of trustworthy servants of the Catholic King.[348]

Outside of the strongest families, such as the Farnese--Vicino was explicity tied to the Farnese by way of his marriage to Giulia-- and the Sforza, both Italian and foreign nobility in Rome were enmeshed in a constant game of political maneuvers and alliances between the papal seat and European rulers such as Philip II of Spain and Henry II of France. In the case of the Habsburgs, the loyalty of a cardinal, or several cardinals, meant a determining hand in the selection of the pope himself.[349] That Cervantes served as

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[346] Cardinal Granville, often in competition with the Habsburg-aligned Roman nobleman, Marco Antonio Colonna, for favor with Philip II, would assume the post from 1571-1575. In 1577 Philip II named Marco Antonio viceroy of Sicily. His predecessor in Sicily had been Carlos de Aragón and Tagliavia. For complete and detailed perspective on the period, particularly Spanish/Italian relations, see the recent biography of Marco Antonio (Bazzano, 2003).

[347] For ambassadorial correspondence, see: (Levin, 2005).

[348] (Dandelet, 2001, pp. 135, brackets mine). Cervantes own position as *camarero* was occupied by various members of the Spanish population within the papal palace: "Together with these functionaries in the papal bureaucracy, moreover, were the numerous Spanish *camereros*, or stewards, who served in the papal palace in the 1560s and 1570s. Francisco de Reynoso, Diego Jorge, a cleric from Seville, Sylvestro de Guzman, and Don Gaspar de la Concha all appear in the records in this capacity. Another Spaniard, Francisco de Soto, held the positions of cantor and chaplain for the papal chapel in the 1560s. Like these less powerful but well placed men, there was another group of clerics who served to enhance the reputation of the Spaniards in Rome, namely the many members of the religious orders who spent years or decades in the city…. Generally speaking, the members of the religious orders played a more neutral role politically, but their presence has to be seen as having a substantial social and religious impact on the city," (pp.145, emphasis mine). Cervantes, as *camarero* to Cardinal Giulio Acquaviva (himself *camarero* to Pope Pius V) occupied an elevated position within the Roman hierarchy. I would like to underscore that the nobility which occupied the papacy (such as cardinals and popes), despite the reforms of Pius V, did not mirror the clerical milieu of the religious orders. The papacy like all circles of power within the sixteenth century was aristocratic, erudite and generously libertine.

[349] "In spite of his many shortcomings Philip II. still had greater influence in the Sacred College than any other prince in Christiandom, but he refused to make any use of it in the election of the new Pope. He had, however, on December 18th, 1562, sent to his ambassador, Luis de Requesens, certain

camarero to an Italian (Neapolitan) nobleman who was both in good standing with Philip II and a favorite of Pius V, indicates that the then young poet may have been privy to some of the most complex and erudite transnational machinations of his historical moment in Rome, a moment which directly preceded the unification of Rome, Venice and Spain in the Holy League and victory at Lepanto.[350] However, we should not imagine that either Giulio Acquaviva's standing in religious and political positions nor Cervantes' service therein, prohibited simultaneous engagement with literary milieu whose exploration of lyric subjectivity were implicitly heterodox and strongly humanistic. For example, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese--brother-in-law to Vicino Orsini--was one of the most powerful figures in Counter-Reformation Papal Politics, in addition to being a member of one of the most powerful noble families in Italy. But his patronage of the arts--exemplified in his gardens at Caprarola and on the Palatine Hill--reveals that his intellectual interests were strongly linked to the literary milieu and the exploration of implicitly heterodox thought which they cultivated.[351] Like the Garden at Bomarzo, these arcadian landscapes reconnected imaginative thought to the ancient pagan philosophy from which they drew their models. As Gambrath observes:

> Cardinal Alessandro regarded Caprarola as his own and the dynasty's shop window, and he was fond of showing it off. Many of his fellow cardinals visited him there, including the most important figure in the Counter Reformation, Carlo Borromeo, who during his visit ironically asked whether paradise could be fitted out as splendidly as Caprarola's villa and park.[352]

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instructions in which the election of the Pope was touched upon, and in which he stated that the one thing necessary was to elect a Pope who should be pious and a lover of peace, or in other words a Pope who would not make political complications for the Spanish king,"(Pastor, 1899, v.xvii). Pastor's extensive narration of the election of Pius V in this first chapter goes on to make clear that while Philip II maintained an outward appearance of piety and passivity, this was in fact a strategic position for the king to take whilst his confidants maneuvered in Rome.

[350] For the most extensive history of the Battle of Lepanto, see: (Rosell, 1853).

[351] "Il recinto degli Orti va ricollegato insieme a tipologie antiche e alla nuova concezione dell'*hortus conclusus* como giardino pensile, quale viene attuata dal Vignola nei due «giardini segreti» di Caprarola. I due più modelli di recinto antico appaiono il *Castrum Praetorium* (che verrà nel '600 adattato a Vigna) e le Terme di Diocleziano che proprio intorno al 1560 erano state riconsacrate nello spazio interno (S. Maria degli Angeli) e ri-usate nel perimetro esterno (*Horti Bellaiani*). Bisogna poi ricordare gli altri recinti delle Terme di Constantino sul Quirinale (dove sorgerà il palazzo-giardino dei Borghese, poi Pallavicini-Rospigliosi), delle terme di Tito sull'Esquilino (rappresentate nella pianta del Bufalini in forme in qualche modo analoghe ai progetti per Villa Madama) e delle Terme di Caracalla (da cui provenivano alcuni capolavori della collezione farnesiana; queste terme constituirono inoltre un modello spaziale per Villa d'Este a Tivoli," (Fagiolo, 1990, pp.246). See also: (Robertson, 1992).

[352] (Gamrath, 2007, pp.175)

As will be shown later in this chapter, particularly in the case of Orsini's Gardens at Bomarzo, the ironic quip of Borromeo points directly to the very questions raised by poets and thinkers in pursuit of lyric subjectivity at this time. The epicurean Orsini was explicitly concerned with the actualization of his own subjectivity within an artificially designed and natural landscape. I will return to this idea as it is central to our understanding of the way in which the metaphysical and the sensual (or material) were drawn together in the practice of *erotic mysticism* and the works which this discourse inspired. Moreover, by the 1570s this exploration already had a long-standing tradition in Renaissance thought. Paradigmatic of this aspect of culture was Pico della Mirandola's projected unification of Plato and Aristotle within a single thought system. While the author died before he was able to complete his treatise *De ente et uno (Of Being and Unity)* of 1491 remains as fragmentary evidence of this work.[353]

The nature of Cervantes' departure for Rome and his subsequent service to Cardinal Giulio Acquaviva is clouded in ambiguity. According to a document discovered in the Archives of Simancas, royal provision was issued on September 15th, 1569 for the arrest of a student by the name of Miguel de Cervantes charged with injuring Antonio de Sigura in a duel. Miguel de Cervantes had apparently fled to Seville and as consequence of the royal provision it was decreed that he should publicly loose his right hand and be exiled for ten years.[354] While palace duels and their corresponding exiles were common during this period, as in the case of Hurtado de Mendoza, and Cervantes' pertinence to the court of Isabel would no doubt have provided the occasion, the incident is chronologically problematic and likely does not pertain to the author of the *Quijote*. The date, September 15th, 1969 is nearly a year too late for the departure of Cervantes to Italy which occurred sometime between the funeral exequies for Isabel in mid-October 1568 and December of that same year. More importantly, the "información de hidalguía" which Cervantes' father would secure on his request from Rome occurred at the end of 1569. This request would have been impossible given the outstanding warrant and the severity with which Philip judged breaches in palace etiquette. For example, the incarceration of both the 3rd and 4th dukes of Alba for an amorous scandel which did not result in bloodshed, nullifies any chance that a lower *hidalgo* like Cervantes would have been granted a "limpieza de

[353] (Pico della Mirandola, 1943)
[354] (Canavaggio, 1992, pp.52) See also: (Astrana Marín,1949, v.2, pp.185).

sangre" after such an offense. In contrast, it is not difficult to imagine the necessity of this document for the *camarero* of Giulio Acquaviva; Acquaviva himself was *camarero* to Pius V. Again, service within the pope's inner circle would likely have stipulated a document of "limpieza de sangre" which Acquaviva might otherwise not have required.[355] Cervantes' fame as a poet was at a peak when the young Acquaviva arrived to the Madrileño court in October 1568, just days after the passing of Isabel. Near contemporaries in age and both *aficionados* of poetry, this meeting provides the most reasonable explanation for Cervantes' sojourn to Italy. It is more likely that the Sigura affair pertains to a different Miguel de Cervantes, as Canavaggio observes:

> Tal lujo de precisión resulta más divertido que convincente. Aunque tales incidents no vuelvan a producirse en toda su vida, podemos imaginar que el hijo del cirujano—el mismo que en Lepanto ha de perder el uso de la mano izquierda—sacó efectivamente la espada contra Sigura, con riesgo de verse cortar la mano derecho. Podemos admitir también que escapó a la acción de la justicia: aunque salidos de otro medio, Quevedo y Calderón conocerán más tarde desventuras semejantes. Pero cabe dejar al pasado su parte de misterio: del mismo modo que ya se sabe que hubo dos Juan y dos Rodrigo, tal vez llegue un día en que se descubra que hubo dos Miguel de Cervantes.
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> (Such opulent precision becomes more fun than convincing. Although such incidents would not recur in his life, we can imagine that the son of a surgeon--the same who in Lepanto would lose the use of his left hand--effectively unmasked his sword against Sigura, with the risk of seeing the amputation of his right hand. We can also admit that he escaped the action of justice: although by other means, Quevedo and Calderón later knew similar unhappy adventures. But it ends to leave it in the past its part in the mystery: the same means by which it is already known that there were two Juans and two Rodrigos, perhaps one day we will arrive at the discovery that there were two Miguel de Cervantes.) [356]

In her article, "¿Por qué fue a Italia Cervantes?", Billi di Sandorno has argued that Cervantes' Italian sojourn was motivated by a distant relation, the archbishop of Salerno, Gaspar de Cervantes.[357] But aside from a coincidence of somewhat distant lineage and the obvious clerical ties which any archbishop would have held, the association is improbable and distant from both Rome and Acquaviva. Morel-Fatio's argument against Cervantes' association with both Acquaviva and, later, Colonna, is likewise fatuitous and largely inspired by an early twentieth-century trend which, predjudiced against an integration of Cervantes into his literary moment, tended to imagine the author as a romantic and solitary *ingenio lego* isolated from the spheres of literary and political power in which he clearly participated.[358]

The most likely and reasonable series of events is as follows: In the fall of 1568 Cervantes had been writing for the court of Isabel for at least a year, if not longer. His lyric mentor, Pedro Laynez, had been

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[355] (Astrana Marín, 1949, v.2, pp.186-187)
[356] (Sheeler, 1992, pp.53)
[357] (Billi di Sandorno, 1950)
[358] (Morel-Fatio, 1906)

camarero to the recently deceased Prince Carlos, and Cervantes' first publisher, the Master of the *Estudio de la Villa*, López de Hoyos, was in the process of soliciting the verses which he would later see to print in the volume dedicated to Isabel's exequies. In October of 1568, Cervantes was no doubt in the process of composing those very verses which would win him his first fame as a poet. Juan López de Hoyos worked under the protection of the all-powerful, Cardinal Espinosa, at this time. Cisneros in turn would have been the member of court responsible for the receipt of the young papal legate, Giulio Acquaviva, whom Philip did not immediately receive due to his state of mourning over the young queen. Moreover, by the time of Acquaviva's arrival to Madrid, Cervantes was already known as a court poet. As discussed in the previous chapter, his first known literary composition, directed to the young queen, commemorated the birth of her second daughter, Catalina-Micaela, on October 10th, 1567, nearly coincident with the author's own feast day.[359] The pastoral festivities which these happy births occasioned is well documented in the 1582 printing of *Libro de montería* which includes Gómez de Tapia's versified chronicle of the festivities undertaken for her first daughter, Isabel Clara Eugenia, in August of 1566.[360] At the time of Guilio Acquaviva's arrival to the Spanish court, Cervantes was thoroughly enmeshed in courtly poetic culture and was in the process of composing the elegiac verses for the funeral exequies of the recently deceased queen.[361] The poem which would later become the featured work in López de Hoyos' volume was also addressed to the Cardinal Cisneros himself, also a protectorate of the young Mateo Vázquez, recipient of Cervantes' versified *Epístola* from Algiers.[362] As Astrana Marín has observed:

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[359] This first sonnet was discovered by Morel-Fatio in a manuscript collection of courtly sonnets pertaining to the period: MS.373, fol.73v-74 in the Nacional Library of Paris. See: (Astrana-Marín, 1949, v.2, pp.157.

[360] The "Egloga Pastoril en que se describe el bosque de Aranjuez, y el nacimiento de la sereníssima infanta doña Isabel de España" can be found in the *Discurso sobre el libro de la montería que mandó escribir el muy alto y muy poderoso rey don Alfonso de Castilla y León* by Gonzalo Argote de Molina, which was printed at the close of Alfonso XI's *Libro de la montería* in Seville in 1582. The pagination for the elegy is 22r-22v in the adjoining discourse. To my knowledge, this eclogue does not appear in any known modern editions and has heretofore neither been studied nor been brought into relation with Cervantes' own experiences in the court of Isabel. The eclogue does not appear in the facsimile edition of Argote de Molina's text, (1983). See: chapter 3 of this dissertation.

[361] For a contemporary narration of this period in the court and Cervantes' verses, see López de Hoyos' *Hystoria y relación verdadera…* published in facsimile in 1976.

[362] See: (Gónzalo Sánchez-Molero, 2010) and (Marín Cepeda, 2007)

Desde su arribo a la Corte cultivó [Cervantes] amistades con poetas de su edad y otros mayors que él, a quienes ha de encomiar luego: Gabriel López Maldonado, Luis Gálvez de Montalvo, Pedro Laínez. Pero entonces conocería en Madrid (mejor que en Sevilla, como se ha supuesto) a Mateo Vázquez de Leca, futuro secretario de Estado, y protegido, como López de Hoyos (pero por razones de otra índole), del omnipotente cardinal Espinosa.

(From his arrival to the Court, Cervantes cultivated friendships with poets of his age and others older than he, whom he would commemorate later: Gabriel López Maldonado, Luis Gálvez de Montalvo, Pedro Laínez. But then he would meet in Madrid (better than in Seville, as has been suggested) Mateo Vázquez de Leca, future secretary of state, and under the protection, like López de Hoyos (for reasons of another ilk), of the omnipotent Cardinal Espinosa.[363]

Giulio Acquaviva D'Aragona (1546-1574), second son of Giangirolamo Acquaviva, 10th Duke of Atri and Count of Conversano, was sent by Pius V in 1568 on a Papal embassy to Madrid in order to deliver condolences upon the death of Prince Carlos (July 24th, 1568), and to request that Philip II not concede the *Confessio Augustana* to the Austrian states. He arrived in Madrid on the 13th of October, just ten days after the death of Philip II's third wife, Isabel de Valois on October 3rd. He was detained in court for months as the grieving king refused his early attempts for a meeting. The young Acquaviva, a near contemporary in age to Cervantes, had already acquired a reputation as a man of letters which Philip II's ambassador in Rome, Juan de Zúñiga communicated to the monarch on September 19th, 1568.[364] The young and erudite legate was in close contact with Cardinal Espinosa, protector of López de Hoyos who was then in the process of compiling the commemorative volume for the funeral exequies which would foreground Cervantes as the primary court poet. Given Acquaviva's noted interest in poetry and his presence in the court during the funeral exequies for the late queen, organized by Juan López de Hoyos[365], it is unreasonable to believe that the young Italian nobleman did not come into contact with Cervantes at this time. While Acquviva's entourage on his return to Rome at the close of the year is not documented, it is reasonable to identify this opportunity as the most likely impetus for Cervantes' sojourn to Rome.[366] More importantly, Acquaviva did not receive the cardinal's hat until May 17th, 1570. His increasing estimation within the court of Pius V over the course of 1569 is the

[363] (Astrana Marín, 1949, v.2, pp.182)

[364] "porque demás de que cumple como debe con su obligación de asallo de V.M., es mozo muy virtuoso y de muchas letras," (Astrana Marín, 1949, v.2, pp.188).

[365] In fact, in the dedication of the *Hystoria y relación verdadera...*(López de Hoyos, 1569) to Cardinal Espinosa, López de Hoyos notes the presence of the papal legate in October, 1568. This volume contains the first published poetry of Cervantes, presented for the funeral exequies for which Acquaviva was in attendance. The featured poem is a lengthy elegy in *terza rima* by Cervantes, composed in the name of the Estudio de la Villa, and dedicated to Cardinal Espinosa.

[366] This possibility has been suggested by Pellicer (1800), Navarrete (1819), Máinez (1876) and Pérez Pastor (1902), see: (Morel-Fatio, 1906). In 1906, Morel-Fatio argued against this suggestion, though he presented no new documentation and his argument is largely rhetorical.

only reasonable explanation for the "información de hidalguía" which Cervantes' father would request on his behalf at the close of 1569. The "información" makes evident Cervantes' standing in the Roman court at that time.[367]

Most importantly, Cervantes himself gave direct testament of his service to Acquaviva fifteen years later in the front matter of his first novel, the *Galatea* (1585). In the dedication to Cardinal Ascanio Colonna, Cervantes affirms:

> oí muchas veces decir de V.S. Ilustrísima [Colonna] al cardenal de Aquaviva, siendo yo su camarero en Roma. (Many times I heard Cardinal Aquaviva speak of your Excellency, I being his chamberman in Rome.) [368]

While critics have questioned the author's sincerity, it is almost unimaginable that the occasion of the dedication was a place of satire or irony. This was a public printing of a work attuned to the pastoral community of poets in which and for whom Cervantes wrote, and the dedication to Ascanio signaled out one of Philip II's most favored nobleman, and known font of literary patronage whose favor the author sought.[369] The dedication commemorated the death on August 1st, 1584 of Ascanio's father, Marco Antonio Colonna, victorious general at Lepanto under whom Cervantes served, and who had been under the care of the

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[367] "Muy magnífico señor: Rodrigo de Cervantes, andante en corte, digo que Miguel de Cervantes, mi hijo e de doña Leonor de Cortinas, mi lejítima muger [sic], estante en corte Romana, le conviene probar e averiguar como es hijo legítimo mío e de la dicha mi muger, y quél, ni yo, ni la dicha mi muger, ni mis padres ni abuelos, ni los de la dicha mi muger hayan sido ni somos moros, judíos, conversos ni reconciliados por el Santo Oficio de la Inquisición ni en otra ninguna justicia de caso de infamia, antes han sido e somos muy buenos cristianos viejos, limpios de toda raiz; a v.m. pido mande hacer información de los testigos que acerca de lo susodicho presentare, la qual hecha me mande dar por testimonio signado, interponiendo en ella su autoridad e decreto para que valga e haga fee en juizio y fuera dél, y pido justicia e para ello &.a—Rodrigo de Cervantes.—Andres de Oceata," (Astrana Marín, 1949, v.2, pp.228)

[368] (Cervantes, 1961, v.1, pp.2)

[369] Marín Cepeda's study, *Cervantes y la corte de Felipe II...*, does much to bring Ascanio's influence within this group of poets to light: "Las páginas de este libro contribuyen a la historia de aquel grupo poético que se fue configurando alrededor del italiano a partir de 1576, durante sus estudios universitarios en Salamanca y Alcalá de Henares. A principios de 1587, el cardenal italiano regresó a Roma acompañado de sus escritores, Pedro Fernández de Navarrete y Luis Gálvez de Montalvo. Pronto irán a visitarle Juan Bautista de Vivar, don Luis de Vargas y, posiblemente, el Conde de Salinas. Fruto de su paso por Roma, analizaré las huellas poéticas que han permanecido ocultas en el cancionero manuscrito corsini (n.970), de la Biblioteca de los Linces. El cardenal trabaría asimismo relación con hombres de letras italianos, como el poeta Alessandro Tassoni..."(2015, pp.104-105).

Mendoza at Medinaceli in Castile.[370] Moreover, as I have demonstrated elsewhere, Ascanio most likely became the figurehead of the *Academia Imitatoria* in Madrid, a chief patron to Cervantes and his friends, who employed Gálvez de Montalvo as his secretary.[371] Gálvez de Montalvo, whom Cervantes had befriended twenty years earlier in the court of Isabel de Valois, also appeared in the frontmatter to the *Galatea* with a laudatory sonnet for Cervantes.[x] It is unreasonable to imagine that Cervantes' testament in a formal and public format to Ascanio Colonna was of a fictional or ironic nature. By the end of the 1560s Cervantes was participating in the most intimate of circles of the papal seat and among the most erudite and imaginative nobility in Roman humanist culture. This period, often passed over with a review of extant data on the Sigura affair, provided for a rich continuation of the cultural experience the young poet had gathered in the court of Isabel de Valois.

III

Pero, anudando el roto hilo de mi cuento, digo que en aquel silencio y soledad de mis siestas, entre otras cosas, consideraba que no debía de ser verdad lo que había oído contar de la vida de los pastores; a lo menos, de aquellos que la dama de mi amo leía en unos libros cuando yo iba a su casa, que todos trataban de pastores y pastoras, diciendo que se les pasaba toda la vida cantando y tañendo con taitas, zampoñas, rabeles y chirumbelas, y con otros instrumentos extraordinarios.… No se le quedaba entre renglones el pastor Elicio, más enamorado que atrevido, de quien decía que, sin attender a sus amores ní a su ganado, se entraba en los cuidados ajenos. Decía también que el gran pastor de Fílida, único pintor de un retrato, había sido más confiado que dichoso. De los desmayos de Sireno y arepentimiento de Diana decía que daba gracias a Dios y a la sabia Felicia, que con su agua encantada deshizo aquella máquina de enredos y aclaró aquel laberinto de dificultades. Acordábame de otros muchos libros que deste jaez la había oído leer…

(But, atenuating the broken thread of my story, I say that in that silence and solitude of my *siestas*, I considered that it should not be true what I had heard told of the life of the shepherds, at elast, of those that the lady of my master read in some books when I was in her house, which all treat of shepherds and shepherdesses, saying that they pass life singing and playing *taitas*, *zampoñas*, *rabeles* and *chirumbelas*, and with other extraordinary instruments...He didn't stay among the lines the shepherd Elicio, more enamored than daring, of whom it was said that, without attending to his love nor to his fold, he entred in the nearby cities. It was said also that the great shepherd of Fílida, sole paintor of a portrait, had been more trusting than fortunate. Of the fainting spells of Sireno and repentance of Diana it was said that grace was given to God and to the wise Felicia, who with her enchanted water undid that machine of knots and clarified that labyrinth of difficulties. I remember many other books of this kind which I had heard read...) [372]

As Cervantes' sheepherding dog, Berganza, made clear in the *Coloquio de los perros* (1613), many of the patrons of imaginative literature and lyric poetry throughout the sixteenth century were women. Cervantes' experience in Rome would have brought him into contact with a long Renaissance tradition in Italy in which literary work and patronage was frequently undertaken by ladies of the most powerful noble

[370] For Cervantes' service under Marco Antonio Colonna, see: (Astrana Marín, 1949, v.2, pp.384-386).
[371] (Ponce Hegenauer, 2013)
[372] (Cervantes, 2001, v.2, pp.307-308)

families.[373] Isabel de Valois's aunt, Marguerite, Duchess of Savoy, held a position in the world of lyric culture which was paradigmatic of this trend, exemplified in Rome by the Orsini and Colonna families.[374] While most itinerant poets of the time served as soldiers, secretaries, chamber men, and chroniclers to maintain their livelihoods, the literary culture to which they pertained was not politically, militarily, economically, or even theologically driven. For example, veteran-soldier, noble-elite, and political player within Vatican circles, Vicino Orsini's intersection with lyric culture is of an entirely different tenor. It was to the discourse of *erotic mysticism* and the wisdom of the mythography of the Greeks which the poet, Alessandro Guarnelli, turned in his verses for Vicino Orsini in the same 1575 volume compiled by Mutio.[xi] Sixteenth-century literary culture, still consigned to private, often discreet, manuscript circulation, was cultivated by noble patrons in personal spaces specifically intended as a reprieve from the spheres of political maneuvers and Catholic doctrine. These private circles, which pertained to palaces, residences and gardens outside the academic discourse of early modern universities and the protocol of forums such as the Vatican, were the venues in which heterodox philosophical, lyrical and imaginative works found their first audience as labors which were central to the cultivation of the ideally realized Renaissance gentleman.[375] [xii] As Brian Richardson has described,

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[373] The number of women lauded in Mutio's volume (1575) are too numerous to list in full. By way of example, laudatory poems in the style discussed throughout this dissertation appear for: Anna Borromeo Colonna, Antonina Mattei Soderini, Barotolomea Filareta Durante, Beatrice Caetana Cesis, Camilla Atracini del Nero, Camilla Gaddi Fantuzzi, Camilla Leonini Zefiri, Cassandra Arigoni Guarnelli, Caterina Colonna, Cinthia Atracini Pagani, Cinthia Ranucci Gregoriani, Clarice Forna Crescenta, Clarice Ruffini Milesia, Clelia Farnese Cesarini, Clelia del Pian di Mileto, Clelia Pontana dalla Valle, Clementia Crescentia Santacroce.

[374] In 1567 the *Rime de gli academici eterei dedicate alla serenissima madama Margherita di Vallois Duchessa di Savoia* was printed in Padua. This volume brought together several poets, including Torquato Tasso, in praise of the noble patroness. In the introductory note, *L'Occulto Principe* and *Il Constante Secretario* write to Marguerite: "ma solo per pagar il debito all nostra Madre ACADEMIA, mentre con più piacevoli studi và ella avezzando gli animi nostri....," (ii, v).

[375] On the disemination of *The Book of the Courtier*, Burke writes, "Castiglione's book could also be found in the libraries of country gentlemen who lived on their estates far from any court. Michel de Montaigne, for instance, at Montaigne near Bordeaux; Sir Thomas Knyvett in Norfolk; William More of Loseley, Surrey; Sir Thomas Tresham in Northamptonshire; or William Drummond of Hawthornden in Scotland. It also appealed to urban patricians--not only to Venetians but also to Catalans such as Juan Boscán, Netherlanders such as Jan Six, or central Europeans such as the Fuggers and the Welsers," (1995, pp.145). Della Casa's *Il Galateo* continued this tradition, a tradition still readily cultivated in Spain since Boscán's translation of *The Book of the Courtier*, as Gracían Dantisco's translation or adaption of Della Casa in the *Galateo Español* well demonstates. The edition was completed by 1582, but

As in scribal culture, the initial oral diffusion of a text to a restricted audience could be followed by a wider publication, in oral or written form or in both. Courtier poets read, or wished to read, their new verse aloud to patrons. Antonio Valtellina, secretary of Niccolò da Correggio, said he had not sent some of his poems to Francesco Gonzaga, not wanting to seem presumptuous 'et maxime ch'io desiderava recitarle la prima volta' (and especially because I wanted to recite them first.) Ariosto recited passages of the *Orlando furioso* to Isabella d'Este while he was composing the poem. Even if this activity played no part in the two very pleasant days that he helped her to spend, as she put it, 'cum la narratione de l'opera che'l compone' (narrating the work he is composing) in 1507, he certainly read her 'un poco' (a little) of the *Furioso*, from his draft manuscript, in Ferrara in 1512. Bernardo Tasso wrote from Antwerp in 1544 to tell Ferrante Sanseverino that he had composed fifteen stanzas on the theme of separation that the prince had requested, but that he wished to deliver them orally rather than on paper: 'Io non ve le mando, desideroso che s'odano prima dalla voce mia, che vadano in mano degli uomini' (I am not sending them to you because I want to be heard from my voice before they go into men's hands). This preference may have been related to his patron's intention that these stanzas should be set to music…. Torquato Tasso, sending a sonnet to Leonara d'Este in 1573, implied that her court poets would regularly read their verse to her: 'Il sonetto non sarà punto simile a quei belli che m'imagino che ora l'Eccellenza Vostra sia solita di udire molto spesso' (The sonnet will certainly not be like those beautiful ones that I expect your excellency is used to hearing very often.)[376]

Literary academies in Italy had long served as humanistic forays into the practice of imaginative art forms informed by ancient Greek and Roman, as well as European (Carolingian, Provençal, Sicilian, Florentine, Umbrian) traditions which included and were orchestrated by both men and women. In these academies both patrons and poets were frequently transient (due to ambassadorial and military obligations) and partook in multiple spheres of power, geographical landscapes and linguistic cultures.[377]

Like Juana de Austria and Isabel de Valois, Italian noblewomen played a significant role in the cultivation of imaginative culture throughout the Italian Renaissance. This aspect of imaginative cultural practices was particularly pertinent to the development of pastoral literature because this literature was dependent on the amorous machinations of the court, and the ladies involved, for its subject matter. Within the gardens of private noble estates in and around Rome, this literary form saw new opportunites for realization both in cultural practice and the literature which inspired and recorded such practices. Constanza D'Avalos, Duchess of Francavilla (1460-1541) was both a cultural and military leader. In 1503 she defended Ischia against French assault and began to cultivate one of the most influential literary academies of all time on the island. Among those writers and artists whom she fostered were Michelangelo, Ariosto, Sannazaro, Pontano, Bernardo Tasso, Annibal Caro, Pietro Arentino, Giralmo Britonio, Agnelo di Constanzo and Paolo

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publication was delayed until 1593. In a laudatory sonnet included in the volume Lope de Vega (about twenty years old in 1582) writes: "Los que buscáis recato y policía,/ perfecta gracia del cortés polido,/ sabed por cosa cierta que ha venido/ la curiosa Princesa Cortesía," (Gracían Dantisco, 1968, pp.102). For full sonnet, see: (endnote xii at the close of this dissertation).

[376] (Richardson, 2009, 240-241)

[377] For literary academies in Italy: (Celenza, 2013, pp.1-3); (Maylander, 1926); (Montegu, 1988); (Ciardi, 1995); Richardson (2009); Brown (1971); (Cardamone, 1981)

Giovio. Like Juana de Austria, she patronized the seemingly contradictory aesthetic and religious spheres. She was one of Juan de Valdés's strongest supporters. Originally of Spanish origins, her father Iñigo D'Avalos had come to Italy with Alfonso V of Aragon. Her great-grandfather had been Constable of Castile. She oversaw the marriage of the poet, Victoria Colonna (1490-1547) to her nephew, Fernando Francesco D'Avalos in 1507, and fostered the literary talents of Victoria on the island. Victoria was also a supporter of Juan de Valdés. Constanza intersected with a third patroness of the arts and powerful figure in the early modern world: grandmother of Cervantes' future patron (Cardinal Ascanio Colonna), Giovanna D'Aragona (1502-1575). Giovanna was married to Ascanio I Colonna and had been part of Constanza's literary circle on Ischia during her youth. During her tumultuous marriage to Ascanio she attempted to leave her husband on more than one occasion. In 1556 Pope Paul IV assisted Ascanio by detaining Giovanna in the Castel Sant'Angelo. She escaped with her children and, disguised as a servant, fled to Ischia where she too became a supporter of Juan de Valdés. The numerous disguises and flights of pastoral characters, as mentioned in the previous chapter, was frequently a reality amongst the practices of the nobility--both in play and in serious impersonation. In the late 1580s, following his confinement in St. Anna, Tasso purportedly fled to his sister in Naples disguised as a shepherd. The autonomy which these early patronesses exercised is indicative of the various female personalities who enter the landscape of pastoral fiction, often of noble lineage these characters repeatedly don the pastoral garb in order to take their amorous problems into their own hands. This motif will be repeated by Cervantes, not only in the *Galatea*, but significantly by way of several interpolated characters in the *Don Quijote*.

In the next generation, Felice Orsini (Colonna, ca.1534-1596)—wife of Ascanio I's eldest son, Marco Antonio Colonna, whom Cervantes would elegize in his dedicatory preface of the *Galatea* in 1585—was an important literary patron. No stranger to the liberality of the papal court, Felice's maternal grandmother, Constanza Farnese, was the daughter of Paul III, and her paternal grandmother, Felice della Rovera, was the daughter of Julius II. Felice's marriage to Marco Antonio represented the pacification and union of Rome's two most powerful and feuding noble families, the Orsini and the Colonna.[378] Her marriage festivities

[378] For detailed history and analysis of the Colonna rise to power, particularly the ventures of Ascanio I, see: (Serio, 2008).

inspired a four-part setting of Francesco Bellano's five-part madrigal, "Sorgi Superbo", by Antonio Barré. The subsequent publication, *Primo libro delle muse a quattro voci* (Rome, 1555), was dedicated to Felice. Pompilio Venturi, Gasparo Fiorino, and Fabritio Caroso, among others, all celebrated her, as Melanie Marshall has observed,

> According to Rinaldina Russell, Marcantonio Colonna and Felice Orsina hosted a literary salon that may have included Margherita Sarrocchi.* There are numerous poems to Felice in various anthologies, including Muzio Manfredi's, *Per donne romane: Rime di diversi raccolte e dedicate al Signor Giacomo Buoncompagni* (Bologna: Alessandro Benaco, 1575) and a manuscript anthology in the Archivio Colonna. Felice was a muse for Curzio Gonzaga, and is also mentioned in Maddalena Campigli's *Flori.* She also had a book dedicated to her by Don Benedetto dell'Uva, *Le Vergini prudenti* (1582).[379]

It is easy to ascertain the sort of influence both Felice and Marco Antonio must have exercised over their second son, Cardinal Ascanio Colonna, in the development of his own passion for the literary arts. (The Colonna family could boast a long history of patronage dating to the days of Petrarch.) The cleric, ambassador, nobleman, and favorite of both Philip II and Philip III would keep an extensive and lifelong epistolary friendship with his mother until her death in 1596.[380] And again, it was to Ascanio whom Cervantes would address his first pastoral novel, the *Galatea*, in 1585.

This was the world of literary composition to which Cervantes already pertained as one of the most publicly recognized poets of the court of Isabel de Valois upon his departure from Madrid late in 1568 or early in 1569. Moreover, two of the few surviving lyric compositions by Cervantes from this period pertained to a manuscript intended for another noblewoman and patron in France, Spain and Italy, Marguerite de Valois of the Houes of Savvoy (1523-1574), aunt of Isabel de Valois. Marguerite was the unmarried sister of Henry II, who in 1538 had been named as the intended to Philip II; the marriage did not take place due to political differences. In 1560 the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis arranged for the marriage of Philip to Marguerite's niece, Isabel, and for Marguerite's marriage to Emmanuele Philibert, Duke of Savoy. Both Duke and Duchess were active literary patrons for whom several publications were intended, such as the *Rime degli Academici Eterei dedicate alla serenissima madama Margherita di Vallois duchessa di Savoia* (Venezia: da Comin da Trino, 1567), previously mentioned. It was to the Duchess of Savoy that another fellow captive-poet whom Cervantes encountered in Algiers would address his manuscript history.

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[379] (Marshall, 2012) http://www.melanielmarshall.com/tag/felice-orsina-colonna/

[380] These letters are now housed in the Colonna Family Archive in Subiaco Italy.

Bartholomeo Ruffino de Chiambery's *Sopra la desolation della Goletta e forte di Tunisi. Insieme la conquista fatta da Turchi de Regni di Fezza e di Marocco* was dedicated to Emmanuele Philibert, Duke of Savoy and husband of Marguerite. This manuscript contained two laudatory sonnets written by Miguel de Cervantes whilst captive in Algiers alongside Ruffino de Chiambery.[xiii] Of the few surviving works from this decade of the author's life, these two sonnets are significant for the precise dating of the dedication to the Duke of Savoy on February 3rd, 1577. Cervantes was captured on September 26th, 1575.[381] The date of composition occupies a narrow window from the final months of 1575 to the first half of 1577. Moreover, within the context of an international culture of courtly literature, they demonstrate the author's consistent use of the word *ingenio* as a synonym for the creative author.:

> Pues, libre de cadenas vuestra mano,
> Reposando el *ingenio*, al alta cumbre
> os podeis levantar seguramente…
>
> (Well, your hand free of chians
> Reposing the *ingenio*, to the high peak
> you can surely raise yourself up...)

and

> Felice yngenio! Venturosa mano
> que, entre pasados yerros apretado,
> tal arte y tal virtud en si contiene!
>
> (Happy *ingenio*! Fortunate hand
> that, squeezed among past mistakes,
> such art and such virtue in it is contained!)[382]

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[381] (Astrana Marín, v.2, pp.453, and 528). I include the author's two sonnets here which make evident both the author's transnational literary mindset as well as his continued use of *ingenio* as a synonym for the inspired author.

[382] (Cervantes, 1974, pp.336-337). Cervantes' frequent use of the word "mano" in conjunction--and at times in rhyme--with "ingenio" further underscores the direct correlation between the creative faculty and the physicality of the authorial act. The concept of a mind/body split or problematic is entirely absent in this outlook. The poet goes immediately from the vision of the "ingenio" to the action of the "mano" without interfearance. I underscore this here because a divisionary experience is more common

The house of Savoy was not the only font of patronage with which Cervantes came into contact whilst captive in Algiers. His *Epístola a Mateo Vázquez*, also composed during the author's captivity solicited the protection of one of Philip's most powerful ministers, secetary of state, Mateo Vázquez de Leca, whom Cervantes had known since grammar school.[383] Far from a solitary and romantic *ingenio lego*, the author had pertained to long trajectory of spheres of patronage which included Isabel de Valois, queen of Spain, Cardinal Giulio Acquaviva, likely manny noble men and women of Rome, the House of Savoy, Mateo Vazquez, and upon his return to Spain, Cardinal Ascanio Colonna.

Whether these spheres represented genuine fonts or mere potential for patronage and service, it is clear that Cervantes gravitated to several of the most significant and influential literary milieu of his historical moment, and that he realized his literary compositions with this view of readership in mind. Moreover, like the lyric culture of Spain, the lyric culture of Italy was dominated by the exaltation of the beloved lady and the *erotic mysticism* of a sensually-grounded Neoplatonic conceptualization of love. Given his apptitude for taking in the cultural and literary vogues of each and every circle through which he passed,

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to our modern moment and when questions of authorship have arisen in Cervantes' work, the critic has been apt to project our modern questions of authorship back onto Cervantes. A close look at his langauge (particularily in the case of the "mano" and "ingenio") reveals a mindsent not subject to modern divisions. For example, El Saffar writes: "The problem is that Cide Hamete represents a preoccupation on Cervantes' part not so much with the limitations of narrative perspectives as with the problem of an author who must exist on two different temporal planes: that of his actual physical existence, and that of his projected, imagined story," (1975, pp. 19). Recontextualized within the lexicon of the sixteenth century and an understanding of authorship as it was practiced, experienced and articulated, it is clear that this "problem" of El Saffar, was clearly not the case. Henri Focillon's section, "In Praise of Hands," in *The Life of Forms in Art* resonates with this sixteenth-century outlook, "Watch your hands as they live their own free life. Forget for a moment their function, forget their mystery. Watch them in repose; the fingers are lightly drawn in, as if the hands were absorbed in a reverie. Watch them in the sprightly elegance of pure and useless gestures, when it seems that they are describing numberless posibilities gratuitously in the air, and, playing with one another, preparing for some happy event to come. Although they can imitate the silhouettes and the behavior of animals by casting their shadow on a wall by candlelight, they are much more beautiful when they imitate nothing at all. Sometimes, left to themselves when the mind is active, they move ever so faintly. On an impulse they stir the air, or they stretch their tendons and crack their knuckles, or else they close tightly to form a compact mass which is truly a rock of bone. Sometimes it happens that, first raised, then lowered, one after the other in invented rhythms, the fingers trace, nimble as dancers, choreographic bouquets," (Focillon, 1963, pp.66).

[383] (Astrana Marín, 1949, v.2, pp.532); For complete text and study, see: (Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero), 2010.

it is reasonable, if not responsible, to consider that he would have been, at least, familiar with Vicenzo Orsini's Gardens at Bomarzo, which had come into vogue amongst the various pastoral gardens whilst the young poet was in Rome. Alessandro Guarnelli's reference to Vicino's garden, "Ben de le Meraviglie haver dovea/ E d'Amor nel Giardin ricco e giocondo/ Cosi gran Meraviglie albergo, e nido," (Well of the Marvels must be had/ And of Love in the rich and delightful Garden/ such that great marvels harbored and nested), (1575, pp.669), makes clear that Orsini's garden at Bomarzo was well known and admired amongst the milieu of lyric poets and noble patrons in Rome.

IV

In the 1570s two types of captive-poets entered the cultural landscape of the amorous lyric composed by poet-lovers. The first type of captive-poet understood captivity metaphorically (metaphysically) and partook in improvisational imaginative experience via adult-play (and the pun is intentional as this was both an amorous and an erotic space) within a preconceived and artfully constructed landscape which allowed for the captive-poet to explore the metaphysical landscape of his interior within the sensory landscape of pastoral gardens.[384] This constituted a bringing forth of interiority or lyric subjectivity to be enacted and explored within a landscape which had been modeled on the pastoral landscapes of imaginative literature. Again this fluid mimetic boundary initiated new forms of experience and of literary art. In this way, the Gardens of the

[384] The similarities between Orsini's garden at Bomarzo and a modern gentleman's club, however distastful to our sensibilities, should not go unobserved. The magnitude of the effect which this material and erotic component of an otherwise amorous and mystical culture had on the development of conceptual and aesthetic structures in the poetry of the late sixteenth century is vital to our understanding of this component of literary history. Moreover, Cervantes' own willingness to be beyond reductive divisions between *amor divino* and *amor profano* in the *Don Quijote* has been intelligently explored by Carroll B. Johnson in his study, *Madness and Lust: A Psychoanalytical Approach to Don Quixote*. Johnson, for example, writes, "This suggests that for Don Quixote, the Round Table has more to do with love than with arms, and that his casting of himself in the role of Lancelot in 1,2 is a fantasy reference to, and identification with, the famous knight's erotic exploits," (1983, pp.72).

More importantly, the willingnes to explore the union of *amor divino* and *amor profano* within the poetry and cultural practices of *erotic mysticism* can not intelligently nor respectfully overlooked, regardless of what discomfort this difficult space might cause for modern readers.

Roman nobleman, Vicinco Orsini, at Bomarzo become paradigmatic of the ways in which the gardens of Renaissance Italy, particularly those of Rome, embellished upon the impromptu and ephemeral imaginative pastoral spaces of Isabel de Valois in the Habsburg court of the previous decade.[385] Within these spaces the spiritual journey which Dante turns to metaphor in his *Divine Comedy* –the same is undergone by Poliphilo in Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia*– was materialized and undertaken by various participants within lived cultural spaces. Moreover, these cultural spaces had been explicitly fashioned and constructed by curious and erudite patrons from the pages of imaginative literature and in order to explore the very questions to which the literature of *erotic mysticism* had given rise. That is to say that the experience of lyric subjectivity was not limited to the formal practice of written poetics; it was readily explored within lived experience and cultural practice.

The second type of captive-poet wrote from the authentic shackles of actual captivity in North Africa, such as Antonio Veneziano's *cancionero*, *Celia*, which he composed while he was held captive in Algiers with Cervantes during the summer months of 1579. This too brought the language of metaphor and the language of experience together within the lyric subjectivity of the poet. Because *erotic mysticism* explored the progressive subjegation of the poet's soul and the subjegation of his body, the language of captivity had long appeared by way of metaphor in amorous poetry. As Garcilaso wrote in *Canción V*:

> Hablo d'aquel cativo,
> de quien tener se debe más cuidado,
> que 'stá muriendo vivo,
> al remo condenado,
> en la concha de Venus amarrado.
> (I speak of the captive, / of whom greater care should be had,/ that he is dying alive,/ condemned to the oar,/ tied in the shell of Venus.)[386]

But the philosophical explorations of Vicino in his garden and the material reality of captivity in Algiers complicated the language of captivity as it moved from the space of metaphor to lived experience. In this

[385] For the Gardens at Bomarzo, see: (Fagiolo, 2010); (Polizzi, 2010); (Castelletti, 2010); (Sheeler, 2007); (Calvesi, 2000); (Theurillat, 1973). I do not mean that they were modeled on the court of Isabel, rather that both milieu had drawn on shared Renaissance fonts in the increasingly complex development of these spaces.

[386] (Garcilaso, 2007, pp.163)

way Cervantes passage through the *pastoral practices* of Rome to the *captive actuality* of Algiers represents a passage in which metaphor and experience were increasingly and synchronically conflated. Like the Christian captive, Aurelio, in Cervantes' *El trato de Argel*, the poet-lover wrestled between separate captors and distinct forms of captivity: one material and political, the other spiritual and amorous. More importantly, in this struggle amorous captivity was frequently written as the most powerful of all forms of subjegation and suffering; the poets of this period privileged love as a suffering greater even then the iron shackles of North Africa. I want to underscore this point because--regardless of our own modern temperaments--the gravity of love as a form of experience has heretofore been underestimated in critical discourse.[387] Moreover, the way in which love liberated lyric subjectivity to new metaphysical explorations of the human interior created a discourse central to the imaginative literature produced during this period.

Both forms of captivity—artful, as in the case of Orsini, and circumstantial, as in the case of Veneziano—made full use of the amorous lexicon of the lover as a captive of the beloved, lending new insights into the ways in which *erotic mysticism* manifest in experience and literature: whether he was subjugated corporealy, emotionally, spiritually or a combination of the three the stakes of the poet's soul in love took on existential complexities left unconsidered in post-Cartesian thought processes.[388] A common

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[387] The octaves which Cervantes composed in captivity and sent to Veneziano--the subject of the following chapter--are exemplary of this lyric mindset. For *El trato de Argel*, see: (Cervantes, 1996); (Cervantes, 1915). For Antonio Veneziano, see: (Veneziano, 1967). For Cervantes in Algiers, see: (Sosa, 2011); (Garcés, 2005); (Haedo, 1612)

[388] The distance which *erotic mysticism* maintained from early modern doctrines on the soul should not be underestimated. In his study, *Descartes on the Human Soul*, Fowler describes a trajectory in theological and then philosophical doctrine from which *erotic mysticism* was largely independent: "By the seventeenth century Catholic orthodoxy, expressed through the decrees of the General Councils of the Church, had defined a range of propositions concerning the human soul as true according to both faith and philosophy. The nature of the soul was considered to be in that category of truths both revealed by teh Scriptures and demonstrable by reason--the subject matter of both theology and philosophy. The other categories of truth were the mysteries of faith, beyond the capacity of reason to establish--these were the proper subject matter of theology--and those truths of nature concerning which there was no divinely revealed teaching--the subject matter of philosophy. The scope of this last category was not without controversy, the question of the movement of the earth being the notorious seventeenth-century example of the conflicting claims of theology and philosophy. The range of authoritative doctrines concerning the soul exercised a decisive influence on authors of philosophical texts especially following the decree, *Apostolici regiminis*, of the Fifth Lateran Council in 1513. The "Christian philosopher" in his treatment of hte human soul was expected to arrive at these doctrinal conclusions. A

trope in pastoral, amorous and erotic literature, this lyric conceit saw its full expression during the decade of the 1570s. Moreover, as this poetry was contingent upon the particularities of the unique and unfamiliar world in which the poet was enmeshed, the experience of lyric subjectivity as a form of being in the world took on a central role in the formation of this literature. Much like the pastoral retreats celebrated by Isabel de Valois, the poetry of captivity responded to a material reality alternate to prosaic urban life. In its remove from the social status quo, the poetry of captivity represents another form of the pastoral lyric.

While the soldier-poet, Garcilaso, and the courtier-poet, Montemayor, had been predominantly concerned with their heart and soul in the absence of the divine beloved, the rhetoric of the captive-poet as it developed in the 1560s and 1570s increasingly drew upon the experience of lyric subjectivity within the manifest or existenial world. Acutely aware of his own corporeality and that of his beloved lady, the captive-poet newly explored his own lyric subjectivty within the limitations or determinate bounds presented by his devotion to a divine beloved lady. This period marks a transition in the work of Cervantes and his peers who, by way of the cultural practices and amorous experiences which gave existential iteration to their verses, began to confront the phenomenology of love as it unfolded in experience and literature. The captive-poet was at odds with his own subjugation, or in the case of Cervantes' verses to Veneziano, Cervantes wrote in objection to Veneziano's unwilling subjugation and suffering, suggesting instead courtly genuflection and servitude. The lyrics of the captive-poet explore the struggle between the poet-lover and the divinized

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pattern in the structuring of *de anima* tracts emerged whereby an author would establish his orthodox credentials by listing at the beginning of his work the full range of *de fide* doctrines which he would then set about demonstrating by rational arguments. Two works illustrate this pattern--one a scholastic textbook familiar to Descartes from his school days, and the other the *opus magnum* of Descartes' contemporary rival, Pierre Gassendi (1592-1655)," (1999, pp.2-3).

Edgar Wind, in his chapter on "Virtue Reconciled with Pleasure," provides an altogether more appropriate depiction of the thought processes immediately relevant to these patrons and poets, "The ancient 'mystery' upon which they seized, was the unlawful union of Mars and Venus, from which issued a daughter named Harmony. Born from the god of strife and the goddess of love, she inherits the contrary characters of her parents: *Harmonia est discordia concors.* But her illegitimate birth, far from being a blemish, was taken for a sign of mystical glory, according to a rule set forth very clearly in Leone [sic] Ebreo's *Dialoghi d'amore.* In discussing the love and procreation of the gods as metaphors for universal forces in nature, he expalined that 'when this union of the two parents occurs regularly in nature, it is called marriage by the poets, and the partners are called husband and wife; but when the union is an extraordinary one, it is styled amorous or adulterous, adn the parents who bring forth are styled lovers," (Wind, 1958, pp.81-82).

beloved with a marked awareness of their material and experiential context. It is important to remember that the poet-lover also occupied a complex space at once material, metaphysical, and emotional, by way of which the creative act--or authorship--was undertaken. As captivity shifted from metaphor to material actuality within the experience of the poet, the tropes of captivity native to *erotic mysticism* took on greater power and resonance.

Moreover, the role of the poet's own metaphysical faculties took on greater stakes as the poetry of *erotic mysticism* increasingly manifest in the materialized cultural practices of Rome and the authenticity of captivity in Algiers. The primary use of the word *ingenio* (or *ingegno)* in the literary culture of the time was as an unambiguous synonym for the poet, as is already evident in Cervantes' usuage of the word in his 1567 sonnet discussed in the previous chapter.[389] This continued usage by the Roman poets is evident not only in the citation which introduces this chapter, but also in Stefano Capuccini's verses for Artemisia Orsina Colonna included in the same volume, to name only one example.[xiv] The divinity of the *ingenio* was frequently declaimed in the laudatory verses which poet-lovers composed on behalf of their friends.[390] Cervantes' laudatory verses for the author, Bartholomeo Ruffino de Chambery, penned in Algiers during the

[389] See Introduction and chapters 5 and 6.

[390] For an exemplary monograph on *lo divino* in sixteenth-century Spanish verse, see: (Wardropper, 1948). While Wardropper provides a thorough study of this conceptual framework. However, Wardropper's approach is decidedly pius and particularly concerned with the religious poetry of the period. It is clear that authors wrote beyond, outside of and in heterodox interpretations of this theme with regard both the divine beloved lady and also to the divine *ingenio* or poet, as this chapter seeks to demonstrate. Amongst circles of poets Fernando de Herrera was most commonly remembered with the epithet, *el divino*, but the term was used broadly amongs poets and often in the context of the *divino ingenio*. As Huarte de San Juan explains in his *Examen de ingenious para las ciencias* in the edition of 1594 speaking on the *ingenio*, "hallaron que había en el hombre dos potencias generativas: una común con los brutos animals y plantas, y otra participante con las sustancias espirituales, Dios y los ángeles," (Huarte de San Juan, 1989, pp.187). While Huarte would later go on to modify the Platonic concept of divine inspiration in the composition of poetry as something which is simply natural to the *ingenio*, the remark is somewhat disingenuous as regards the rest of the text and likely a written with a prudent eye to the *Index of Prohibited Books*. Indicative of this usage in the Italian context is Francesco Alunno's discussion of the *ingegno* and *ingeniosi* in his *Della Fabrica del Mondo*, originally published in 1548 and cited here from the 1562 Venetian printing. In the index or *tavola* Alunno explicitly references "ingeniosi celebrari da nostri poeti". The discussion of the *ingegno* is situated in the fifth book which is dedicated entirely to the *Anima* or the metaphysical properites of man. Alunno writes: "Sopra tutti pastori Ingeniosissimo. PH. [Philocolo, Boccaccio] ad. ingegnosi celebrati," (pp.169).

same period are consistant with this practice and belief.[391] As a consequence of this outlook, the captive-poet was arrested in a contradictory space characterized by corporeal suffering, emotional conflict and spiritual subjugation,--creating a marked problematic for lyric subjectivity--a condition which Cervantes also explored in his early dramaturgical work, *El trato de Argel*. This represented a marked inversion in the relationship which the poet held to his body and his soul. More commonly the soul was viewed as a prisoner of the body, as in Augustine's *Confessions* in the fourth century, in Petrarch's *Secretum* in the fourteenth century and the poetry of Quevedo in the seventeenth century.[392] But in the poetry of captivity, the body became the prisoner of the soul, which in turn was the prisoner of the beloved. As the poet's soul became increasingly tied to the divinized lady, he found his body or *materia* to be under the existentiell and phenomenological sovereignty of the beloved lady. Rather than reject the body as the plain of suffering, the enamored *ingenio*, spiritually-subjegated, understood the body as the point of communion, transcendence and mercy. This concept of the body following the soul was clearly manifest in intellectual culture, even in the most conservative of medical treatises, such as Velázquez's *Libro de la Melancholia* of 1585.[393]

The particularities of this view, both with regard to Orsini's garden and Cervantes' verses to Veneziano, provided the grounds for new forms of mimesis which were more acutely aware of their unique audiences. As *play* declined within the Habsburg court, lyric poets began to actualize verse within the adventurous life of action and experience. The *mimetic realism* of Montemayor and the *mimetic pastoral play* of the court of Isabel gave way to the formation of *lyrical simulacra* in direct response to amorous and erotic experiences.[394] Absent from a centralized court culture or readership, the mimetic process of the captive-poet

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[391] See n.lvi of this chapter for Cervantes' sonnets to Ruffino de Chambery.

[392] The medical treatise, *Libro de la melancholia*, by the doctor Andrés Velazquez, "medico de la ciudad de Arcos de la Frontera" published in Seville in 1585 provides a clear distillation of early modern Spanish thinking of the time: "todas las almas son de igual sabiduría, capacidad, y perfeción, y estando fuera del cuerpo, obran con mucho más perfeción que estando en él" (Velazquez, 1585, pp.75v).

[393] "todas las almas son de igual sabiduría, capacidad, y perfección, y estando fuero dél cuerpo, obran con mucha más perfección que estando en el, luego si aquella alma, por hallar el temperamento que le conviene para la Theología, pudo aquel ser theólogo, sin oír, ni leer, ni ser enseñado en alguna otra manera, y el otro ser Philósofo, y el otro Astrólogo, todas las almas estando fuera de sus cuerpos, sabían así igualmente todas estas sciencias no las habiendo aprendido," (1585, pp.75v-76r).

[394] For *mimetic realism* in Montemayor, see: chapter 2 of this dissertation. For *mimetic play* in the court of Isabel de Valois, see: chapter 3 of this dissertation.

become increasingly autarchic in their constructions. In other words, these *simulacra* developed their own referential structures in accordance to the expectations and knowledge-sets of particular groups of viewers or milieu. As Gilles Deleuze observed in his essay, "Plato and the Simulacrum", mimesis carries the potentiality to produce either copies or simulacra. Where a copy sought to reproduce an original, a simulacrum sought only to reproduce the appearance of the original in response to the perspective of the viewer. The *simulacrum* is keenly attuned to perspective in a way which Albrecht Durer (1471-1538) had already underscored for the visual arts when he wrote:

> The first thing is the eye that sees; the second, the object seen; the third, the distance between them".[395]

This signaled a marked departure from the *mimetic pastoral play* in the court of Isabel de Valois amongst a shared community of players and viewers. The *simulacrum* is overtly theatrical in a way in which *play* was not. The author of the *simulacrum* was acutely aware of the distance (geographical, chronological, cultural, intellectual, literary etc.) between the objects of imitation and the subjective viewer of the work produced. Moreover, within the space of the *simulacrum* the artifact which was produced was priveleged over any of its former mimetic models. In this way Orsini could employ references to Ovid, Dante, Petrarch, Colonna, Ariosto and any number of classical authors, but these references were not intended to reproduce the earlier work, but rather to fashion an artifact reflective of Orsini's own vision. Moreover, because the Garden at Bomarzo was not merely intended for entertainment--its chief purpose was philosophical investigation--the contours of its artifice were explicitly tied to Orsini's own interpretive question of the literature from which he drew his mimetic process. In like manner, in his verses to Veneziano, Cervantes employs the most readily identifiable tropes of love poetry, only to subvert them to the formation of a new form of *disinterested* love which he fashions in the final octaves of the poem. In both cases, an authorial perspective unique to lyric subjectivity served to modify, condition and organize the mimetic models under the rubric of the individual author's communicative interests. This element of performance owed specifically to a marked awareness--both in Orsini and Cervantes--of the author as mediator between past models and a receiving audience in which the unique perspective of the author became the foremost feature of the art object:

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[395] As cited by Francisco Rico in *The Spanish picaresque novel and the point of view*, (1969, pp.1).

> It [the simulacrum] appeals to the contingent and historically grounded condition of the viewer, not to the abstract and purely rational conception of truth."[396]

It was the consideration of the viewer which made theatricality central to this form of mimesis. As Potolsky has stated:

> Violence in the street is not materially different from violence in the gladiatorial arena. What distinguishes them is the form of theatre itself.... Theatre is incomplete, almost unimaginable, without an audience.[397]

In the case of the Gardens at Bomarzo, the poet and friend to Orsini, Annibale Caro[398], was quick to note the confluence of theatricality and impromptu experience:

> Nella lettera del 1564 all'Orsini Annibal [sic] Caro definisce le fabbriche del Bosco "teatri e mausolei", accentrandole dunque intorno agli episodi architettonici più collegabili a una consulenza vignoliana.
>
> (In a 1564 letter to Orsini, Annibale Caro defines the construction of the Wood as a 'theater and mausoleum', thus concentrating around the architectural figures more connected to a Vignolian consultation.) [399]

The *lyrical simulacra* of the 1570s are unique because they attempt to replicate the vision or lyric subjectivity of the author within an intertextually or experientially mimetic bricolage whilst outright refusing to attempt to recast a single model or form (classical or modern, literary or experiential).[400] In this process we can begin to detect the early iterations of *aesthetic idealism* in which the actualization of the author's own *ingenio* plays a primary role in the stakes of art-making. In the case of Vicenzo Orsini, he combined vast classical erudition with equally bountiful erotic experience to formulate a pastoral vision

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[396] (2006, pp.151). Potolsky goes on to affirm that: "The simulacrum denies the hierarchy of copy and original, and thus becomes a potent rival to the Platonic theory of mimesis. Warhol's soup can exist in the world on its own terms; it is an imitation, but it does not depend upon a material original (soup and tin) for its effect. Deleuze contrasts the simulacrum, in this regard, with the fake or the artificial, which still rely on the order of mimesis. Pirated books or movies, for example, want to be confused with the original, for their value derives from precisely this confusion. Thus the fake depends on our naïve Platonism rather than questioning it. The simulacrum, by contrast, is a real thing in itself, not the good or bad imitation of something else," (2006, pp.151-152, brackets and underline mine).

[397] (Potolsky, 2006, pp.73-74)

[398] For an example of Annibale Caro's pastoral work of the time, see his *Amori pastorali* in (Caro, 2002). See also Enrico Garavelli's study of the poet and his work found in the introduction to the same volume.

[399] (Fagiolo, 2009, pp.68)

[400] While tangential for the present investigation, this represents a significant moment in the history of lyric subjectivity in the West. As Heidegger signals, the investigation of Being necessitates a peeling back of discourse from Kant to Descartes, from Descartes to Aristotle. The investigations of lyric subjectivity carried out in existentiell epoches by sixteenth-century authors represent an addition to the very discourse which Heidegger is attempting to uncover, even as they grappled with their own inheritence of Aristotelian and Platonic thought. See: (Heidegger, 2008, pp.37). While inappropriate to the current chapter, the significance of this discourse is not to be underestimated. This is a line of research to which I hope to return.

unique to his own perspective and intelligible to the perspectives of his contemporaries. The Gardens of Bomarzo do not attempt to replicate the classical pastoral world, rather they incarnate a mid-sixteenth-century relationship with pastoral antiquity often mediated by way of contemporary literary lenses such as the *Orlando Furioso* and the poetry of *Petrarch*, and ultimately orchestrated through Vicino's own vision and the philosophical questions which he found most pressing.[401] In the case of Cervantes' verses, the separateness of the lyric world breaks down within the author's vision of actuality or lived experience as a third-party to the amorous conflict of Veneziano and Celia from his cell in solitary confinement. Both works of authorship posit the imaginative topoi of amorous captivity within the lived social, political and biographical experience of the poet as he saw it. Here amorous poetry is not safely confined to the world of impromptu disguises, ephemeral play, and amorous folly; freed from court life, poetry unfolds within the actuality of lived experience and in response to an irrefutably corporeal beloved and an individualized poet-lover.[402] In both cases of authorship--Orsini's garden and Cervantes' verses-- the material reality of the lover and the actuality of Mediterranean culture come together within the author's vision of a coherent, contiguous, and consequential space.

V

In 1574 Vicino Orsini wrote to his close friend and epistolary confident, the Frenchman, Drouet,

> The sweetness one experiences in tasting the things you have sent is so great that the apples of the Hesperides for which Hercules fought so hard with the ever watchful dragon must have been none other than of the same sort. But in so far as the honey is even more delicious, how much more do the quinces surpass the apples so that every time I taste them I feel as though I had become a demi-god. For to tell the truth these are delicious food for a denizen of the woods like me. But I shall know how to value being one of those satyrs who, even though they didn't sit at the table with Jupiter, came to suck up some of the left over soup. To the three PPPs that you say I should pay attention: your excellence is not a good expounder with your "Pesce, Porce e Pasta". The explanation I give you now is similar to that of Giovanni Jacopo Trivulzioto whom the King of France asked for advice as to what had been necessary for the war which won the Dukedom of Alba. He got the answer "Three

[401] (Polizzi, 2009, pp.104)

[402] Early traces of this can be seen in the lyrics which Garcilaso de la Vega penned in exile on the banks of the Danube River. Taking an almost anarchical stance from the Emperor Charles V, Garcilaso writes:

> El cuerpo está en poder
> y en mano de quien puede
> hacer a su placer lo que quisiere;
> mas no podrá hacer
> que mal librado quede
> mientras de mí otra prenda no tuviere;

(Garcilaso, 2007, pp.147-148).

important things your majesty." And when the King asked him what these things were he answered "Gold, gold and gold." Likewise I interpret the three Ps to mean "Potta, potta, potta". Now it is necessary to be on one's guard against it. But as it is sweeter than quince paste and apples, even if I had no more teeth I would take to licking and if I were to be talking to a person who didn't understand her calling I would be ashamed to recount such carnality. But I know that you don't take offense, having come from the papal palace and consequently less likely to be provoked by other things that occurred to you.[403]

Here again the confluence of the pastoral, philosophical investigation and the practice of *erotic mysticism* come together as variant threads in the fabric of lyric subjectivity as it developed throughout the sixteenth century. Orsini's letter highlights several key aspects of imaginative culture during the decade of the 1570s. Like the court of Isabel de Valois, Orsini readily participated in the imaginative landscape of the pastoral world, but within his Garden at Bomarzo, the amorous topoi of the court of the young queen took on a decidedly more erotic, more philsophically intentional and more materially consequential nuance. The questions which his garden explored--particularly the nexus of divine and corporeal love, of metaphysical experience and philosophical wisdom, within the experiential world--were crucial to cultural understandings of the poetry of *erotic mysticism.* Moreover, this exploration was indicative of the epicurean elements ripe within humanist cultures in Italy, in which Orsini was known to have taken particular interest. While dated, Edgard Wind's study of the *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance* helps to illustrate how amorous, erotic and philosophical frameworks came together within the landscape of the pastoral as one of the most modern and serious projects of humanist and literary culture. The stakes of lyric subjectivity within these investigations should not be underestimated. As Wind has observed:

> These three attributes--book, sword and flower--signify the three powers in the soul of man: intelligence, strength and sensibility, or (as Plato called them) mind, courage and desire. In the Platonic scheme of the 'tripartite life', two gifts, the intellectual and moral, are of the spirit while the third gift (the flower) is of the senses. Together they constitute a complete man, but as they mingle in different proportions they produce different characters and dispositions....which in Latin are named *contemplativa*, *activa*, and *voluptuaria*....the morality of Ficino, for whom the *triplex vita* was a persistent subject of meditation. 'No reasonable being doubts', he wrote to Lorenzo de' Medici, 'that there are three kinds of life: the contemplative, the active, and the pleasurable (*contemplativa*, *activa*, *voluptuosa*). And three roads to felicity have been chosen by men: wisdom, power, and pleasure (*sapientia*, *potentia*, *voluptas*).' To pursue any one of them at the expense of the other is, according to Ficino, wrong, or even blasphemous.[404]

This observance of the sensuous aspects of life is crucial to an historically accurate reading of the gardens at Bomarzo. While licentious, Orsini's embrasure of his own sexuality or sensuality (which is to say an

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[403] (Sheeler, 2007, pp.20) According to Sheeler, "The roller-coaster thrills of life at the centre of power in Rome were known to him [Vicino] personally and through his close friendship and frequent correspondence with a Frenchman, Jean, or as Vicino knew him, Giovanni Drouet. After a military career Drouet was for a time apostolic secretary under Pope Paul III until he was sacked amid accusations of venality, then pardoned and sent off on diplomatic missions," (pp.11).

[404] (Wind, 1958, pp.78-79)

eroticism differentiated from psychological or theoretical approaches) represented one component in a complex philosohpical discourse which placed equal weight on political or military obligations, philosophical investigation, and sensual pleasure. In many ways the garden became a space in which to explore and resolve the various conflicting existential experiences which Ficino--after Plato--had sought to unite. Cervantes will later resurrect the conflict of these divisions in Tomás Rodaja of the *Licenciado vidriera* whose intellectual madness or *furor* is occasioned through an overtly sexual encounter with an enchanted (or poisoned) *membrillo* or quince.

Not only did his Gardens at Bomarzo recreate a literarily-informed Arcadia, which--like Plato, Ficino and Hebreo before him--was understood as a space of contemplation, experience and dialogic exploration.[405] Few, if any, lyric authors of the time imagined the pastoral as an idyllic space free from strife. Rather, the pastoral became an alternate space which accomodated those most difficult, and often heterdox, questions which had arisen in the fervent revival of classical philosophies beginning in the late fifteenth-century. In this way the pastoral also opposes reductive notions of escapism; as an alternate space it became a space of equal gravity and difficulty but in reference to philosophical, ethical and aesthetic questions more particular to private humanistic forays than to the university communities. In other words, the pastoral became a primary space of contemplation, action, and in the case of Orsini, plesaure: an alternate space in which to discover one's wholeness. This use of the *simulacra* was, again, distinct from the world of *play* whose primary mode was one of entertainment followed by reflection. In Orsini the contemplative and the sensual are synonymous. Even in his private letters Orsini continued to reimagine himself within this world.

> The garden he worked on over almost forty years was to be a place of contemplation and self-examination, unique in its complexity of meaning. It embodies elements of satirical humour, allusions to Oriental and Egyptian religion, Hermetic and alchemical ideas, and a Neoplatonic exploration of divine love.[406]

In the letter with which this section opened Orsini makes himself a satyr. The satyr, typically a sexual predator in the classical world, is apropos of the content of Orsini's letter, for which he made no apology. Indeed, one of the mottos which he included in his garden was taken from the Assyrian king Sardanapallus, "Ede bib elude post morten nulla voluptas" or "eat drink play after death there is no pleasure".[407] Despite a

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[405] Mario Equicola's *Libro de natura de amore* (Vencie, 1525) also pertained to this discourse.
[406] (Sheller, 2007, pp.29)
[407] (Sheeler, 2007, pp.29)

spiritual devotion to his wife, Giulia Farense, he was consistently and openly licentious in daily life and the Gardens of Bomarzo were explicitly intended as a place in which Orsini and his peers could cultivate their own imaginative and erudite sexual exploits:

> Vicino's garden originally had a wall surrounding it, marking it out, according to Petrarch's ideal, as a private or secret garden, and within that setting it is a playground for the mind set in the landscape of the heart.

The Gardens of Bomarzo parallel and enhance the practices of the pastoral festivities of the court of Isabel de Valois (1560-1568). That Cervantes was exposed to both forms of *mimetic play* early in his literary career is evident in his explorations of *play* within his own literary works. As Michael Scham has observed, "the play sphere is a sort of 'parenthetical space,' sectioned off from the concerns of everyday life," (2014, pp.62). In this way the sphere of play and the sphere of the pastoral were synonymous in their appeal to a certain courtly appetite for alternative modes of thinking and, in accordance with Aristotle, for living-well. However, Scham's assertion that the space was disconnected from the concerns of the quotidian is misleading. In fact, these pastoral places of free-play served the direct purpose of exploring the social structures and obligations of everyday life within the vacuum of an imaginative or inconsequential space. Be removing subjectivity from the strictures of etiquette and dogma, the explorations undertaken in this alternate space gave experience and voice to lyric subjectivity in a manner which social and religious life did not provide. The conceit that this was an inconsequential space, however, often proved false and much of the play-making led to very real consquences, as can be oberved both in Isabel's court and Orsini's own amorous life. Nonetheless, the desire to reconcile the spheres of humanist erudition, theological doctrine, and literary (amorous) traditions is everywhere apparent in the construction of the garden. Calvesi describes a section of the garden in the following way:

> Sulla parete nord di una delle terrazze, la scritta BENE VIVERE ET LETARI, che è una citazione dall'*Ecclesiaste* 3, 12 (l'*Ecclesiastico*, con cui si è confuso, è altro libro), sormonta il motto MEDIUM TENUERE BEATI, tratto dall'*Hypnerotomachia* e fatto proprio anche da Alessandro Farnese; ai lati si accampano due prescrizioni di senso contrastante: E(DE) B(IBE) E(T) LUDE POST MORTEM NULLA VOL(UPTAS); SPERNE TER(RENA) POST MORTEM VERA VOL(UPTAS). Il primo precetto era quello, smodato, del re assiro Sardanapalo; del secndo non è nota la fonte, ache se può richiamare lo «sperne voluptates» di uno scrittore gravitante nell'orbita farnesiana (e influenzato dall'*Hypnerotomachia*) come Achille Bocchi.
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> (Over the north wall of one of the terraces, is written BENE VIVERE ET LETARI, which is a citation from Ecclesiastes 3:12 (the *Ecclesiastical*, with which it is confused, is a different book), on top is the motto MEDIUM TENUERE BEATI, taken from the *Hypnerotomachia* and made in fact by Alessandro Farnese; to the sides they are accompanied by two prescriptions of contradictory sense: EDE BIBE ET LUDE POST MORTEM NULLA VOLUPTAS; SPERNE TERRENA POST MORTEM VERA VOLUPTAS. The first precept was that of the, unrestrained, king of the Assyrians, Sardanapalus;

the source of the second has not been identified, however it could recall the "sperne voluptates" of one of the writers who gravitated to the Farnese orbit (and the influence of the *Hypnerotomachia*) such as Achille Bocchi.[408]

This struggle with contradictory sets of wisdom, the union of biblical and imaginative exemplars, and the inclusion of lyric poets from Petrarch to his own contemporaries as philosophical sources (often of an existential nature) characterize the erudite and inquisitive space of the garden. Moreover, it was paradigmatic of the ways in which poetry was informed by and developed the variant philosphies and ethics explored within private humanist circles outside of the still largely scholastic university system. In the case of Orsini the divination of his steadfast wife, Giulia Farnese, was contrasted with the pleasurable and adulterous pursuit of several mistresses and liasons within the Garden, often conceived of as encounters with nymphs or shepherdesses. This conflict between the divine and corporeal lady of both his thoughts and his hands is curiously handled in Orsini's subjugation of himself to the contrours of the garden itself; he makes himself a captive within it. Both author and reader of the imaginative space, Orsini continually blurred the line between mimetic and authentic experience. Because the garden materialized the sort of amorous spiritual journey of Dante but modified into a more classical, pagan and erotic form per the vogue of the *Hypnerotomachia*, rather than become a disconnected *alternation of life*, it became an *allegorical landscape for* the potential experience resulting in consistently new--perhaps novelistic--events.[409]

While exceptional, and often derided in the history of criticism for its licentious character and mannerist or grotesque architecture, the Gardens of Bomarzo, were not unique to the period. Across Italy, imaginative Renaissance gardens and the vogue of the pastoral were common to the nobility of the day. As Jessie Sheeler has observed,

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[408] (Calvesi, 2000, pp.90)

[409] "La lunga elencazione di parentele e relazioni risulta uggiosa; ma tutt'altro che inutile, perché spiega *ad abundantiam* come Vicino potesse considerare l'*Hypnerotomachia* un prodotto quasi di famiglia. Nell'inventare il complesso del Sacro Bosco e nel dotare di iscrizioni la propria dimora, egli si ispirò, como vedremo, all'opera di quel Francesco Colonna che era stato un illustre consanguineo, alleato della su casata e antenato della moglie Giulia Farnese; alla quale, dopo morta, dedeicò la propria creazione come il Colonna l'aveva dedicata all'amatissima e defunta Polia. L'autore del *Sogno di Polifilo*, peraltro, era stato il proprietario di un territorio poi annesso a Bomarzo; e a lui Vicino Orsini doveva per più connotati sentirse somigliante, anche come uomo d'armi e insieme di lettere, feudatorio laziale e costruttore di un palazzo che, come quello terminato e siglato da Francesco Colonna, si affacciava su una ripida e ridente vallata, nella pace del verde," (Calvesi, 2000, pp.78).

Cardinal Gianfrancesco Gambara at Bagnaia created an extensive garden which included a wood as well as a formal water-centered garden. At Caprarola Cardinal Alessandro Farnese had a series of formal gardens round his palace, but in his inner, secret garden the intruding natural rocks and cliffs were used as elements of fountains and stone tableaux. Cardinal Madruzzo at Soriano nel Cimino also created a garden endowed with fountains and often grotesque statuary.

And members of the Orsini clan, lords of their respective domains, each devised gardens exploiting the natural and historical qualities of the land. Maerbale Orsini made a garden, now vanished, at Penna, and at Pitigliano Niccolo IV Orsini created a park on the high plateau of tufa rock that juts out opposite his town…. Natural caves almost indistinguishable from Etruscan cave-tombs abounded and Niccolo enhanced them with carved decorations, keeping alive memories of the long-gone Etruscans…. Not far away and at about the same time another of the Orsini lords was creating an equally impressive but much more enigmatic park, the Sacro Bosco or Sacred Wood of Bomarzo.[410]

That individual noblemen should entertain their own pastoral courts was common to most of the Mediterranean at the time and the cultivation of gardens was part of this cultural norm. The performance of Torquato Tasso's pastoral comedy, *Aminta*, at the court of Ferrara in 1573 is indicative of this trend. Sixteenth-century literary culture, still consigned to private, often discreet, manuscript circulation, was cultivated by noble patrons in personal spaces specifically intended as a reprieve from spheres of power and influence; in the case of Vicenzo Orsini, as a reprieve from the Papal Court where Giulio Acquaviva, a known *aficionado* of secular literature, also served. These private circles, which pertained to palaces, residences and gardens outside the academic discourse of early-modern universities, were the venues in which philosophical dialogue, amorous lyrics and classical art found their primary audience as pastimes which formed the core of the ideally realized Renaissance gentleman. As Kretzulesco-Quaranta observes:

No sólo tuvo [Vicino Orsini] por amigos y consejeros a los más cultivados príncipes de la Iglesia de su época--fieles a la tradición humanista--; no sólo tuvo en su casa, viviendo, a célebres hombres de letras como Annibale Caro, sino que, en su propia familia, encontramos al bibliotecario Fulvio Orsini, cuyos libros constituyen actualmente una de las más importantes colecciones de la Biblioteca del Vaticano.

(Not only did [Vicino Orsini] have among his friends and advisors the most cultivated princes of the Church of his era--loyal to the humanist tradition--; not only did he have living in his house celebrated men of Letters such as Annibale Caro, but that, in his own family, we find the librarian [to Cardinal Farnese], Fulvio Orsini, whose books actually constituted one of the most important colletions of the Vatican Library.)[411]

The format of exchange within these circles, as private-academies or proto-literary salons, pertains to a manuscript culture which anticipated the still rare, and often impolite, act of publication which would catch fire during the decade of the 1580s in Madrid. Moreover, given the contradictory nature of these humanist endevours and the authorship or discursion of Counter-Reformation dogma, we cannot imagine that participants frequently sought to publish their literary and philosophical affiars in a public format. Nonetheless, volumes like Mutio's *Donne Romane* indicate the extent to which these circles departed from

[410] (Sheeler, 2007, pp.7-8)

[411] (Kretzulesco-Quaranta, 1986, pp.280)

religio-political norms. And, I want to underscore, these were the circles who were directly responsible for the cultivation and consumption of lyric art forms.

These private spaces created an environment in which the mysteries of love, eroticism and the various heterodox philosophies of the classics which fascinated sixteenth-century humanism could be explored more freely by the individual participants, many of whom also held significant positions within religious and political spheres of power. The radical and erotic feminism--native to this culture of *erotic mysticism*--of Tullia d'Aragona, poet and author of the philosophical treatise, *Dialogues on the Infinity of Love* (1547), is paradigmatic of the sorts of freedoms exercised within these private circles. There is reason to believe that Orsini, and others, took these artful retreats in full existential and spiritual seriousness. He rarely distinguished between play and experience; rather play was as existentially and spiritually authentic any other form of action. In this way the pastoral literally and materially was made, as Richard Cody has said, the "landscape of the mind":

> A concern with withdrawal into the self, self-examination, and a discovery of beauty by the same creative process as the poet's remains the mark of aesthetic Platonism through Plotinus and Cusanus to Ficino and the School of Cambridge. On occasion, therefore, Plato and Ficino's fellow academic Poliziano conform to a single mode of composition: a *verbal art of landscape* which is an allegory of the inner life.[412]

Orsini created a *lyrical simulacrum*—to modify Cody's observation, a ***sensual*** *art of landscape*— in order to manifest and explore his interior lyric subjectivity within the existential world, and in the company of his fellow peers.

> The composition of the *boschetto* was very much the expression of Vicino's thoughts and feelings, and even after the ravages of the intervening centuries it reveals his prolonged dedication to perfecting such an open record of his nonconformist ideas and confident enjoyment of physical pleasures.[413]

Claudio Castelletti has also observed Orsini's intentions for the gardens as a place of lived alternative experience with direct existential affects on the life of the participant.

> Nell'epistolario troviamo infatti numerose testimonianze del suo stato d'animo malinconico e travagliato: dalle assillanti preoccupazioni per la salute all'ossessione della morte, fino all'acuta depression degli ultimi anni che lo priva di ogni gusto per la vita e per le cose che amava, compreso il suo boschetto. Ma anche la *melancholia*, una terribili *perturbationes* che minacciano il corpo e l'anima, può essere idealmente sconfitta dalla prudenza: "Io, con speranza che la s'accosti più in qua [...] per imparar se posso da lei come *prudentissima* qualche modo per *vivir alegramente*, che de già me par haverne smarrita la strada". Dunque, praticare la prudenza per conoscere se stessi, vincere se stessi e vivere con se stessi, così da essere felici.
>
> (Within his correspondence we find, in fact, numerous testimonies to his mood as melancholic and tormented: of the unbearable preocupations for his health to his obsession with death, to the acute depression of the last years of his life which took from him every pleasure for life and the things which he loved, including his wood. But in addition to the melancholy, a

[412] (Cody, 1969, pp.23-24, emphasis mine)

[413] (Sheeler, 2007, pp.28)

terrible perturbation which weakened his body and his spirit, which could ideally be defeated with prudence: "I, with hope that it comes together more in which...in order to learn prudence by knowing it in itself, I will triumph over myself and live with myself, and in such a way become happy.)[414]

The material consequence of putting on any role in a theatrical fashion is a theme which Cervantes would continue to explore throughout his literary career. The ways in which literary topoi, once donned informed and conditioned lived outcomes is, of course, a central theme of the *Don Quijote*, but also early apparent in the tale of the *dos amigos*--Silerio and Timbrio--in the *Galatea.*[415] Moreover, this material actualization of lyric conceits can be observed in Cervantes' first versified drama, *El Trato de Argel.* The *Trato de Argel* is not a lyric work. It is a *comedia* with a simple unifying theme: love conquers all. Because its unifying subject matter is of an amorous nature, Cervantes was able to deploy several lyric conceits within the versified drama. While various elements of journalistic realism take up the central portion (over half) of the versified drama—an extensive depiction of Christian suffering in Algiers and critique of Philip II's impotency against it—the amorous unity of action which opens and closes the *comedia* concerns the happy fortune of two unfortunate captive-lovers. In fact, it is precisely the disproportionately lengthy depiction of captive life in Algiers and the cruelty of the Algerian king which contrasts with and highlights the power of the amorous pair to soften the hearts of their captors. More importantly, the reality of Algerian captivity

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[414] (Castelletti, 2009, pp.138)

[415] In the tale of the *dos amigos*, set in Naples, the enamored Timbrio enlists his best friend, Silerio, in a *Cyrano de Bergerac* play to enter the house of Timbrio's beloved Nísida as a minstral in order to win her favor on Timbrio's behalf. The language which Cervantes employed was acutely sensitive to the dangers of *disfraz* and play:

A esta causa estaba Timbrio tan pobre de esperanza, cuano rico de pensamientos, y sobre todo, falto de salud y en términos de acabar la vida sin descubrirlos: tal era el temor y reverencia que había cobrado a la hermosa Nísida. Pero después que tuve bien conocida su enfermedad, y hube visto a Nísida y considerado la calidad y nobleza de sus padres, determiné de posponer por él hacienda, la vida y la honra, y más si tuviera y pudiera, y así usé de un artificio el más estraño que hasta hoy se habrá oído ni leído, y fue que acordé de vestirme como truhán, y con una guitarra entrarme en casa de Nísida, que por ser, como ya he dicho, sus padres de los principales de la ciudad, de otros muchos truhanes era continuada. Parecióle bien este acuerdo a Timbrio, y resignó luego en las manos de mi industria todo su contento. Hice yo hacer luego muchas y diferentes galas, y en vistiéndome, comencé a ensayarme en el nuevo oficio delante de Timbrio, que no poco reía de verme tan truhanamente vestido; y por ver si la habilidad correspondía al hábito, me dijo que, haciendo cuenta que él era un gran príncipe y que yo de nuevo venía a visitarle, le dijese algo..." (Cervantes, 1961, v.1, pp.140-141).

As a result of his role-playing, Silerio does indeed fall silently in love with Nísida as he wins her for Timbrio. In the *Don Quijote I*, the tale of the *Curioso Impertinente* likewise explores the trope of the *dos amigos* in an Italian setting.

depicted around Aurelio and Silvia actualizes the metaphor of the captive lover within the material landscape. So too, Orsini, brought his amorous and erotic machinations into corporeal life by way of his gardens, at once artificial and literary in its appeal to the sensuous world of Nature. That Orsini was not only a patron of contemporary poets, but also a poet himself is indicative of liminal mimetic space which lyric authors entertained between art and life.[416]

The Sacro Bosco or Sacred Wood of Bomarzo has often been interpreted with skepticism, discomfort or consternation. Nonetheless, once understood as in inquisitive and explorative space in communion with the literary culture of *erotic mysticism*, so much at the core of Renaissance poetry--and moreover, as a space which Orsini explicitly used for the composition of lyric verse--the notion of a sacred wood takes on much clearer significance. Many of its grotesque or enigmatic features simplify and grow elegant within the *cosmos of erotic mysticism* once removed from the lens of Roman-Catholic framework. The secular tastes of Vicino (Pier Francesco) Orsini (1523-1583) were not unique within his familial context or literary milieu. He was the second son of the "flamboyant *condottiere*" (Sheeler, pp.8), Gian Corrado Orsini and his elder brother, Girolamo, chose disinheritance rather than be forced to join the clergy. While Vicino would earn renown within both military and political spheres, particularly through his ties (albeit subservient) to the Farnese, his passion for imaginative arts, particularly within the sphere of *erotic mysticism*, and his heterodox character was consistent from an early age.

> When Vicino assumed his title [1542] a comedy specially written for the occasion was put on in Viterbo to honour him. The play was called *La Cangriaria*, named for a divine female whose special characteristic was the ability to keep changing her appearance in order to delude and amaze. Even at that early stage of his life Vicino was well known as an artist, still primarily a literary one, adept at amusing, puzzling and astounding an audience, and La Cangiaria in he play punningly says of him 'with his name and his cleverness he approaches [*avicina*] heaven'. From his youth he was intellectually and creatively active, involved in the most adventurous artistic, philosophical and religious developments of his time…. While Vicino's interest in religious and artistic ideas was nourished by long friendships with the three notably cultured cardinals, Gambara, Farense and Madruzzo, he also counted leading Italian literary figures among his friends. Three of his own poems were included in a collection of new poetry by 'many excellent writers' edited by Ludovico Domenichi and published in Venice in 1545 when Vicino would have been only twenty-two. Francesco Sansovino dedicated his edition of Jacopo Sannazaro's pastoral

[416] "L'ultima testimonianza di un'attività di "poeta" del signore di Bomarzo sono alcuni suoi componimenti, sia pure scherzosi e di scarso impegno, sopratutto quello che va sotto il nome di *Capitolo del Boschetto*, dove Vicino, nell'invitare a Bomarzo il suo amico Giovanni Drouet, si compiace di doppi sensi di stampo, oggi si direbbe, goliardico. Ma sistemata la punteggiatura ed emendati alcuni errori di trascrizione che si indovinano del manoscritto, la poesiola risulta scorrevole e corretta nella metrica, benché ostica nel significato di alcuni passaggi, testimoniando una disinvolta capacità di verseggiare. Possiamo così ben credere che i versi tracciati nelle lapidi del Sacro Bosco gli appartengano dal primo all'ultimo," (Calvezi, 2000, pp.47).

romance *Arcadia* to him, and the ideas and images of the work had an influence on the imagery and feeling of Vicino's work in the Bomarzo garden…. His charismatic talents were celebrated also by the writer Giuseppe Betussi, who dedicated to him a treatise on love, a tribute to Vicino's pre-eminent beauty of mind and body, and his virtuosity in the field of literature.[417]

Soldier and poet, Vicino spent his early years in military service fighting for both Charles V and Pope Paul III in the war on Protestantism. In 1553 he was captured at the Battle of Hesdin and spent the following two years as a captive in the Castle of Namur. Shortly after his release he fought against the Duke of Alba and Charles' troops at the request of Paul III. By the following decade, Vicino had retired to Bomarzo. His cultivation of the *Sacro Bosco* would allow him to host aristocracy from all over the continent. Aware of his own heterodox thoughts and passions, it is clear that Vicino thought of his residence as a place of freedom open to the many men and women who consistently navigated literary and religious milieu. As he wrote to Alessandro Farnese about a group of noblemen from Aragon and Urbino in 1569:

> I would like them to come on Monday, so I am sending a messenger with a letter for them all so that they will deign to do me the favour of availing themselves of the freedom of my house.[418]

In 1574 he hosted the Duchess of Sala, Cardinal Gambara and Signor Muzio Mattei. Both Orsini and Acquaviva occupied influential positions within the Vatican, Roman politics and humanist literary mileui. Given Orsini's inclusion of the Mutio collection, *Donne Romane*, of 1575 it is difficult to imagine that Cervantes did not know the Garden at Bomarzo either through first-hand experience or by way of mouth in Rome.

Unlike the unrequited poets of the Spanish court who lived and wrote under the strictest palace etiquette, Vicino exercised relative freedom in his romantic exploits. In this way the language of captivity within amorous lyrics found new grounds of exploration which, by way of their sensuality, further bridged and complicated the relationship between divine and profane love within the culture of *erotic mysticism*. While he was known to have a plurality of girlfriends at any time, he entertained three serious love affairs outside of his marriage to Giulia Farnese. The first, with Adriana della Roza lasted as long as two years into his marriage to Giulia (1541) when Adriana died of a sudden fever. In condolence, Vicino's friend Giuseppe Betussi added a ten-verse song about Adriana to his play, *Raverta*, which he dedicated to Vicino, (Sheeler, pp.21). I went to stress this fact because throughout his life Orsini frequently held a central position within

[417] (Sheeler, 2007, pp.10-11)
[418] (Sheeler, 2007, pp.16)

the mindset of the various authors who populated the literary milieu which most relevant to Cervantes' period in Rome. Following the death of Giulia in 1560, Vicino fell for a young woman by the name of Laura. The allusion to Petrarch's beloved was not lost on him. She abandoned him after a decade for a series of affairs in Rome and then returned to Bomarzo after two years of absence. She eventually abandoned him completely. His third affair with Clelia [sic] di Clemente resulted in two children, Leonida and Orontea, named after Leonidas the Spartan king and the Cretan princess of *Orlando Furioso*, respectively. Vicino's passion for the materiality of the beloved should not be taken lightly. He wrote that "sexual pleasure was a great awakening of the soul," (Sheeler, pp.21), which again placed a marked emphasis on the conflation of sensual and metaphysical experience within a natural or Pastoral landscape.[419] The Sacro Bosco was not simply a place in which to awaken the soul, but also a landscape in which to subsequently explore the soul once awakened. The ties to the vogue of the pastoral were unmistakable, as Vicino expressed his preference to "dally with my beautiful shepherdesses under the shade of a fine beech tree," (Sheeler, pp.23).

The character of the garden was decidedly classical and pagan but it was not devoid of religious citations and, in keeping with Vicino's philosophical dialectic, these seemingly contradictory *sentencias* were the key to unlocking the very questions which the garden posed. Vicino even took pains to have the statues painted in keeping with Greek and Etruscan art.[420] Vicino was one of the first to employ the element of water as a centerpiece in his gardens to such a degree that, envious, Torquato Conti would write to his architect that it was "essential, for you to have jets, streams, ponds, fountains, etc. We want to have extravagant things to eclipse even the *boschetto* of Signor Vicino," (Sheeler, pp.28). Conti's sense of competition with Vicino highlights the fame which the garden held among the various noble estates in which the pastoral was cultivated. Moreover, the use of water was not simply decorative. The four elements, particularly water, still held a significant place in the cosmos of the sixteenth century. In 1612 Covarrubias

[419] For a reader sensitive to contemporary literary theory and feminist discourse, this could prove somewhat confusing. I would like to underscore the difference between sensuality and animality, the latter pertaining to a particular late twentieth-century discourse and the former pertaining to a distinctly humanist sixteenth-century discourse.
[420] As would Godard centuries later for the opening of his erotically-charged film, *Mepris* (1963).

would refer to it as the, "element principal, entre los cuatro" (principle element of the four) going on to recall that

> Milesio tuvo por cierto ser el agua la primera material de que fueron criadas todas las cosas, a esto aludió Virgilio…. Parece tener imperio sobre los demás, porque el agua se traga la tierra, apaga el fuego, sube al aire y le altera y, lo que más es, que está sobre los mesmos cielos.
>
> (Mileto had it for certain that water was the first material of which all things were created, to this Virgil alluded....It seems to have empire over the others, because water swallows earth, extinguishes fire, rises to the air and alters it, and moreso that, it is above the very heavens.) [421]

This blending of natural elements with the orchestration of an articificial space, a living pastoral, would have been easily recognizable to the young Cervantes whose own pastoral novel, the *Galatea*, would repeat the pagan elements which Orsini favored in Book 5 for the funeral exequies of the shepherd-poet, Meliso.[422] As I will demonstrate in chapter 6, the *Galatea* is mimetic of the *cosmos of erotic mysticism* and structured in such a way as to actualize this *cosmos* within the literary world which it creates. Moreover, because the *cosmos of erotic mysticism* was not simply literary, but one which poets in Madrid of the 1580s took seriously, the literary world became increasingly mimetic of the world which it sought to recreate. Likewise, while the character of the gardens was decidedly classical, the major literary influences for the gardens were Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, as well as Sannazaro's *Arcadia* and, most importantly, Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, three of the most classically-influenced, imaginative, erotic and, to varying degrees, pastoral works of the period. Orsini was likewise fluent in the Roman writers Virgil, Ovid and Seneca and cultivated a strong interest in Oriental and ancient Egyptian religious symbolism, as well as the influx of culture from the Americas (Sheeler, pp.38). Like the court of Isabel de Valois the Gardens of Bomarzo served as an entry way into an imaginative world of conglomerate literatures and cultures. One of Vicino's inscriptions makes the invitation explicit:

> VOI CHE PEL MONDO GITE ERRANDO
> VAGHI DI VEDER MARAVIGLIE ALTE ET
> STUPENDE, VENITE QUA, DOVE SON
> FACCIE HORRENDE, ELEFANTE, LEONI,
> ORSI, ORCHI ET DRAGHI

[421] (Covarrubias, 1995, pp.27)
[422] See: chapter 6, Book 6

You who wander the world
longing to see great and
amazing marvels, come here, where there are
terrifying faces, elephants, lions
bears, orcs and dragons.[423]

Unlike the *tableau* of Isabel and Juana which sought to mime topoi drawn from imaginative texts (closer to *mimetic intertextuality*) Orsini's gardens constituted an entirely new art form, one which drew on many influences but which stood alone as a unique lyrical simulacrum, in closer proximity to the author's vision than any text or model. Few authors have rivaled Cervantes' own ambiguity.[424] Vicino's gardens embrace a similar passion for paradox--native to lyric autors--within a cultural context of *erotic mysticism* which both authors shared. Sheeler goes to lengths to expound the possible meanings of several statuary elements within the garden. A sleeping nymph may for example be identified as Arisoto's Angelica, as Psyche or as another nymph in the *Hypnerotomachia*. Similarily, a dragon invites paradoxical readings as both destructively satanic or as divinely life-giving. It is important to consider that these paradoxes which have long troubled criticism go to the very heart of intention within the space of the garden. As Sheeler observes, "the ambiguity would be entirely in keeping with the deliberately riddling nature of the *sacro bosco"*.[425] In other words, ambiguity and paradox were crucial to the very philosophical questions which the garden wished to raise and explore. I want to underscore this feature of the garden which should be understood as the identifying feature and the primary purpose of its construction. The emblematic statues of the garden were intended as riddles for the *vida contemplativa* of the viewer. Vicino's invitation to paradox is manifest in many of the inscriptions for the garden, particularly his taste for placing three different phrases in conjunction with one another. As in the following examples:

SPERNE TERRENA — reject what is earthly

POST MORTEM VERA VOLUPTAS — after death is true pleasure

MEDIUM TENURE BEATI

Blessed are they who have held to the middle way

[423] (Sheeler, 2007, pp.88)
[424] For more on ambiguity in Cervantes' oeuvre, see: (Johnson, 1980).
[425] (Sheeler, 2007, pp.98)

SAPIENS DOMINABITUR ASTRIS — FATO PRUDENTIA MINOR

The wise man will be ruled by the stars — Prudence is subject to Fate

QUID ERGO

What then?[426]

This actualization of "another world"—that is, a world "other" to Habsburg and Papal circles—distinguished the experience of the captive-poet. In many ways the cultural experience offered by Vicino's Gardens at Bomarzo anticipates the forced removal of the captive-poet from his social sphere. In this way, the captive-poet shared the experience of respite from quotidian life which also marked the poetry of the pastoral and the *forestero*-experience of the soldier-poet. Just as Orsini shared something of the taste for the country retreat--which mirrored Antonio Velez de Guevara's *Menosprecio de corte y alabanza de aldea* (Valladolid, 1539) and which Cervantes, by way of his pseudonym, Lauso, would also echo in the pages of the *Galatea* (Alcalá, 1585)--the forced remove of captives from familiar social structures mirrored, albeit in dystopian fashion, the pastoral escape.[427] Orsini's garden, in its explicit appeal to the mysteries of the corporeally erotic, the material balance of Epicureanism, and the transcendent potential of amorous devotion is difficult to characterize as either utopian (arcadia) or dystopian (captivity); it was rather an alternate (imaginative) space of the nobleman's own invention, and likely constructed under the rubric of the *vita contemplativa* in order to explore the very contradictions which it inspires. In its pertinence to the shared papal and literary milieu of Rome, it stands as a testament to the ways in which Cervantes' experience in the Vatican would have continuously oscilated between Church power and humanist endeavors cultivated by the same figures in spite of the contradictions which arose therein. Moreover, Orsini's philosophical exploration of those very contradictions reiterates the ways in which *erotic mysticism* held a central role in these shared cultures, and, perhaps more importantly, the way in which it freed the lyric subjectivity of the poet to explore to existential world by way of his enamored soul. This conception of the ascending Platonic soul by way of

[426] (Sheeler, 2007, pp.30)

[427] See: chapter 6, Book 4

Eros and the measured Aristotelian soul by way of *eudaimonia* (or living well), brought humanist thought together within Orsini's revival of Eupicureanism.

> Throughout his life he [Vicino Orsini] became more and more devoted to Epicurean precepts of rural self-sufficiency and contentment, saying in a letter of 1558, 'And I, now that I am thirty five, know as much as if I were just newly born. Only on one point it seems to me that I am older than Nestor: I have decided that Epicurus was a man of honour.'[428]

For both Orsini and Cervantes, the context of composition was completely divorced from the familiar obligations of the poet's normative experiences, whether in the Gardens of Bomarzo or the Kasbah of Algiers.[429] The poet was arrested in a new landscape which metaphorically embodied the new spiritual landscape of amorous subjugation. For example, the captive-lover, Aurelio, in Cervantes' versified drama, *El Trato de Argel* (composed within ten years of his time in Rome) made full use of the divine beloved as keeper of his captive heart:

> Ponderase mi dolor,
> con decir, bañado en lloros,
> que mi cuerpo está entre moros,
> y el alma en poder de Amor.
> Del cuerpo y alma es mi pena:
> el cuerpo ya veis qual va;
> mi alma rendida está
> a la amorosa cadena.
> Pense yo que no tenia
> Amor poder entre esclavos;
> pero en mi sus reçios clavos
> muestran mas su gallardia.

> (Pondering my pain,/ with saying, bathed in tears,/ that my body is among Moors,/ and my soul in the power of Love./ Of the body and the soul is my pain:/ the body you already see how it goes; my soul it is rendered to the amorous chain. I thought that it did not have,/ Love, power among slaves; but in me its sturdy nails/ greater show its valour.)[430]

Likewise, Orsini's Gardens at Bomarzo enclosed or confined the participant in an amorous journey which mimicked the spiritually-amorous journey of Dante's *Paradiso* within an amorous and erotic framework inspired by the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphilli* and the *Orlando Furioso.*[431]

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[428] (Sheeler, 2007, pp.28)

[429] This motif recurs, for example, in the "Captive's Tale" at the Inn in the *Don Quijote I* in addition to the *Trato de Argel.*

[430] (Cervantes, 1915, pp.9)

[431] (Polizzi, 2009, pp.104 and 107). "En cuanto a Vicino Orsini, el creador de los jardines, se desprende de su correspondencia con el alquimista francés Jean Drouet--recientemente publicada por Arnaldo

It matters greatly to our understanding of the intellectual, cultural and literary histories most pertinent to the author of the *Don Quijote*, that Spanish and Italian culture represented an unbroken chain of encounters with the *cosmos of erotic mysticism*, particularly because this is a central aspect both of lived and written life which has been excised from the political, religious and social histories of Cervantes' period. While little evidence of Cervantes' time in Rome remains, Orsini and Acquaviva's pertience to the same political, religious, noble and literary milieu make it clear that the fame of Vicino and his garden--and more likely firsthand experience therein--is characteristic of Cervantes' period in Rome. Vicino's renown amongst clerics, nobleman, and, most importantly, writers relevant to the circles of Giulio Acquaviva and his chamberman strongly suggest that Cervantes--a twenty-two year old poet schooled in *erotic mysticism*--acquired at least secondary knowledge, if not great familiarity with Orsini's Sacred Wood and literary milieu of like manner. Moreover, because the very contradictions, paradoxes and mimetic questions which Vicino sought to explore became central to the fiction of Cervantes, it is reasonsable to lend further credence to the intellectual history to which Vicino pertained. In this chapter I have discussed the ways in which cultural artifacts moved from the realm of imitation into *simulacra*, the historical relevance of Cervantes' period in Rome and the character of Vicino Orsini's Sacred Wood as indicative of a cultural mindset deeply influenced by Ficino and Hebreo which gravitated toward the *cosmos of erotic mysticism*; and moreover, that this alternate *cosmos* became the means by which lyric subjectivity was explicitly explored by imaginative authors. I have shown the ways in which metaphor was transformed into material actuality within the literature and practice of the pastoral, not only in Habsburg Spain but also in erudite circles in Italy. In the following chapter I will show how Cervantes' period of captivity brought the author of the *Don Quijote* into an even more direct confronation between the metaphorical and the material. I will demonstrate how this increasingly experiential culture of *erotic mysticism* was continued in some of his earliest known verses, the octaves which he sent to Antonio Veneziano from solitary confinement in the fall of 1579

Bruschi--y de sus relaciones con los intelectuales y artistas de su época, que fue él mismo *genius loci*: un humanista de gran curiosidad, con la imaginación tremendamente impresionada no sólo por los textos esotéricos comentados por sus amigos los cardinales Farnesio, Gambara y Madruzzo, sino también por las alegorías ocultas en el relato de las locas invenciones del *Orlando Furioso* de Ariosto. ... El escudo de los Médicis orna la frente del «monstruo»: un probable homenaje de Vicino Orsini a Lorenzo el Magnífico, junto a quien se había educado su abuelo Franciotto," (Kretzulesco-Quaranta, 1986, pp.274).

-4-

Captive Souls, Ingenious Hands:

Cervantes and the Subjectivity of the *Disinterested Lover*

Diré: «Celia gentil, en cuya mano
está la muerte y vida y pena y gloria
de un mísero captivo que, temprano
ni aun tarde, no saldrás de su memoria:
vuelve el hermoso rostro blando, humano,
a mirar de quien llevas la victoria;
verás el cuerpo en dura cárcel triste
del alma que primero tú rendiste.

(I would say: "Gentle Celia, in whose hand/ is found the death and life and pain and glory/of a miserable captive who, neither soon/ nor later, will not forget you:/turn your soft pretty, human face/ to look at he over whom you've taken your victory;/ you will see the body in the sad hard prison/ of the soul which you first conquered.) [432]

Introduction

So advised Cervantes in the ways of amorous subjectivity in the final verse octaves of the lyric which he sent to the Sicilian poet, Antonio Veneziano, from solitary confinement in Algiers. In her exemplary study, *Cervantes in Algiers: A Captive's Tale*, María Antonia Garcés briefly comments on the friendship which Cervantes cultivated with Antonio Veneziano whilst in Algiers.[433] In keeping with the habits of cervantine criticism, Garcés' study focuses on elements of the Algierian captivity which subsequently made their way into Cervantes' prose fiction some three decades later, such as the "Captive's Tale" in the first part of the *Don Quijote*. On Cervantes' octaves for Veneziano, Garcés writes, "Accordingly, in spite of his heavy chains and of 'the many fancies wearying' him, Cervantes contrived to write two glum *octavas* in response to Veneziano's

[432] (Cervantes, 1974, v.2, pp.347-350, translation mine)

[433] The Sicilian poet appears in her study three times: (1) a brief mention of Cervantes' octaves, (2) discussion of the various circles Cervantes encountered in Algiers, (3) a second cursory review of Cervantes' composition of poetry whilst in Algiers, (2002, pp.67, 105, and 127). Study of Veneziano is limited to passing reference and no discussion of Cervantes' versified lyrics is undertaken.

long poem singing his love for "Celia," (2002, pp.67). It is somewhat surprising, that a critical tradition which has benefited from four-hundred years of biographical and interpretive developments, has remained consistent and persistent in its unwillingness to encounter, consider, or seriously study in any responsible way the lyric works of this master author, particularly given that his continued concern with the aesthetics and stakes of lyric verse permeated his works, particularly his prose works, until his death in 1616.[434] Cervantes did not compose "two glum *octavas*" (Garcés, 2002, pp.67) for Antonio Veneziano. In fact, this remarkable foray into the *erotic mysticism* of lyric verse--which was comprised of twelve octaves (resonant with the opening octaves of the *Galatea*)--marks a significant development within the author's oeuvre which directly conditioned the conceptual structures of the *Don Quijote*, and the knight errant's *disinterested* love for Dulcinea.[435] In this poem Cervantes masters the major tropes of *erotic mysticism* deployed in the metaphor of the captive-lover over the course of the first nine octaves, only to invert and subject them to his own authorial voice, positing a new relationship between the captive poet-lover and the beloved lady: surrender or *disinterested* love.[436] In this way the conceit of the poem's denouement not only anticipates the future *disinterested* lovers of the *Galatea*, the *Novelas Ejemplares*, the *Don Quijote*, and the *Persiles*, it also marks a significant authorial stance within the dialectics on *erotic mysticism* taking place in Spain, Italy and the

[434] Cervantes' insertion of lyric verse into all of his prose works comprises a considerable tome of poetry. There are eighty separate poems in the *Galatea* alone. There are sixty-five distinct poems in the *Don Quijote*, sixteen in the *Novelas ejemplares*, and a total of eighty poems in the *Persiles y Sigismunda*.

[435] As Vicente Gaos notes, "Los mismos elementos, *fuego, lazo, flecha y hielo* figuran también en dos composiciones del libro I de *La Galatea*, las que empiezan: "Mientras que al triste lamentable acento" y "Afuera el fuego, el lazo, el hielo y flecha"," (Cervantes, 1974, pp.347). The verses of the *Galatea* correspond to Elicio and Galatea, respectively.

[436] I want to underscore the difference between *amor disinteresado* and *desamor* because they represent two markedly distinct positions for the poet-lover. The *amante disinteresado* takes on a position of servitude, while the sense of "interest" is tied to economic concepts of investment or profit. In contrast the position of servitude and surrender in *amor disinteresado* does not hope to gain from its service; it is *disinterested* or without investment. It is love for love's sake. The *desamado*, as distinct from the *disinteresado*, rejects the concept of love outright, as with the character *Lenio* in the *Galatea* who is completely free of feelings of love and of a beloved lady. *Lenio*, who was likely modeled on López Maldonado's poetry of *desamor* is starkly different from *Lauso's* (modeled on Cervantes) poetry of *amor disinteresado*. (See: chapter five of this dissertation.) This distinction matters greatly because it is an *amor disinteresado* which Alonso Quijano cultivates for Aldonza Lorenzo by way of don Quijote and Dulcinea.

Mediterranean. Few surviving works have so unambiguously placed Cervantes' own philosophical position in relation to the literary milieu in which and for whom he wrote. Among captive-poets of the 1570s, Cervantes distinguished a definitive approach to amorous lyrics which he placed squrely within the *cosmos of erotic mysticism.*

This addition to the lyrics of suffering characteristic of the amorous captive-poets linked Cervantes to the northern Italian tradition of poets who sought transcendence amidst their anguish and the Provençal poets who undertook a amorous authorship of genuflection and service.[437] Like the material ascent carved into the landscape at Bomarzo, Cervantes advocated a surrender to the divine beloved which embraced rather than struggled against captivity. This was a particularly radical move given the material circumstances of the author. The verses which Cervantes sent to Veneziano were written following his fourth escape attempt while he was held in solitary confinement within the prison of Hasan Pachá, (Garcés, 2005, pp.414). He had previously attempted an escape on three separate occasions. In 1576 the fugitive captives had been abandoned by their moorish guide to Oran. Cervantes was subsequently beaten and chained, (Garcés, 2005, pp.413). In 1577, Cervantes attempted his second escape involving the episode in the cave beyond the walls of the city (perhaps a preconfiguration of the *Cueva de Montesinos*)[438]; he was subsequently imprisoned in the *baño* of Hasan Pachá, (Garcés, 2005, pp.414). In 1578 his third attempt involved a letter to the governor of Oran, Don Martín de Córdoba--whom Cervantes would later visit on his secret mission to Oran commissioned from Portugal in 1580. The letter and its carrier were discovered and Cervantes was sentenced to "dos mil palos" and jailed again in the *baño* of Hasan Pachá. Garcés posits that it was by way of the intervention of Hajji Murad that Cervantes was not executed, (2005, pp.414). In 1579 Cervantes fourth and largest escape attempt involved the rescue of sixty other captives. They were betrayed by Dr. Juan Blanco de Paz. Cervantes was again taken before the king. This last incident was particularly telling, because Cervantes couragously shouldered the responsibility for all the fugitives, refusing to divulge any names at the threat of his own life.[439] He was returned to the prison of Hasan Pachá and held in solitary

[437] This was also an element which both Figueroa and Aldana incorporated into their lyric verse as a result of the periods which they spent in Siena and Florence, respectively.
[438] (Garcés, 2005, pp.104)
[439](Astrana Marín, 1951, v.3, pp.42).

confinement to prevent further consipirations and flight. So it was that an element of surrender--like the one undertaken before the king--reflected in Cervantes' actual experience the surrender which he would subsequently advocate in Veneziano's lyrics of amorous suffering and captured subjectivity in his quest for his beloved Celia. The motif was apparent both in his captive experiences and his poetry of captivity.

Criticism should be careful not to underestimate the degree to which Cervantes' own captivity and suffering in Algiers literalized the language of captivity which he took on within the poetry of *erotic mysticism* from solitary confinement. Significantly, this conflation of metaphor and experience, did not serve to inspire Cervantes' rejection of amorous and pastoral genres as light or insufficiently serious. Rather, Cervantes' experience of captivity served to amplify the stakes of the poetry of *erotic mysticism* and to develop his definitive stance within the genre. Following his release from captivity and return to Madrid, it was precisely by way of the *cosmos of erotic mysticism* that Cervantes would distinguish himself as an author of pastoral fiction and poetry, underscoring in the prologue the gravity of the philophical inquires which the *Galatea* undertakes.[440] It matters greatly to our understandings of the *Don Quijote* that it is, in particular, Alonso Quijano's tendency to literalize metaphor which leads to several of his greatest confusions, such as in the episode of the windmills and the barber's basin. Moreover, Sancho's increasing tendency to imitate his master's approach, driven largely by his desire for the governorship over the island, will lead Sancho too into the world of metaphor atop the theatrical stagepiece, Clavileño, in the palace of the duke and dutchess in the second part of the novel. Seemingly convinced of his flight, Sancho recalls, "miré hacia la tierra, y parecióme que toda no era mayor que un grano de mostaza," (I looked at the earth, and it seemed to me that everything was no large than a mustard seed," (1999, I:41, pp.964). Like his master, the language of metaphor has sublimely met with experience so as to condition the very perspective of the speaker. In other words, within the space of the text, language has become *a priori* to the experience of the characters. It is significant then,

[440] "...así no temeré mucho que alguno condemne haber mezclado razones de filosofía entre algunas amorosas de pastores, que pocas veces se levantan a más que a tratar cosas del campo, y esto con su acostumbrada llaneza. Mas advirtiendo--como en el discurso de la obra alguna vez se hace--que muchos de los disfrazados pastores della lo eran sólo en el hábito, queda llana esta objeción," (Cervantes, 1961, v.1, pp. 8).

that Cervantes knew the synthesis of metaphor with experience, first-hand, early in his authorial career, and, moreover, that it motivated one of the most important lyric works in the development of his aesthetics.

In the letter to Veneziano in which he enclosed the verses, Cervantes wrote that, "son tantas las imaginaciones que me fatigan, que no me han dejado de cumplir como queria [sic] estos versos...me ha mouido a mostrar tan presto las faltas de mi ingenio, (I am fatigued by so many imaginations, that they have not allowed me to complete as I would have liked these verses...moved, as I am, to demonstrate so soon the faults of my *ingenio)*", (Cervantes, 1922, v.6, pp.31). It should be reasonably clear to any critic, that within the confines of the *baño* of Hasan Pachá in 1579 Cervantes underwent a symbiosis of experience and metaphor, both within his own sensory experience and his own imaginings, and that he employed his *ingenio* directly in the creation of lyric verse which reflected the amalgamation of experience and metaphor. While I do not mean to suggest that the *Don Quijote* is in any way a biographical text, I do wish to underscore that this is an insight into the *ingenious* gentleman's outlook which Cervantes intimately knew and understood decades prior to the publication of thr *Don Quijote*. Whether in Seville or in Algiers, Cervantes made it clear that his magnum opus, "bien como quien se engendró en una cárcel, donde toda incomodidad tiene su asiento y donde todo triste ruido hace su habitación," (well as he who was engendered in a prison, where all discomfort has its seat and where every sad noise makes its room), (1999, I: prologue, pp.9).

In the 1570s, both in Vicino's garden and in Cervantes' own compositions, corporeality (in addition to questions of the amorous metaphysics) came into focus within the works of the poet-lover. In the works of Garcilaso and Montemayor poetry had been employed to elevate the beloved lady in memory; strongly influenced by Petrarch and March, this poetry of grief and suffering was passive and addressed the lady only in absence. It was the poetry of the absence of the beloved. In the poets of the 1560s such as Figueroa, Laynez and Cervantes, the amorous lyric frequently became more active in direct amorous address to a living and present divine or lofty lady. But it was the material confrontation with an eroticized beloved as an active force in the existential reality of the poet which characterized the central problematic of the poetry of captivity. In the Gardens of Bomarzo an appeal to the classical divinity, Venus, and her attendant Three Graces combined with allusions to Dante's amorous and spiritual journey in the *Divine Comedy* in the formation of an ambiguous space anticipated by Colonna in the *Hypnerotomachia* placed metaphysics squarely

in the experience of the sensory world.[441] In Cervantes' verses to Antonio Veneziano the question of the corporeality of both divine lady and poet-lover are given full, if not explicit focus. Elsewhere Cervantes was less ambiguous. For example, in *El Trato de Argel*, Zahara abandons Muhammad and the entire Islamic faith in her passion for the 'divine' Aurelio for whom she burns with an explicitly material or erotic passion. Aurelio and Silvia, on the other hand, have never consummated their marriage but their amorous passion is given full corporeality through the actual shackles with which they have been bound and the erotic threat which their masters pose to their corporeal bodies. In both instances *amor profano* takes on a metaphysical resonance which was more normatively relegated to *amor divino*. This confrontation with the material reality of captivity--both corporeal and spiritual--was something which the philosophical treatises of Neoplatonic origins had sought to address-both in the works of Ficino and Hebreo--but which subsequent modern criticism, more fully bound to the Augustinian traditions, has heretofore overlooked.[442] In practice, love was not explored upon the ready divisions of *amor profano* and *amor divino*; lyric subjectivity played a central role in this exploration. In the 1570s this metaphysics of corporeality became the subject matter of

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[441] (Sheeler, 2007, pp.37)

[442] Tullia D'Aragona's treatise, *The Infinity of Love*, in some ways seeks to reconcile this, (see: Aragona, 1997), and the corresponding introductory study by Rinaldina Russel: "Many treatises on love published or written in the early 1500s draw their basic tenets from Marsilio Ficino's theory of "Platonic love."... Working at the height of the humanistic revival, Ficino proposed a version of Platonism harmonious with Christianity and with the humanistic concept of humankind at the center of creation. Love is the universal force binding the world and the divinity together, for God has created the world and governs it through an act of love, and through love the world returns to the godhead. Similarly, the human soul follows an itinerary that goes from love of earthly beauty to the ecstatic contemplation of the divine. The many subsequent popularizations of Platonic love, almost all written in dialogic form, indicate that a large reading public was concerned with human dilemmas and with the relation of sensual experience to reason and to religious morality. They responded to the need, very much felt by the intellectual class, of bridging the gulf between secular and religious values, between private conduct and the moral and spiritual discipline that the church idealized. The dialogue was the genre most apt to negotiate this conflict, for it proposed as worthy of investigation many possible solutions, thus minimizing the contrast between irreconcilable positions. It afforded the civilized custom of sharing consonant opinions, while providing the vicarious pleasure of interesting conversation, often with characters who represented well-known people," (1997, pp.27-28).

While the *cosmos of erotic mysticism* departed from the Christian totality into the plurality of pantheism and aesthetics, Russel's comment on the dialogue readily indicates the way in which the pastoral encoded the ways in which philosophical discourse was undertaken in courtly and erudite communities throughout the Mediterranean during the course of the sixteenth century.

the poet-lover. It was in the lyric of the captive-poet that the metaphysical problematic of a divine beloved first manifested as materially consequential and it was in the Gardens of Bomarzo that this problematic was played out in the corporeal and spiritual experiences of its visitors, anticipating the more fully realized poetry of captivity which Cervantes wrote from Algiers. This chapter concerns the poetry of captivity written within the *cosmos of erotic mysticism.* The captive-poet explored significant changes in the mimetic process and in the relationship which the poet held to the beloved lady. As Cervantes passed through the literary courts of Rome and amongst fellow captive-poets in Algiers, marked developments appeared in his lyric verse. To my knowledge, these verses and their place in the development of Cervantes' literary imagination have heretofore not received thorough consideration since their discovery by Eugenio Mele in 1913. After Mele's initial articles, which are more historical then literary, no critical studies or readings of these poems have appeared. As Carroll B. Johnshon frankly observed, "The five-year Algerian experience was arguably the most important in the writer's life," (2010, pp.287).[443]

II

From 1571-1575 Cervantes' experiences as a courtier-poet in Rome gave way to a new lyric experience. Like Garcilaso before him, he spent the next five years of his life as a soldier-poet, first at the Battle of Lepanto (1571) and then in subsequent campaigns throughout the Mediterranean. His close friend and fellow author, to whom Cervantes would devote a laudatory sonnet for the *Seiscientos apotegmas* (1594), Juan Rufo Gutiérrez, traveled as the *cronista* of don Juan de Austria, another significant patron of poetry, during the Battle at Lepanto.[444] Another close friend and the Cervantes' lyric mentor, Pedro Laynez was also under the protection of don Juan at the time of the victory.[445] Gabriel López Maldonado, Andrés Rey de Artieda, Cristóbal Virués, all poets and friends of the young author were among the numerous soldier-poets

[443] Unfortunately, Johnson, in keeping with critical oversights, does not discuss Cervantes' lyric compositions from the period, sticking rather to the historical document, *Infromación de Argel de 1580,* and Antonio de Sosa's section on *Diálogo de los mártires de Argel*, again referring forwards to the "Captives Tale" of the *Don Quijote* with no specific study or view on the literary work which the young captive-poet composed in Algiers.

[444] (Astrana Marín, 1949, v.2 pp.296). Rufo returned to Spain following the victory in October 1571.

[445] (Astrana Marín, 1949, v.2, pp.299)

present for what was long after considered the most significant victory in the Mediterranean.[446] This entourage of Castilian poets which circled around the young and illegitimate Habsburg prince would come together again in Madrid for a celebration of the urban-pastoral (oxymoron not withstanding) in the 1580s when Rufo Guitiérrez published his celebration of Don Juan in *La Austriada* (1584), six years after the untimely death of the prince in Flanders.[447] Cervantes' period as a soldier-poet also brought him back into contact with the longtime patron of the Cervantes family, poet and active participant in the literary salons of Italy, the 3rd Duke of Sessa, Gonzalo II Fernández de Córdoba.

Throughout this period Cervantes would come to know most of the significant military outposts of the Mediterranean world. He was wounded in his left hand during the Battle of Lepanto and subsequently taken to the hospital at Messina where festivities commemorating the battle were celebrated on October 31st, 1571. Cervantes remained in Messina until at least the 9th of March, 1572, according to payment records for the injured troops.[448] The courtier turned soldier-poet, then twenty-four years old, would serve as a soldier in Navarino, Tunis, la Goleta, and Corfu, and spend time in military ports in Messina, Palermo, Naples and Sardinia before his attempted return to Spain from Naples in September 1575.[449] The poets, Luis Barahona de Soto and Andrés Rey de Artieda were together with him at la Goleta. He was in Naples on several occasions, and definitively returned to the Mediterranena metropolis on February 14th, 1574 where he would remain, with the exception of a period in Genova, until his departure for Spain on *El Sol* on September 20th, 1575.[450] It is clear that Cervantes fell under the patronage of two of the most significant literary figures in his military campaigns: Don Juan de Austria and the III Duke of Sessa, Gónzalo Fernández de Córdoba. Both men provided the young soldier-poet and hero of Lope de Figueroa's *tercio de la sacra lega*, with numerous payments and letters of commendation. None of the poet's lyric verse survives from this time.

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[446] (Astrana Marín, 1949, v.2, pp.297-299)
[447] Laynez would author the *aprobación* for this work.
[448] (Astrana Marín, 1949, v.2, pp.396)
[449] (Astrana Marín, 1949, v.2, pp.383). He would also winter in Sardinia, serve the Duke of Sessa at la Goleta, and also under Marco Antonio Colonna in military campaigns.
[450] (Astrana Marín, 1949, v.2, pp.409)

It was as a decorated soldier-poet that Cervantes embarked on the galley, *El Sol*, in the port of Naples on September 20th, 1575 destined for the Madrileño court which he had left six years prior. On September 26th, 1575 he was captured by Arnaut Mamí—a figure who would appear in his subsequent fiction, such as the *Galatea*, the *Amante liberal*, and the "Captive's Tale" of the *Don Quijote*—and sold into captivity in Algiers. The literature on this period is not extensive, but the extant information is dense and rich. The *Topografía de Argel* written by Antonio de Sosa and posthumously falsified as a text of Diego de Haedo (Valladolid: 1612) reconstructs the political, religious and material circumstances of life in Algiers in the 1570s. It mentions Cervantes explicitly by name and recalls his repeated escape attempts and noble valor before the Algerian king. Antonio de Sosa and Cervantes were held captive together and, along with Ruffino de Chambery and Antonio Veneziano, they formed part of an interlingual and intercultural sphere of poets and authors. As Garcés writes,

> Lopino's testimony illustrates Cervantes' civility and innate graciousness, which allowed him to deal with men of every social station, from the ransomer priests who invited him for dinner to illustrious captives, such as aristocrat Knight of St. John Fray Antonio de Toledo--who assisted the Cervantes brothers in the second escape attempt--to learned scholars and poets, such as Dr. Sosa and Antonio Veneziano, down to the popular strata of Christian galley slaves and renegades from different Mediterranean countries. As many testimonies reveal, these disparate groups of men accorded their respect, friendship, and even their love to the captive Cervantes.[451]

This period has been most diligently reconstructed and studied by María Antonia Garcés in both *Cervantes in Algiers: A Captive's Tale* (2002) and in *Cervantes en Argel: historia de un cautivo* (2006); of similar titles, the works are distinct.[452] The recent critical volume, *De Cervantes y el islam* has brought forth numerous studies on the Arabian world in Cervantine texts.[453] While literature on this time is not broad, it is one of the better documented periods of the author's life, whilst remaining the least studied period of the author's literary development, which is surprising considering the relatively large number of works which date to this time. Cervantes was held from 1575-1580 following his ransom by Trinitarian friars after four failed escape attempts and shortly before being sent to the Ottoman capital, Constantinople. In contrast to the absence of any surviving literary compositions dating to the author's time in Rome and Lepanto, several works survive from his time in captivity. Two sonnets for Ruffino de Chiambery, a letter and octaves for

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[451] (Garcés, 2002, pp.105).

[452] (Garcés, 2002)

[453] Of particular relevance is Ahmed Abi-Ayad's article, "Argel: la otra cara de Miguel de Cervantes", pp.59-69, in the same volume, (*Cervantes y el islam.* ed. Carrasco Urgoiti, et al., 2006)

Antonio Veneziano, the *Epístola a Mateo Vázquez* and the *Información en Argel* have survived, but only the latter two have been the subject of critical monographs.[454] Additionally, Cervantes' earliest drama, *El trato de Argel*, was composed either while in captivity or directly upon his return to Madrid when he began writing for the *corrales* in 1582. With the exception of the *Epístola a Mateo Vázquez* and the *Información de Argel*, it is important to understand that all of these works were composed in direct response to literary communites in which the author was a participant. Both the octaves for Veneziano and *El trato de Argel* accord to the mindset of *erotic mysticism.* The *Epístola a Mateo Vázquez* would re-enter the cervantine corpus as the "Canción de Lauso" in the *Galatea*; notably, Lauso was the pseudonym which Cervantes employed for himself. As his familiarity with Vázquez dated to his youth, it is reasonable to assume that the versified epistle was intended to resonate with literary culture in Madrid as Cervantes recalled it from his experience in the court of Isabel, and his reconfiguration of the verses for Mateo Vázquez in the *Galatea* reveal how Cervantes' personal thoughts on pastoral life had modulated by the end of 1583, date of completion of the *Galatea.*

The idea of isolated and solitary literary invention, unintelligible to the author's peers, and meant for another age, is a romantic and anachronistic projection of nineteenth-century readers who saw themselves alienated from the culture of the Enlightenment in which they were enmeshed. However, the currents of *aesthetic idealism* and *erotic mysticism* which they readily identified in Cervantes' works--albiet by different denominators--were not singular to Cervantes; rather they were drawn from the mindsets of the very communities with which he was engaged, a shared discourse. Cervantes' period in Algiers—like those in the court of Isabel de Valois and the court of Rome—reveals the intense engagement of a young European poet with the complex cultural and linguistic particularites of his historical moment, a literary moment governed by the *cosmos of erotic mysticism.* While European literary patrons were not readily available to the author at this time, it is known that he was favored by the king of Algiers, who spared his life on more than one occasion.[455] More importantly, his *Trato de Argel* responded directly to the Habsburg court in Madrid, in the

[454] For the *Epístola a Mateo Vázquez*, see: (Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, 2010). For the *Información en Argel*, see: (Piras, 2014). See also: (Johnson, 2010, pp.285-307).
[455] (Astrana Marín, 1949, v.2, chapters 27 and 29), (Astrana Marín, 1951, v.3, chapters 30 and 31), (Garcés, 2005, pp.96-131)

criticism which the character, Saavedra, voiced against Philip II's impotence to intercede on behalf of Christian captives, in the mention of the annexation of Portugal and the birth of the short-lived prince, Diego. Cervantes' literary works were consistently conditioned by and communicative with his immediate cultural sphere. Few modern authors have engaged so fully with the material circumstances of their own biography within imaginative lyrical formats. The privilege which Cervantes gives to his own lyric subjectivity is not only significant in the modulations of literary history, it is consonant with the projects of literary milieu throughout Mediterranean Europe. To my knowledge, no study has undertaken the decidedly lyrical and amorous nature of Cervantes' works during this period, nor taken his authorship as a captive-poet seriously within the context of his literary development. It is important to remember that at this time in the author's life he was simply a young poet--first courtier, then soldier, and finally captive--whose literary compositions had been composed exclusively in verse. Creative prose writing was still distant on the horizon, and while the *Galatea* was composed between 1582-1583, it is significant that this transitional literary form embodied the union of lyric verse and imaginative prose under the rubric of the *erotic mysticism* in which the author was well-versed. The octaves composed for Antonio Veneziano, which I will treat for the duration of this chapter, betray another continuous thread in the work of the young poet: a close relationship with the amorous and lyric topoi of the pastoral world. Moreover, like Vicino Orsini's Gardens at Bomarzo, his work as a captive-poet was decidedly more existential than the elegiac verses which Cervantes had composed in the court of Isabel de Valois. The lofty beloved lady was brought into the material circumstances of lived experience as it unfolded within the contemporary world of Mediterranean social and cultural realities. Moreover, the material experience of captivity was further amplified by way of the subjegation of the soul in the poetry of *erotic mysticism.*

III

Si fuera un caos, una materia unida
sin forma vuestro cielo, no espantara
de que del alma vuestra entristecida
las continuas querellas no escuchara;
pero, estando ya en partes esparcida
que un fondo forman de virtud tan rara,
es maravilla tenga los oídos

sordos a vuestros tristes alaridos.

(If it were a chaos, a united *materia*/ devoid of *forma* your [Veneziano's] heaven [Celia], it would not shock/ that of that from your sorrowful soul/ she will not listen to your continual entreaties ;/ but, being already in dispersed parts/ which form a rare and virtuous foundation, it is a marvel that she her ears/ are deaf to your sad cries.) [456] xv

Cervantes' verses to Antonio Veneziano demonstrate a marked and dramatic conceptual evolution from those verses which Cervantes had composed for Isabel de Valois twelve years prior. In the sonnet which he had written to commemorate the birth of the infanta Catalina Micaela in October of 1567, the lauded lady, Isabel, was elevated to the status of a divinity, on par with religious sonnets to the Virgin Mary from the same period:[457] "¿quál yngenio podria aventurarse/ a pregonar el bien que estás mostrando,/ si ya en divino viese convertirse?".[458] In contrast, in the octaves sent to Antonio Veneziano in a letter dated November 6th, 1579, Cervantes directly confronted the union of divine and corporeal substance by endowing Veneziano's Celia with both *materia* and *forma*: body and soul. In the octave cited above the "cielo" of Veneziano refered directly to Veneziano's beloved Celia—this was a lyric conceit which Veneziano fully

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[456] (Cervantes, 1974, pp.347-350) See endnote for full poem.

[457] For example, Pedro Laynez's sonnet "A la virgin nuestra señora" is conceptualy interchangeable with another of his pastoral sonnets to his beloved Fili (#29). I included here the first stanza of each, for full text see citations and bibliography: (Laynez, 1951, pp.196-197 and 214).

¡O, sol, de quien es rayo el sol del cielo,
con cuyo resplandor era alumbrada
mi alma, que en tinieblas sepultada
vivió sin ver tu lumber en este suelo!

Hermosíssima Fili, en quien florece
alto valor y rara hermosura,
y en cuyos claros ojos y figura
el bien del alto cielo resplandece;

Or as Wardropper notes the same interchangability, here between the lover and Christ, in the poetry of Lope de Vega: "Consideremos el caso de Lope de Vega. La canción recogida por él de la tradición para proporcionar el elemento lírico a su comedia *El caballero de Olmedo*,

Que de noche le mataron
el caballero,
la gala de Medina,
la flor de Olmedo,

sería muy al gusto de Lope, pues se sirvió de ella dos veces para hacer de ella una version a lo divino. En su auto sacramental *del Pan y del palo*, introdujo estos versos:

Que de noche le mataron
al divino caballero
que era la gala del Padre
y la flor de tierra y cielo.

(Wardropper, 1958, pp.169)

[458] (Cervantes, 1974, pp.326)

developed in his *cancionero*. On Veneziano's behalf, Cervantes' protested Celia's indifference—literally her deafness or "oídos sordos"—in response to Veneziano's entreaties. Moreover, Cervantes rests Celia's obligation to mercy on the fact that she is not only a chaotic *materia*--corporeal body--but also a divine *forma*--spiritual substance. The octave juxtaposed the imperfect mortality of the beloved—"si fuera un caos, una *materia* unida/ sin *forma*"—with her spiritual obligation to ease the poet's own suffering—"vuestros tristes alaridos". In light of her divine status it becomes a marvel that she persists with "oídos/ sordos". While a critical tendency to read irony into all of Cervantes' works might be want to interpret a mocking tone in these lines, the conclusion of the poem--which advocates amorous surrender and genuflection before the beloved--reveals a sincere engagement and opinion within the discourse of *erotic mysticism* on the part of Cervantes.

This octave underscored the divine form of the beloved lady as "un fondo…de virtud tan rara". He juxtaposed the concept of corporeal falibility—"unida sin forma"—with a a divine discursive presence—"partes esparcida". Much as Gálvez de Montalvo's Fílida had become the pervasive life-giving force likened to the sun, Cervantes endows Veneziano's Celia with a similar divine presence. This marked a significant transition in the author's conceptual working through of the metaphysics of love. It prefigured the same conceptual trajectory which the characters Elicio and Lauso would undergo in the *Galatea* (1585) and it anticipated the intense metaphysical struggle to which Alonso Quijano would subject both himself and Aldonza Lorenzo—as don Quijote and Dulcinea—in the *Don Quijote* (1605 & 1615). Moreover, Cervantes' friendship with the Sicilian poet whilst the two were held as captive-poets in Algiers invigorated the author's continuous passion for the pastoral world of amorous poetry, uninterputed in his literary productions from his earliest sonnets. I want to underscore that Veneziano's *cancionero*, *Celia*--which was comprised of nearly three hundred verses which the author penned in Algiers--was itself a pastoral work. This is to say that in the court of Isabel de Valois, within cultural practice in Rome, and whilst captive in Algiers, the young poet was continually enmeshed within the cultural and literary practice of amorous and pastoral poetry. Moreover, it was to a literary environment of the same character which he returned and composed the *Galatea* during the early years of the 1580s in Madrid.[459] As regards Cervantes' literary biography, his

[459] See the following two chapters.

friendship with Veneziano was without doubt the most significant of those which he cultivated in Algiers. While Antonio de Sosa's *Topografía de Argel* would famously recount the biographical features of Cervantes' captivity, it was in relation to Veneziano that Cervantes continued to pursue an unbroken interest in the pastoral and the metaphysics of the divine beloved lady which had first begun in the court of Isabel de Valois at the age of twenty. Unfortunately, Veneziano has been largely forgetton within the Italian canon and almost completely by cervantine studies.[460]

Antonio Veneziano was the foremost Sicilian poet of the sixteenth century. The poet-laureate of Palermo wrote in the Sicilian language at a time when Italian authors still vied for primacy of dialect, several centuries prior to the nineteenth-century unification of Italy and the declaration of Tuscan as the national language, what we now know as Italian. While Veneziano was a recognized poet throughout the continent, whose creative value was sufficient to inspire the city of Palermo to pay his ransom from Algiers, he has nearly been written out of literary histories of sixteenth-century Italian literature. This, in part, has been due to the difficulty of sixteenth-century Sicilian for modern readers, even those otherwise fluent in the Italian language. Nonetheless, over the course of the second half of the sixteenth-century Veneziano not only played an important role in the development of lyric verse, he also wrote in the traditionally recognized language of poetry. It should not be forgotten that Sicilian was one of the first languages to develop the form of the sonnet, and that in combination with the court of Alfonso in Naples, the dialect stood as a remarkable edifice with the lyric tradition.[461] As Eugenio Mele has observed:

> Verdadero poeta, Veneziano triunfó, y mostró tales facultades de fantasia y arte, que le levantaron sobre sus compañeros, hasta colocarlo junto á los más inspirados poetsas italianos del siglo XVI; resulta original hasta cuando imitó al Petrarca, y le conocemos aun cuando se vale de imágenes petrarquescas, porque expresó afectos verdaderos y propios de su alma; rica effusion y sentimientos sinceros, su poesía derive con large vena de motivos é inspiraciones de cantos populares, en los cuales, en compensación aún sobrevive un eco de sus cantos.
>
> (True poet, Veneziano triumphed and demonstrated such faculties of fantasy and art, that his compatriots raised him in their arms, to the point that he was placed together with the most inspiring Italian poets of the sixteenth century; he was original even when he imitated Petrarch, and he is recognizable even when he is valued for his Petrarchan images, because he

[460] For the problem of late modern canon formation in the study of early modern literature and another overlooked Italian author with marked influence on Cervantes' literary production, see my article: (Ponce Hegenauer, 2011). These octaves were first discovered by Eugenio Mele in the first decades of the twentieth century: (Mele, 1913). The most accessible introduction to the work of Veneziano can be found in Aurelio Rigoli's ed. of the *Ottave* which includes her introductory study, (Veneziano, 1967). See also: (Pitré, 1894), (Ruta, 1979), (Millunzi, 1894), (Brevini, 2000)

[461] See: (Sajeva, 1924)

expressed affects true and particular to his own soul; richly effusive and sincerely sentimental, his poetry derives from a long lineage of motives and inspirations in popular songs, in which, in his compositions he still outlives the echoes of these songs.)[462]

A near contemporary in age to Cervantes, Veneziano was born in Monreal on January 7th, 1543. No foreigner to the subjective--and at times satiric--position of the various poets of his time, he died tragically in a fire in the fortress of Castellammare in Palermo where he was being held for authoring a poster which had been pasted in the Piaza degli Bologni against the Spanish viceroy, Don Diego Enrique de Guzmán, Count of Alba de Liste in 1593.[463] Prior to his downfall with the Spanish viceroy he had been the poet laureate of the city of Palermo which used municipal funds to pay his ransom and recover him from captivity. As a boy he had been eduated by Jesuits in Palermo who, in turn, sent him to Rome to study in the Collegio Romano under Francisco de Toledo. He abandoned religious pursuits to return to Palermo where his literary talents were recognized while he was working as an *escribano*. He was commissioned for various municipal celebrations which no doubt paralleled those of the court of Isabel de Valois which Cervantes had known, particularly because Palermo was at that time the seat of the Spanish viceroy of Sicliy.[464] As Mele narrates:

> El recibió el encargo de escribir epigrafes para los hombres ilustres y los hechos memorables de la ciudad, y el de erigir los arcos triunfales que, ornados de festones, pinturas, versos y motes, se levantaban para honrar la entrada de algún personaje de gran importancia. Poco de esto imprimió y mucho permanence inédito: entre lo más interestante figura el arco descrito en 1588 a favor de Ludovico de Torres, Segundo Arzobispo de Monreal de este nombre; notable el que se levantó á la entrada de Mons. D. Diego Haedo, Arzobispo de Palermo, escrito en lengua española y versos latinos, por él mismo traducidos en versos españoles.
>
> (He recieved the commission to write epigraphs for illustrious men and to make memorials of the city, and that of erecting triumphal arches which, adorned with garlands, paintings, verses and *motes*, were raised in order to honor the entrance of any person of great importance. Little of this was printed and much of it remains unpublished: among the most interesting are figured the arch described in 1588 in favor of Ludovico de Torres, second Archbishop of Monreal; notable also that which was raised for Mons. D. Diego Haedo, Archbishop of Palermo, written in the Spanish language and Latin verses, translated by Veneziano himself into Spanish.) [465]

Cervantes' friendship with Veneziano in Algiers must have been one of considerable intensity and depth as the two were only in contact for a few months. As Astrana Marín has observes:

> por los meses de Julio o Agosto de 1579 debieron de verse muy a menudo Cervantes y Veneziano. Miguel habría hecho algunas de las que le sustrajeron e arrebatarle todos sus papeles, y daría a conocer a Veneziano.

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[462] (Mele, 1913, pp.85) See also: (Vento, 1917)

[463] (Mele, 1913, pp.83) and (Veneziano, 1967, pp.25-27)

[464] See: *Pantheon ambiguo* (La Monica, 1987)

[465] (Mele, 1913, pp.84) It is of considerable interest to entertain the possibility that it was Veneziano who carried Antonio de Sosa's manuscript of the *Topografía de Argel* to Sicily where it would later be discovered and published under the name of Diego de Haedo. For María Antonia Garcés' exemplary study of the history of this text, see her introduction in: (Sosa, 2011).

(duirng the months of July or August of 1579 Cervantes and Veneziano must have seen each other frequently. Miguel must have made some of extractions from the papers which had been confiscated, and given himself to knowing Veneziano.)[466]

On the 25th of April, Veneziano had embarked from Palermo with Don Carlos de Aragón, Duke of Terranova for the Spanish court in Madrid--which is to say that he was on his way to enmesh himself in the very lyric and pastoral communities circulating around the court to which Cervantes, just two years later would return and compose the *Galatea*. It is easy to imagine the frienship which must have easily transpired between the two poets, both destined for the lyric circles of the Madrileño court, circles which Cervantes already knew intimately from his time as a court-poet during the reign of Isabel de Valois. The sailing party was overtaken by eight Algerian corsair galleys. Don Carlos escaped but Veneziano, who was traveling in the second galley, was taken prisoner and transported to Algiers.[467] By November, the Sicilian captive-poet had been ransomed to Palermo. For reasons unknown, he never made his way to Madrid. His captivity, from late spring to early fall constituted a period of intense literary production. It was during his captivity that Veneziano composed the *Celia*, a *cancionero* of 289 *estrambotes* or

canzuni antichi [sic], como aún hoy llaman los sicilianos, según consta Pietré, sus octavas de dos cuartetos endecasilabos, de rimas alternas [ABAB: ABAB], en las que aparece el desarrollo psicológico de su amor, mostrando las angustias y tormentos de su ánimo y su agitada passion con viveza expresiva y representación interna desusada y nueva.

(antique songs, as even today they are called by the Sicilians, in keeping with the observations of Pietré, his octaves were of two quartets of hendecasyllabics, of alternating rhyme [ABAB: ABAB], in which can be found the psychological development of love, demonstrating anguish and torment in his soul and his agitated passion with vivid expressivity and the respresentation of a new and unused internality.) [468]

Like Cervantes, Veneziano was invested in augmenting the place of his own language within the growing popularity of a literary canon popular amongst lyric poets throughout Europe. Both authors placed a particular emphasis on being "el primero" to orchestrate certain aesthetic developments. Like that which Harry Sieber has observed in Cervantes' *Novelas ejemplares*, this concept of aesthetic primacy dated to Cervantes friendship with Veneziano in Algiers, some thirty years prior to the publication of the *Novelas*; it was an expressed ambition of *aesthetic idealism* which both authors shared and, no doubt, encouraged in one another.[469] To a large degree both authors saw the fruits of their ambition come to life within their

[466] (Astrana Marín, 1951, v.3, pp.35)
[467] (Mele, 1913, pp.84-85) and (Veneziano, 1967, pp.18-19)
[468] (Mele, 1913, pp.85)
[469] "Ejemplar en este sentido es lección literaria (o estética», si se quiere) más bien que lección moral," (Sieber, in Cervantes, 2001, v.1, pp.15).

respective cultures. Veneziano's success within the tradition of Sicilian poetry was akin to Cervantes' own within Spanish literature. As Mele affirms:

> Veneziano es el creador de la poesía siciliana, y no sin razón se jacta de haber sido el primero que uso poéticamente el siciliano: "iu sù lu primu chi nesciu a stu ringu di mandarin in luci canzuni siciliani" (yo soy el primero que me decido á dar luz canciones sicilianas), escribe en la carta dedicatoria dirigida á Francisco Lo Campo, baron de Campofranco.
>
> (Venezinao is the creator of Sicilian poetry, and not without reason he boasted of having been the first to use Sicilian poetically: "I am the first who dedicated himself to giving birth to Sicilian songs", he wrote in a dedicatory letter directed to Francisco Lo Campo, Baron of Campofranco.)[470]

While the desire for primacy in the elevation of one's own language was common currency among poets of the time, it is, as I have said, difficult not to hear an echo of Cervantes own assertion of having been the first to to *novelar* in his prologue to the *Novelas ejamplares* of 1613.[471] Moreover, Veneziano's concept of "giving birth" places him in direct correlation to the forms of *aesthetic idealism* described by Huarte de San Juan in this *Examination of the Ingenio* and in Cervantes' own assertion that *Don Quijote* was in fact the step-child of his mind.[472] It is easy to imagine the two poets commiserating on their shared authorial ambitions whilst Veneziano composed the *Celia* in Algiers.

Veneziano's amorous pastoral influence no doubt remained with the author of the *Quijote*. Cervantes' own verses to Veneziano prefigured the verses of Elicio which Cervantes would use to open the *Galatea*:

Si el lazo, el fuego, el dardo, el puro yelo	Yo sí que al fuego me consumo y quemo,
que os tiene, abrasa, hiere y pone fría	y al lazo pongo humilde la garganta,
vuestra alma, trae su origen desde el cielo,	y la red invisible poco temo,
ya que os aprieta, enciende, mata, enfría,	y el rigor de la flecha no me espanta;
¿qué nudo, llama, llaga, nieve o celo	por esto soy llegado a tal estremo,
ciñe, arde, traspasa o yela hoy día,	a tanto daño, a desventura tanta,
con tan alta ocasión como aquí muestro,	que tengo por mi gloria y mi sosiego
un tierno pecho, Antonio, como el vuestro?	La saeta, la red, el lazo, el fuego.
(verses to Veneziano, 1579)	(Elicio, *Galatea*, 1585)
(If the rope, the fire, the dart, the pure ice	I, yes, who is consumed and burnt by fire,
which has you, burns, injures, and chills	and in the rope I place my humble neck,

[470] (Mele, 1913, pp.85)

[471] "que yo soy el primero que he novelado en lengua castellana, que las muchas novelas que en ella andan impresas, todas son traducidas de lenguas estranjeras, y éstas son mias propias, no imitadas ni hurtadas; mi ingenio las engendró, y las parió mi pluma, y van creciendo en los brazos de la estampa," (Cervantes, 2001, v.1, pp.52).

[472] See also the citation in the previous note in which Cervantes refers to "giving birth" to the *Novelas ejemplares*.

your soul, the origin of this is found in the heavens,
already that you are constricted, burning, killed, and chilled,
What knot, flame, wound, snow or cold
clings, burds, passes or freezes today,
with such high occasion as is here demonstrated,
a tender breast, Antonio, such as yours?

and I have little fear of the invisible net,
and the rigor of the arrow does not frighten me;
because of this I have arrived to such an extreme,
to such damage, to so much poor fortune,
that I have for my glory and my solace
the arrow, the net, the rope, the fire.[473]

However, Cervantes not only revived his earlier lyrics within the space of the *Galatea*, the marked similarities between Veneziano's verses for Celia and the above texts also makes apparent the influence which Veneziano exercised over Cervantes' development of his own lyric subjectivity. [xvi]

While Sannazaro, Petrarch, Castiglioni and Garcilaso would all hold a place in the literary canon into which Cervantes wrote when he composed the *Galatea*, it was Veneziano, like Laynez and Gálvez de Montalvo, who served as a contemporary and peer in Cervantes' imagination of the pastoral world and exploration of lyric subjectivity within the *cosmos of erotic mysticism.*

Veneziano's influence, like that of Orsini, also opened a cultural world of magic and mysteries--or Hermeticism--with which Cervantes would experiment in much of his later fiction. While the witchcraft practiced by the Numantinos in Cervantes' other extant early drama, *La Numancia*, has been the source of great critical confusion and discomfort[474], Veneziano himself was known as a wizard:

> como acontece con Virgilio en Nápoles, Ovidio en los Abruzos y Boccaccio en Certaldo, alcanzó la reputación de mago.
>
> (as happened with Virgil in Naples, Ovid in Abruzzi, and Boccaccio in Certaldo, he achieved the reputation of a wizard)[475]

In this way, the mystical elements which have long troubled readers of Cervantes—pagan funeral exequies, forbidden fruits, unicorn horns, necromancy, enchanted caves, talking dogs, and journeys amidst the muses—turn to an experimental *realism*, albiet a skeptical one, within the author's own cultural landscape. Veneziano's narrative influence extended beyond heterodox phenomena which cultural practices in Algiers

[473] (Cervantes, 1974, pp.347-350) and (Cervantes, 1961, v.1, pp.15-16)
[474] See: (Ponce Hegenauer, 2011)
[475] (Mele, 1913, pp.82)

would no doubt have fostered. Veneziano also appeared, as if under a pastoral pseudonym, as the inspiration for characters in Cervantes' fiction such as Riccardo in *El amante liberal.* As Leonardo Sciascia has observed:

> Dove il Cervantes, senza ricordarlo direttamente, si è ricordato del Veneziano, e piú della sua Celia, a noi pare sia nella novella *El amante liberal*, quando l'infelice Riccardo, siciliano prigionero dei turchi, descrive la bellezze di Leonisa: "Y te pregunto primero si conoces en nuestro lugar de Trápana una doncella a quien la fama daba nombre de la más Hermosa mujer que habia en toda Sicilia…una di cui I poeti cantavano che aveva I capelli d'oro, che i suoi occhi erano soli splendenti, le sue guance rose purpuree; i suoi denti perle; le sue labra rubini; il suo collo alabastro; e che ogni sua parte nel tutto e il tutto in ogni sua parte fecevano stupenda e concertata armonia…": che pare la trascrizione di una ottava del Veneziano, e lealmente il Cervantes averte che cosí "los poetas cantaban": I poeti siciliani, di una fanciulla siciliana.
>
> (Where Cervantes, without recalling him directly, did in fact remember Veneziano, and more so his Celia, in his novela, *El amante liberal*, when the unhappy Ricardo, Sicilian prisoner of the Turks, describes the beauty of Leonisa: "And I ask you first if you know in our place Trapana a young lady of whom fame has given her the name of the most beautify woman in all of Sicily...one of whom the poets sang that she had hair of gold, that her eyes were splendid suns, her cheeks purple roses, her teeth pearls; her lips rubies; her neck alabaster; and that each and every part all and all in every part was stupendously made and arranged in harmony...": which for the transcription of an octave of Veneziano, and loyally Cervantes averts that such things "the poets sang": a Sicilian poet, of a Sicilian lady.)[476]

In fact, few female characters who appear in Cervantes later fiction fall short of the above description of Leonisa's beauty. Again, modern readers—particularly those of the English satirist tradition—, ever skeptical, have considered the effluent beauty of women in Cervantes' works a rather dubious and fantastical element which could only be ironic in the context of *realist* fiction. Such women, we have read, do not exist, and certainly not in the numbers with which Cervantes catalogued them. This I leave to the discretion of the reader. The historical reality was that while captive in Algiers Cervantes cultivated a close literary friendship with a Sicilian poet who was madly in love with a divinely beautiful lady and who composed nearly three hundred poems in her exultation. Moreover, in the *Adjunto del Parnaso* the captive-poet and author of the `*Don Quijote* would recall his own enduring love affair in Naples.[477] Cervantes view of his female characters may indeed reach the heights of lyric embellishment, but this more than capable author clearly had his own intentions when undertaking this poetic view of the opposite sex. While Dulcinea is afforded the utmost metaphysicality in the realization of Alonso Quijano's *aesthetic idealism*, the author is irrevocably sensual in his descriptions of Dorotea, Luscinda, and Zoraida, to name only three of many. Moreover, even the ephemeral Dulcinea has a sensual origin in Alonso Quijano's memory of Aldonza Lorenzo; that is, she does not transpire out of thin air, nor is she simply the invention of the ingenious gentleman.

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[476] (Veneziano, 1967, pp.20-21)

[477] For Cervantes's period in Naples and the corresponding references made some forty years later, see: (Astrana Marín, 1949, v.2, pp.409-429)

It is important to understand Cervantes' verses for Veneziano not simply as one of literary exchange but also as one for which he at least hoped to aquire some patronage. Veneziano had been ransomed by the city of Palermo. As the city was a Spanish possession, there is reason to believe that Cervantes entertained some possibility that he too might be ransomed for his lyric talents by the municipality. That he felt certain his success as a poet still held some political currency is also evident in the verse composition which he sent to Mateo Vázquez from Algiers. I want to underscore that in 1579, Cervantes' authorial identity was exclusively that of a court-poet, easily recognizable for the elegiac poems which had been published in the funeral exequies for Isabel de Valois. His experience in Rome and decoration at Lepanto would have further ranked him amongst those *ingenios* most easily employable in the type of creative municipal work in which Veneziano was involved. The letter included with the octaves says much of the relationship between the two poets:

> Al Señor Antonio Veneziani.
>
> Señor mio:
>
> Prometo á V.M. como christiano que son tantas las imaginaciones que me fatigan, que no me an dexado cumplir como queria estos versos que á V.M. embio, en señal del buen animo que tengo de servirle, pues él me a movido á mostrar tan presto las faltas de mi ingenio, confiado que el subido de V.M. recibirá la disculpa che doy, y me animará á que en tiempo de mas sosiego no me olvide de celebrar como pudiere el Cielo que á V.M. tiene tan sin contento en esta tierra, de la qual Dios nos saque, y á V.M. llegue á aquella donde su Celia vive.
>
> En Argel, los seis de Noviembre 1579.
>
> De V.M. verdadero amigo y servidor,
>
> Miguel de Cerbantes.

> To Sir Venezinao
>
> My sir:
>
> I promise to Your Grace as a Christian that so many are the imaginations which fatigue me, that they have not allowed me to complete as I wanted these verses that I send to Your Grace, as a sign of the good spirit that I have to serve you, well you have motivated me to demonstrate so soon the faults of my *ingenio*, in the confidence that the height of Your Grace will receive the pardon that I give, it would inspire me in a time of greater peace not to forget to celebrate as I am able the Heaven which has Your Grace so devoid of contentment on this earth, of which God relieve you, and that Your Grace arrives to the place where your Celia (Heaven) lives.
>
> In Algiers, 6 November 1579.
>
> Of Your Grace, true friend and servant.
>
> Miguel de Cervantes. [478]

[478] (Veneziano, 1967, pp.19)

While the two poets were close friends, as Cervantes affirms in the octaves—

> Si es lícito rogar por el amigo
> que en estado se halla peligroso,
> yo, como vuestro, desde aquí me obligo
> de no mostrarme en esto perezoso
> (If it is permitteed to plea for a friend/ who is found in a perilous state,/ I, as yours, from here I obligate myself/ to not show myself lazy in this)

—the letter reveals a subservience indicative of the desire for literary patronage. Cervantes' "buen animo…de servirle " was a clear indication of the desire for some favor, most likely, as I have said, a ransom from captivity. While clichéd, this was a standard more often employed in terms of patronage, than friendship, though the two were not mutually exclusive. Moreover, the humility which Cervantes demonstrated by asserting the "faltas de mi ingenio" (and again *ingenio* is here synonymous with poet) was in keeping with the tenor of the ways in which poets communicated with potential patrons. Juan Rufo Guitiérrez would make a similar genuflection regarding the composition of *La Austriada* in a 1584 to Ascanio Colonna.[479] Moreover, the use of "V.M." or "Vuestra Merced" is in keeping with the implied formalities between poets and patrons. Finally, Cervantes' promise of future compositions, "en tiempo de mas sosiego", indicates a promise of future dedication in the solicitation of patronage and commitment to the literary tastes which the verses reveal. While Veneziano was not necessarily wealthy enough to pay the poet's himself, Cervantes' intent was likely to appeal to Veneziano's influence. Less than ten years after his publication in the funeral exequies of Isabel de Valois, it must have been a disappointment to observe the city of Palermo extend a care toward the rescue of Veneziano which the Castilian poet had not received from Madrid. That Cervantes would have desired Veneziano's favor is probable. As I have said, the context of this composition found the young poet in considerable trouble with his captors in Algiers. As Mele narrates:

> Cuales eran los pensamientos que atormentaban al poeta, como escribe en su letra misiva, esperando un período de *más sosiego* para celebrar más dignamente el cancionero del amigo, se advierte claramente. Algunos meses antes de escribir la carta y las doce octavas, el poeta español había hecho la cuarta y última tentative de fuga, que le había resultado infructuosa, como las precedents, y esta vez, por la delación de un malvado llamado el Doctor Juan Blanco Paz y que parece había obtenido que éstos le proporcionasen un barco armado para alcanzar su libertad y la de otros sesenta cristianos. Traicionóse á Cervantes; los comerciantes valencianos, temerosos de que el Rey le arrancara la confesión de todo el plan, quisieron facilitar á Cervantes la fuga. Este se negó á salvarse solo, tranquilizando á aquellos buenos españoles acerca de que por él no se sabría nada. Y, en efecto, mantuvo su palabra. Conducido á presencia del rey Azán con las manos atadas atrás y un cordel á la garganta, se le amenazó con la muerte inmediata si no revelaba los nombres de sus cómplices. Pero él permaneció impertérrito [sic], manteniendo actitud de héroe y asegurando que el Proyecto era exclusivamente suyo y de otros españoles que habían logrado salvarse y salvar á sus compañeros; mas él pudo impeder que se derramase sangre humana, aumentó en contra suya el rigor de

[479] See: (Ponce, 2013, pp.172)

la ya dura esclavitud. Azán lo mandó encerrar en el calabozo cuidadosamente, diciendo, según recuerda P. Haedo, que "como tuviese bien guardado al estropeado español, tendría seguros su capital, sus cautivos y sus bajeles". A ese período de separación corresponden las octavas que, con carta, envió Cervantes al Veneziano.

(What were the thoughts which tormented the poet, as he writes in his missive, waiting for a period of greater peace in order to celebrate with greaty dignity the songbook of his friend, is clearly apparent. Some months prior to writing the letter and the twelve octaves, the Spanish poet had made his fourth and last escape attempt, which had resulted unsuccessfully, as with those he made prior, and this time, by way of the denouncment of the wicked Dr. Juan Blanco Paz, and which it seems he had obtained for these to provide an armed boat in order to liberate some other sixty Christains. He betrayed Cervantes, the Valencian merchants, fearful that the king would extract a confessing of the entire plan, wanted to facilitate Cervantes' flight. But he refused to be saved alone, pacifying those good Spaniards that nothing of them would be discovered by way of himself. And, in effect, he kept his word. Taken before the King Azán with his hands tied and a cord around his neck, he was threatened with immediate death if he did not reveal the names of his accomplises. But he remained firm, maintaining the attitude of the hero, and assuring that the project was exclusively his and other Spaniards who had managed to save themselves and their companions; but he was able to impede that human blood was shed, he augmented against his own the rigor of the harsh enslavement. Azán ordered that he be shut up in the *calabozo* with great care, saying, according to P. Haedo [Sosa], that "as he had the Spaniard well guarded, so too he would have his capital , his captives and his ships safely under watch". To this period of separation are accorded the octaves which, with the letter, Cervantes sent to Veneziano.)[480]

This is to say that at the time of composition, the corporeal sensation of captivity, was a material reality for the author. Taken before the king with his hands and neck bound and placed in solitary confinement, the amorous conceit of the captive-lover took shape in the author's own biography. When in the octaves he wrote of Celia's dominance over Veneziano, "que el alma prende, a la razón conquista" (that the soul is taken, the reason conquered), his own material circumstances, his physical subjugation, was metaphorically empathetic with the spiritual and intellectual servitude of Veneziano.

The twelve octaves which Cervantes sent unfold as follows[481]: In the first octave Cervantes employed the common lexicon of the captive-lover—the rope, the flame, the dart, the ice—which tied, burned, pierced, and froze the lover in contradictory feelings. These tropes had been common to amorous poetry since Petrarch and Cervantes would use them again in the *Galatea* in the formation of Elicio's character, as well as his own amorous lyrics as the shepherd, Lauso. Cervantes depicted Veneziano's soul, "alma", in relation to the divine lady, Celia, "cielo" (sky or Heaven). He reiterated the subjection of the poet-lover before the divine lady in keeping with the poetry of *erotic mysticism*. Veneziano's tender breast is rendered by the high occasion, or divine loftiness, of Celia. In this way Cervantes employed Hebreo's discussion of amorous contemplation in which the poet is rendered first by the eyes, by way of which his heart, his mind, and his soul are conquered. In the second octave Cervantes again employed the word *ingenio* to describe the poet-lover, a use consistent in his work from his very first sonnet of 1567 through the *Persiles*

[480] (Mele, pp.86, underline mine)
[481] For full text, (see: note ccclxxv)

which he completed on his deathbed in 1616. Cervantes depicts Veneziano as looking to the sky as a soverign, "cielo empíreo", wishing to ascend and join with the divine beloved. Here the trascendent aspect of Neoplatonic love becomes explicit, even as it is rendered within the material world in correspondence to a corporeal lady. At the close of the octave, Cervantes expressed his envy for Veneziano's own passions, albiet unhappy ones. In this lament, he anticipates his later concession in the *Viaje del Parnaso* of 1614 that he has always struggled to achieve the divine inspiration of the poets after which he has longed.[482] In the third octave, Cervantes underscored poetry as the subject of the soul transferred by the pen to the page.[483] In this way the *aesthetic idealism* which grew from the "divinos ingenios" of *erotic mysticism* manifested early in the poet's lyric works. He continued the metaphor of the beloved lady as the sky or heaven who served as a protector of the lover even as she subjugated him—a conceit which he had already readily employed for Isabel de Valois-:

> no puede morir quien no es del suelo,
> teniendo el alma en Celia, que es un cielo.
> (death is impossible for one who is not of the earth,
> having the soul in Celia, who is a heaven.)[484]

The notion of the lady as divine protector of the poet's life must have been appealing to the poet who wrote from solitary confinement and whose survival was by no means a certainty. The notion of the divine lady as a protector had already manifest in Cervantes 1567 to Isabel de Valois, and it is resucitated here with renewed vigor. The conceit of the captive-lover is readily apparent in its metaphorical resonance with the captive-poets' actual subjugation. In the fourth octave Cervantes retreated from his idealization of the captive-lover's circumstances. He described the sky as a living hell in which Veneziano would endure constant pain and suffering. He advised Veneziano to transcend at his own risk and warned that his soul

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[482] Y que en la cumbre de la varia rueda
Jamás me pude ver sólo un momento,
Pues cuando subir quiero, se está queda.
(Cervantes, 1935, pp.16)

[483] Again, this synchronicity of soul to hand underscores the anachronistic exploration of authorial problems in the *Quijote* as pertaining to a post-Cartesian mind/body split.

[484] (Cervantes, 1974, pp. 348). This conceit of the beloved lady as protectorate is fully explored in the 1567 sonnet to Isabel de Valois. It reappears throughout Cervantes oeuvre, for example in Timbrio's certainty that no harm may come to him once in the favor of his beloved Nísida, "pareciéndole que en ser favorecido de su señora, aun la mesma muerte contrastar no le podría," (*Galatea*, 1961, v.1, pp.177).

would hurry to this heaven but his fortune would remain, disappointed, on earth. In other words, the lady was taking the lover outside of himself--a process described at length by Hebreo--but his corporeal suffering would remain. María Antonia Garcés has written intelligently on the experience of captivity as a trauma which nurtured the creative process.[485] However, the application of Lacanian psychoanalysis is nowhere necessary in these texts--particularly because this was understood as a metaphysical or spiritual rather than psychological experience--the building blocks of creative metaphysics had already been laid within the framework of *erotic mysticism*. These verses provide considerable evidence that the materiality of Cervantes' own captivity served to amplify those metaphors of captivity inherent to amorous verse. The coincidence of this composition with his period of intense confinement renders, as I have stated at the opening of this chapter, the elision of metaphor and materiality particularly relevant to the creative formation of Alonso Quijano's peculiar form of madness some decades later.

In the fifth octave Cervantes anticipated Veneziano's continued pursuit of Celia in spite of his warning. He advised that when viewing the sky (divine Celia) from the earth (mortal Venezinao) the poet-lover should purify his gaze. Veneziano should look to Celia with love rather than desire which would only prolong the pain and suffering which he had endured. This contrast between love and desire was explored extensively, as I have shown, in Leon Hebreo's *Dialogues of Love*, which had a marked influence on Cervantes' conceptual outlook since his poetry for Isabel de Valois and which would become central to the dialogues of the shepherds in the *Galatea*. In the sixth octave Cervantes went on to advise Veneziano of the virtuous path of the lover, urging him to adorn the sky with virtues (like stars) which the poet-lover can achieve with the countless verses--more than the grains of sand in the desert--which the poet should dedicate to the beloved lady. The reference is explicitly to Veneziano's nearly three hundred poems written in Algiers. This concept of the virtuous and disinterested lover is one which Cervantes later explored at length in the character of Lauso in the *Galatea*. I want to underscore that Lauso--who readily embodies the advice which Cervantes

[485] "I show that trauma in Cervantes functions as a fountain of creation: the reenactment of the traumatic experience in the writer's works generally produces an outburst of fantasy, an escape into another reality that circumvents the traumatic event itself even while functioning as an artistic testimony to the trauma. More specifically, the traumatic repetition that traverse Cervantes' literary production unfold into fantastic images that open the window of creation," (Garcés, 2002, pp.5).

offers to Veneziano--was the pseudonym by which Cervantes depicted himself in the *Galatea*. Of all Cervantes' fictional "biographies" it is the one which most explicitly linked to his own lyric subjectivity.

Precisely at the mid-length of the poem, a turn or "volta" occurs in the seventh octave. As if he had been arguing with Veneziano in person, Cervantes' language aquired a force and momentum in its tone of exasperation. He returned to the language of the first octave recalling the burning, freezing, fainting and fighting emotions of Veneziano, all set within material topoi of North Africa (Scitia and Libia [sic]). He wrote that Celia was a lynx who was driving Veneziano discreetly mad, that she had taken his soul and conquered his mind. The close of this turn which reaffirms that Celia is the "cielo", "sol" and "estrella" of Veneziano's world contrasted ironically with the cruel lynx of the fourth verse: the octave recovers both the frustrations and inspirations of the confluence of divine and profane love in the *poetry of erotic mysticism*. In keeping with the turn the eighth octave Cervantes continued to denounce Celia as a mortal tormentor. These verses--which appear at the opening of this section-- reaffirmed the lady's divinity encased within her material form by signaling her deaf ears to Veneziano's real suffering. Cervantes contrasted the unifed chaos of *materia* or corporeal existence with the discursive divinity of the beloved lady, prevasive virtue into transcendent *forma*.

In the ninth octave Cervantes arrived at the denoument. He asserted that if it was right to plead for a friend in danger, he would not be lazy in Veneziano's defense. And this assertion was particularly poignant because, as I have stated above, the letter and verses were likely meant to inspire Veneziano to come to the aid of the captive-poet as he awaited his fate in solitary confinement in Algiers. This nuance likely was not lost on Veneziano. The second half of the ninth octave concluded that if Cervantes could ventriloquize his friend, that he would say to Celia the verses which followed. This is a significant moment in the transition from lyric to narrative in Cervantes' works. By ventriloquizing Veneziano, Cervantes takes a fell step of authorial distance from the amorous topoi of the poem, even as he engages fully with both his own and Veneziano's perspective. He situates his own distinct lyric subjectivity within the inherited forms of the genre. Much like Silerio of the *Galatea*-- a prefiguration of Cyrano de Bergerac--he woos on his friend's behalf. The earnest entreaty to Veneziano to spare himself as well as the humility displayed in the letter give way to the voice of the captive-poet as the voice of truth on behalf of his friend. In this way, the second turn

of the poem rendered the work a *lyrical simulacrum*: Cervantes was fully conscious of his audience but as the captive-poet the central intent of the work was to make his (lyrical) vision intelligible to that audience. I want to reiterate that of all the imaginative texts of Cervantes oeuvre, it is this poem which reveals most explicitly Cervantes' philosphical and aesthetic stance within the *cosmos of erotic mysticism*, a stance which will reappear in several characters of the *Galatea*, in Alonso Quijano in the *Don Quijote*, and in Persiles in the *Persiles y Sigismunda*. It was theatrical, not because it voiced another character, but because it ventriloquized that character through the author's own vision of truth; in other words, within the space of these three stanzas, Cervantes subverts all prior models to his own lyrical vision. This is important because these final three octaves of the poem then serve as a window into Cervantes most earnest lyrical and amorous outlook--his unqiue subjectivity--and the way in which he situated his perspective within the literary topoi of the time. Moreover, in this poem--unlike so many of his later works--Cervantes makes no attempt to garner authorial distance. Here the speaker of the poem and Cervantes--as friend to Veneziano--are constructed as synonymous within the architecture of the poem and the way in which Cervantes situated them within his own biography in the accompanying letter to Veneziano. Again, Cervantes' philosophical and aesthetic outlook has heretofore been overlooked.[486]

In the tenth octave Cervantes "dresses up" as Veneziano. As if playing a role in a *comedia* or donning a pastoral pseudonynm and shepherd's garb, he directly addresses Celia. He tells her that he is her captive, that his death and life, his pain and glory, are in her hands and as her captive he will never escape from her. He asks her to turn her soft pretty face to him, to look on the one over whom she is victorious. Again, he roots her divine grace in the material form of her visage. He tells her that she will see his body rendered in the firm prison of his soul which she has already brought under her control; in this way he engages both the *materia y forma* of the beloved as well as the *materia y forma* of the lover. It is a stanza of surrender which performs the courtly--and, obviously, heroic and knightly--genuflection of the serving troubadour and the knight-errant before the divine beloved lady. It is significant that Cervantes underscored the primacy of the

[486] For the most significant monograph on this topic, see: (Riley, 1968). Riley is exclusively concerned with the literary theory of the day. This chapter seeks to demonstrate that Cervantes' literary outlook arose from a lyrical, rather than a theoretical, engagement with the literature (primarily poetry) of his day.

soul in amorous devotion. The captive-poet surrenders in body only because his soul has already been won. This, again, reiterated Leon Hebreo's concept of disinterested love in contrast to desire or appetite. In the eleventh octave, Cervantes—playing Veneziano—in genuflection moves from the language of surrender to the language of entreaty. He tells Celia that a breast of constant virtue is moved only in cases of honor and angry displays. He asks that that she be moved to his cause because before her she has made a firm lover rash, and if she wishes to continue she may do a heroic and exalted deed by resucing his soul with love. He affirms that if she should rescue his soul from the suffering in which he is held captive with her love, his body will follow and be hers. Again, the inversion of the primacy of the spiritual over the corporeal betrayed a marked familiarity with the poetry of *erotic mysticism* and a mastery of those forms and concepts sufficient to manipulate and modulate them to the author's own unique conception of virtuous love. If we think of Marlow's "The Passionate Shepherd to His Love" or Robert Herrick's "To Virgin's to Make Much of Time" or even the entreaties of Grisóstomo to Marcela in the first part of *Don Quijote*, the captive-poet's assertion that his body belongs to the beloved only because she is victorious over his soul represents a radical pose in amorous philosophy and the lyric of the day.[487] This contrast between disinterested love and desire is not readily found within the theoretical approaches to amorous literature in contemporary criticism, but it is a distinction which is vital to our understanding of Cervantes' conceptual outlook and the ways in which that outlook directly conditioned the narrative structures of his poetry and his prose. I want to stress that Cervantes made it explicit, both in the letter to Veneziano, as well as in the preceeding verses, that the final octaves represent his position and beliefs. The final octave concludes by reaffirming the direct addresss through the repetition of Celia's name. He tells her that as a miserable lover he is in possession of his body but not of his soul as he suffers for her. He tells her that the light which illuminates and clarifies the heavens is brought to life in her. He pleads that she look on the ungrateful, crude, aloof, and unworthy ("mal")[488]

[487] Cervantes repeats this again as Lauso in the *Galatea*, who sings to his beloved, "Goces, pastora, mil años/ el bien de tu pensamiento,/ que yo no quiero contento/ granjeado con tus daños," (Cervantes, 1961, v.2, pp.96).

[488] The common translation for "mal" is "evil", but in lyric usuage from Cervantes' period it may be more consonant with "unworthy" or "imperfect". It is employed to contrast with the Neoplatonic "good". In this sense "evil" seems too strong a synonym, though it was no doubt appropriated from religious rhetoric of "good and evil".

human which he is and who pleads for her pity, that she reveal herself to be grateful and loving to he who has taken her to be a heaven and a goddess.

If there were any doubt or uncertainty regarding Cervantes' deep engagement with the contours of amorous philosophy, erotic spirituality and pastoral verse throughout his literary formation, these octaves render the author's aesthetic focus irrefutable. Unlike the proclamations of various fictional characters which appear in his later novels, the verses sent to Veneziano were explicitly intended as a revelation of the author's thoughts and feelings within an intimate poetic dialogue undertaken between two friends. That Cervantes overwrote Veneziano's own lyric approach to his amorous passions in the final three octaves is a clear indication that the future author of the *Quijote*, captive-poet writing from solitary confinement, privileged his own vision as unique in relation to Veneziano. In the *Galatea* he will go to great lengths to showcase various forms of poet-lovers whilst privileging forms of disinterested love and courtly genuflection over their fictional counterparts. In these octaves, Cervantes performs Veneziano's role on Veneziano's behalf precisely because he has found Veneziano's approach to amorous poetry inadequate. In doing so he both transposes previous models of the amorous lyric into his own words and revises them towards a new amorous vision rooted in his own subjectivity. Like Veneziano, he enters the arena of European lyric verse poised with a marked position and ready to make himself, if not the first, distinct among his peers. While this element of lyric subjectivity throughout Cervantes' authorship has readily been derided as a projection of the German Romantics, here the coincidence of thought finds ready evidence within the authors first works. The final three octaves dismiss the nearly three hundered verses of amorous suffering which Veneziano had composed whilst in Algiers, to replace them with a three-stanza genuflection, surrender and plea for mercy. Irony is indeed present at this moment in the author's life, but it was not an ironic view of love or poetry. In his octaves for Veneziano, the whole of the poet's experience as a courtier in Rome, a soldier in the Mediterranean and a captive in Algiers come into focus through the continued working through of the amorous lyric which had been and which would remain the fulcrum of the author's oeuvre.[489]

[489] This outlook is recapitulated and voiced by Antonio at the close of the *Persiles* who says of the pilgrim-lovers, Persiles and Sigismunda [Periandro and Auristela]: "No todos los amores son precipitados ni atrevidos, ni todos los amantes han puesto la mira de su gusto en gozar a sus amadas, sino con las potencias de su alma," (Cervantes, 1969, pp. 462)

This chapter examined the heretofore overlooked lyric verse which Cervantes wrote during his captivity in Algiers (1575-1580) as a formative element in the author's literary development. The intent has been to bring to light cultural influences such as the Gardens at Bomarzo in Rome and Cervantes' lyrical friendship with Veneziano in Algiers which have heretofore not been fully examined in relation to the author's exploration of his own lyric subjectivity and that of fictional characters within the *cosmos of erotic mysticism.* This chapter has sought to draw a continuous thread from Cervantes' earliest poetry in the court of Isabel de Valois prior to his departure from Spain to his subsequent lyric activities in Madrid during the 1580's which I will treat in the following chapters. In keeping with the amorous philosophy oriented toward a divinized beloved lady, which characterizes Cervanes' literary output throughout these three decades, this chapter has sought to elucidate the material, metaphysical, and emotional concerns which were shared by poet-lovers whilst held captive by a beloved lady. The corporeal reality of the divine beloved has been drawn out in explicit relation to the corporeal captivity which Antonio Veneziano, Miguel de Cervantes and so many other captive-poets experienced during this period. This chapter has reviewed the use of the word *ingenio* as a synonym for the poet in keeping with a trend in sixteenth-century verse which increasingly led to forms of *aesthetic idealism* within Cervantes' writing and amongst his peers. It is my hope that this chapter will lend depth and complexity to scholarly understandings of amorous poetry throughout the century and the accompanying exploration of lyric subjectivity within a ripe philosophical tradition. This aspect of the Cervantes' authorship is intended to illuminate the decidedly lyric outlook of the author of the *Don Quijote* and the first novelistic character, Alonso Quijano, whom Cervantes' freed to such pursuits within a fictional landscape.

Authoring Immortality:

Lyric Subjectivity as *Aesthetic Idealism* in the Shepherds of the *Galatea*

La Diana de Montemayor fue vna dama natural de Valencia de Don Iuan, junto a León. Y Ezla, su río, y ella serán eternos por su pluma. Assí la Fílida de Montaluo, la Galatea de Ceruantes, la Camilia de Garcilaso, la Violante del Camoes, la Siluia de Bernaldes, la Filis de Figueroa, la Leonor de Corte Real.

--Lope de Vega, 1632

No se le quedaba entre renglones el pastor Elicio, más enamorado que atrevido, de quien decía que, sin attender a sus amores ní a su ganado, se entraba en los cuidados ajenos.

--Cervantes, 1613

(The Diana of Montemayor was a lady native to Valencia de Don Juan, near León. And Ezla, its river, and she will be immortal by his pen. Likewise the Fílida of Montalvo, the Galatea of Cervantes, the Camilia of Garcilaso, the Violante of Camoes, the Silvia of Bernaldes, the Filis of Figueroa and the Leonor of Corte Real.)[490]

(He didn't stay between the lines, the shepherd Elicio, more enamored than daring, of whom it was said that, without attending to his love nor to his flock, he entered in the nearby cities.)[491]

Introduction

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In 1602 Philip III and Queen Marguerite of Spain traveled to Valencia de Don Juan to pay a visit to Jorge de Montemayor's aged shepherdess, Diana.[492] Then in her sixties she was said to have retained her

[490] (Lope, 1958, pp.137-138, Act II: Scene 2)

[491] (Cervantes, 2001, v.2, pp.307-308)

[492] (Rennart, 1912, pp.35). According to Rennart, "Some interesting gossip concerning Montemayor is given in the dedication written by Lourenço Craesbeek to the edition of the *Diana* which he printed at Lisbon in 1624. He tells us...'So great was the fame of Montemayor that there was not a house in which the *Diana* was not read, nor a street in which its style was not extolled; everybody, however great, desired a personal acquaintence with its author, who was invited to that splendid entertainment which the Duchess of Sessa gave in her garden to the principal ladies of the Court. Montemayor, entering with some servants of the Duke, in whose house he was then lodged, the Duchess introducd him to her guests, who inquired about the beauty of *Diana*, about the grievous action of the shepherd in marrying her, and about other things about rustic shepherds, and about other things in his book, to which he replied with many gallantries, not a little proud of such good-fortune. The Marquise of Camarasa asked him: Sr. Montemayor, if you write such pleasing things about rustic shepherds, what would you do if you were asked to write about this garden, of these fountains and these Nymphs which you see here?

former beauty which the Portuguese poet had immortalized in the first Spanish pastoral novel *La Diana* (1559).[493] While the vogue of the pastoral novel had subsided by the turn of the seventeenth century--the last significant contribution to the genre was made by Lope de Vega with the *Arcadia* in 1598--the legacy of this literary form and the cultural practices which accompanied it are readily discernible in the later works of Cervantes and Lope de Vega.[494] As is apparent in the above citations from Lope's *Dorotea* (1632) and Cervantes' *El coloquio de los perros* (1613)--as well as Philip III's interest in the fate of the historical Diana--the pastoral was unanimously and explicitly understood as an autobiographical *roman à clef* not only in the sixteenth century, but throughout the first decades of the seventeenth century.[495] As the previous chapters

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To which Montemayor replied: All these things, my lady, are matter rather for wonderment than for the pen," (Rennart, 1912, pp.31).

[493] As Don Gaspar de Romani wrote for the preliminaries of Montemayor's *Diana*:

> Si de Madama Laura la memoria
> Petrarca para siempre ha levantado,
> y a Homero así de lauro ha coronado
> escrebir de los griegos la victoria,
> Si los reyes también, para más gloria,
> vemos que de contino han procurado
> que aquello que en la vida han conquistado
> en muerte se renueve con su historia,
> Con más razón serás, ¡oh excelente
> Diana!, por hermosura celebrada,
> que cuantas en el mundo hermosas fueron;
> Pues nadie mereció ser alabada,
> de quien así el laurel tan justamente
> merezca más que cuantos escribieron.

(Montemayor, 1991, pp.105).

[494] The vogue of the pastoral which may be dated from Montemayor's *Diana* (1559) to Lope de Vega's *Arcadia* (1599) characterizes aesthetic practice throughout the second half of the sixteenth century. The transition from exemplary romances of chivalry to similar mimetic cultural practices drawn from the romances of chivalry has been intelligently observed by José Julio Martín Romero in his 2009 article, "La temática pastorial [sic] en los libros de caballerías de la época de Felipe II," in which he writes, "El éxito de los libros de pastores en la segunda mitad del siglo XVI parece que viene a coincidir con un período de declive de los libros de caballerías. Frente a una ingente producción caballeresca en las primeras décadas de este siglo, el número de títulos descendió a partir de la década de los años cincuenta. Todo parece indicar un relevo motivado por un cambio de gustos; existe la opinión de que en la época filipina se abandonaron los medievalizantes libros de caballerías para acoger la gran novedad que suponía el género creado por Jorge de Montemayor," (pp.564).

[495] Lope considered the *Dorotea* to be an "acción en prosa", the work makes no pretense to present itself as a pastoral novel. Nonetheless, this work returns to the spheres of pastoral poets living in Madrid

have demonstrated, the project of authoring lyric subjectivity in pastoral verse and prose was undertaken by way of cultural practices deeply influenced by the discourse of *erotic mysticism.*[496] The role of the poet's personal experience was taken for granted as the ingenious font from which these imaginative works flowed;

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during the middle of the 1580s when Lope's affair with Elena Osorio began to unravel. Lope is explicit in the biographical status of the work in the prologue. However, even if he had not explicitly recalled his own autobiography in the prologue, the historical data, including the use of proper names, is everywhere apparent in the work. No author of the period has left us with such a naked depiction of these years, significant not only to Lope's literary career, but also to the makings of the *Galatea.* As Avalle Arce observes, "...no hay que olvidar que la autobiografía está vista como ficción. El artista, como la araña, teje su obra toda con el hilo poético de us intimidad vivida, fenómeno no totalmente nuevo pero que adquiere especial significado en su momento histórico, ya que desembocará en parte en los malabrismos barrocos entre experiencia vital y expresión poética, para no mencionar la obra de Lope de Vega, que es un continuo recrearse a sí mismo como materia estética," (1974, pp.143). Unfortunately, Avalle-Arce limits his observations on the history encoded in the *Galatea* to the following: "Sólo tres de las identificacoines propuestas son seguras en mi opinión: Tirsi es Francisco de Figueroa; Meliso, don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, y Astraliano es don Juan de Austria. Todas las demás son hipotéticas. Por ejemplo, quizá Damón sea Pedro Laínez; Larsileo posiblemente sea el secretario Mateo Vazquez, y no de Alonso Ercilla, como creía Rodríguez Marín, pues gran poeta épico no tenía gran influencia en la corte, y Larsileo sí; Siralvo con casi toda seguridad se puede decir que Artidoro no es Andrés Rey de Artieda. Y aquí dejo el problema, pues no veo que sus soluciones ayuden much o en la comprensión de la *Galatea* como obra de arte," (1974, pp.248). To some degree Avalle-Arce modified this judgment in his 1988 article, "*La Galatea*: The Novelistic Crucible,": " To be sure, the same four poets who praised Caldera's translation in Gracián's edition (el maestro Garay, Luis Gálvez de Montalvo, el maestro Vergara and Pedro Laínez) were allotted laudatory octaves in Cervantes' *Canto de Calíope*, and Pedro Laínez even appears as a character in the *Galatea*, under the poetic pseudonym of Damón. The same place, the same printer, and the same four poets appear in both works. I mention this *en passant* for I think that it would be worthwhile to reconstruct and study these provincial poetic cliques, because they might solve more than one small literary mystery of the times," (pp.8).

Lope de Vega showed a curious favoritism for the *Galatea* throughout his literary career, one which extended beyond his antagonisms with the author. For example, in the *Dama Boba*, Lope situates the *Galatea* aside his own *Rimas* in a long catalogue of Nise's library. This unnecessary favoritism has, to my knowledge, not been given due consideration by critical histories of each author.

" *Historia de dos amantes*,
sacada de lengua griega;
Rimas, de Lope de Vega;
Galatea, de Cervantes;"

(Lope de Vega, 2012, pp.142): that is, Heliodorus, Lope and Cervantes.

[496] I would like to underscore that terms such as "lyric subjectivity" and "poetry" are applicable to both verse and prose forms. My interest in this chapter is the genre of lyric poetry (poesis) undertaken in both verse and prose formats. Verse should not be immediately understood as poetry, nor should prose be immediately understood as history or novel. I am here drawing a clear distinction between genre and form.

his biography was implicit in the literature he produced. Moreover, it was this autobiographical and historical aspect of the birth of the novel in Spain which Lope de Vega unabashedly resucitated in his late *acción en prosa*, the *Dorotea* in 1632. This thinly veiled autobiography recovered and retold his early love affair with Elena Osorio carried out during the decade of the 1580s contemporaneously to Cervantes' composition of the *Galatea*.[497]

The link between history and poetry--which was forefront in the aesthetic concerns of the author of the *Quijote*[498]--had been and continued to serve as the cornerstone of novelistic art forms (in both verse and prose) in early modern Spain even after its originating genre, pastoral poetry, had fallen out of style.[499] In the *Don Quijote*, the relationship between history and poetry has more frequently been linked to the epic and to the romances of chivalry because these are the genres which we most closely identify with the work. However, the project of authoring histories of lyric subjectivity was the discourse with which pastoral poets--Cervantes among them--most readily engaged over the course of the sixteenth century. The concept of a "true history" was closely linked to the ways in which personal history was recast within this literature of

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[497] As Edwin Morby writes on Lope's earliest (professed) comedy, *El verdadero amante*, "...the reader coming to *El verdadero amante* from *La Dorotea*--and perhaps from one or two other treatments of the *Dorotea* theme--is quite likely to feel a start of recognition. Belarda's constancy may easily recall Dorotea's perspecution of Don Fernando, foretold in *La Dorotea*, and, owing to its known autobiographical authenticity, one of the most familiar details in the entire *acción en prosa*," (1959, pp.318). See also: José Manuel Blecua's introductory study to his edition of *La Dorotea*, (Lope de Vega, 1955, esp. pp.28-32); Edwin S. Morby's edition and introduction to the *Arcadia*, (Lope de Vega, 1975, esp. pp.9-13); (Lope de Vega, 2013); (Lope de Vega, 2012).

[498] On the aesthetics of the *Don Quijote*, Bruce Wardropper observes, "He [Cervantes] prefers to call his book an "*historia*" by which, as we shall see, he means, not a story, but a history. We know, of course that he is fooling us: *Don Quixote* may be a romance, or a novel, or a story, but it is certainly not a history. We have to deal, then, with a story masquerading as a history, with a work claiming to be historically true within its external framework of fiction. The study of *Don Quixote*, it seems to me, must begin with this paradox," (1965, pp.1).

[499] As Trueblood's framework for his analysis of the *Dorotea* is useful here: "It is on the afterlife of the creative nexus which culminates in *La Dorotea*, as manifested in pastoral and Moorish ballads, sonnets, the play *Belardo el furioso (Belardo Mad)*, and above all, the *acción en prosa* itself, that I shall focus. My aim is to reach a fuller understanding of Lope's creative processes, and signally of the meaning of *La Dorotea*, by examining the interaction of substance with form, *historia* or *Erlebnis* with *poiesis*, in the artistic products of the experience," (Trueblood, 1974, pp.3, emphasis mine).

immediacy.[500] The strongly mimetic relationship between *erlebnis* and *poiesis*--that is between historial experience and aesthetic renderings--originated in the lyric poetry and pastoral novels of the sixteenth century.[501] This transference of lyric subjectivity from historical experience to pastoral poetry was not simply a literary conceit, rather the central role of the poet's own lyric subjectivity within this literature opened a doorway to the growing concept of *aesthetic idealism* within literary milieu. By way of the increased possession of an authorial identity--or lyric subjectivity-- in which the poet sought to immortalize both himself and his beloved lady throughout posterity raised the stakes of lyric authorship among these groups of writers.[502] This authorial quest to enter the halls of immortality--claimed by Homer, Virgil, Ovid, Dante, Petrarch, Ariosto, Garcilaso and, more recently, Montemayor--became the defining ambition of the unique group of pastoral poets circulating in Madrid in the 1580s.[xvii] Coincident with the rise of contemporary

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[500] The concept of "immediacy" has been closely linked to subjectivity throughout the history of philosophy, but the ways in which the "immediacy" of lyric subjectivity entered novelistic art forms in sixteenth-century Spain has heretofore been left unexplored. As George di Giovanni writes in his introduction to Hegel's *The Science of Logic*: "On Hegel's analysis of both Kant and Fichte, the problem is that the "I" that figures so prominently in their theories is too abstract a product of conceptualization. It *means* to say much but in fact *says* nothing. Therefore, according to Hegel, it lets the content of experience for which it is supposed to provide the unifying space, its conceptual *a priori*, escape from it and fall, so to speak, on the side of a beyond from which it is retrievable only by means of such non-conceptual means as intuition. But intuition, whether of the Kantian or the Fichtean type, is ultimately inexpressible and therefore a source of irrationality. This is not to say that Hegel does not recognize that facticity is an irreducible element of experience. This is the lesson that he had indeed learned from Fichte. Hegel's canonical term for it...is 'immediacy.' But the point is that such a facticity, this immediacy of experience, ought to be absorbed conceptually even *as* facticity....Nothing seems as simple, as irrefutable, and yet as unconvincing, as Hegel's opening argument about the concepts of 'being' and 'nothing'--that they shift into one another, and that their play of mutual replacement is finally resolved into a third concept of 'becoming'.... Most of all, they [Kant and Fichte] failed to see that the truth of an object (*Gegenstand*) is only to be found in the discourse about it, so that any opaqueness as to what the object is, or whether it is at all, must be resolved from within the original disocurse itself by developing it according to rules internal to it," (Hegel, 2015, pp. xxxiii-xxxiv). As is evident in the literature of lyric subjectivity contemporary to Cervantes, the immediate experience of "being", "nothing", and "becoming" was a discourse natural to *erotic mysticism*. For example, in Lauso's verses to Silena, this exerpience is immediately discernable, though couched in philosophical terms distinct and anticipatory to Hegel: "¿Do el alma que ya fue mía,/ y dónde mi corazón,/ que no está dónde solía?/ Mas yo todo, ¿dónde estoy,/ dónde vengo, o adónde voy?/ A dicha, ¿sé yo de mí?/ ¿Soy por ventura, el que fui,/ o nunca he sido el que soy?" (Cervantes, 1961, v.2, pp.92).

[501] The proper translation for *erlebnis* is *experience*, and a more precise translation of *poiesis* would be *made* or *created*. That is: *experience* and *creation*. The former is passive and the latter is active. Aristotle draws this distinction between the world as it is and the world as it should be (history and poetry, respectively). See: (Wardropper, 1965, pp.2 and notes).

[502] This trend is easily observable throughout Renaissance Europe, as in Shakespeare's well-known Sonnet 18.

literature in print, among themselves they cultivated an unprecedented relationship with the early printers of Madrid and Alcalá. This marked awareness of publication--in contrast to the often anonymous inclusion in and circulation of manuscript collections of poetry and prose writing--inaugurated a generation keenly aware of the quest for enduring fame by way of their own *ingenios* and the authorial power which they exercised within this *cosmos of erotic mysticism.*[xviii] With Montemayor as their most immediate predecessor, Petrarch as their crowning exemplar, and Huarte de San Juan as the champion of their own *ingenious* capacity for authorship, lyric subjectivity became the emphatic mode by which authors sought to win for themselves, "eterno nombre y fama," (eternal renown and everlasting fame).[503] Like Garcilaso, Montemayor and Petrarch the *aesthetic idealism* of the ingenious poet was undertaken within the *cosmos of erotic mysticism* such that it also sought to give everlasting immortality to the beloved lady who inspired these works. As is evident from the citations which opened this chapter, the gift of immortality was considered the ultimate service or gift for the "ladies of their thoughts".[xix]

Whether or not history (experience) entered the world of literature in verse or prose forms, the pastoral veil initiated a close mimetic relationship between experience and aesthetics which consistently conditioned the way in which both Cervantes and Lope de Vega explored their own lyric subjectivities for which they are now known in the canons of literary history.[504] While both authors are more commonly studied for the contributions which they made to literary aesthetics during the first decade of the seventeenth century--Cervantes, *Don Quijote* (1605, 1615) and Lope de Vega, *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias* (1609)--this chapter returns to their formative years as pastoral poets amdist the generation of 1580s in Madrid in order to uncover and discuss the rise of the modern novel in Cervantes' the *Galatea* (1585) and the milieu for which it was written.[505] In doing so, I will demonstrate how the immediate personal histories of Cervantes and his

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[503] (Cervantes, 1999, I:1, pp.

[504] On the nature and problematics of canon, see: (Ponce-Hegenauer, 2011).

[505] Recent trends in literary criticism have tended to privilege the picaresque as the originating genre for the modern novel. I have found this approach anachronistic the literary machinations in which Cervantes was most immediately involved. While he does include the genre of the picaresque thematically within the *Don Quijote* it is not the genre which brough about an exploration of lyric subjectivity in the world; in other words, the key structural component to the story of Alonso Quijano. Francisco Rico (1969) has expounded the element of perspective or point of view within the picaresque genre. As fictional autobiography the picaresque indeed acounts for the perspective of the narrator within his social milieu. However, it was the lyric--in both verse and prose forms--which privileged the

friends became the historical matter which Cervantes turned into poetry (*erlebnis/poesis*) in order to create what Juan Bautista Avalle-Arce has termed, "the first novel of the first novelist of the world".[506]

In addition to providing new reading clues to the *Galatea* as an autobiographical *roman à clef,* I will also demonstrate how the modern novel grew out of lyric forms amongst poets writing during the third quarter of the sixteenth century in Spain, particularly those publications undertaken by Cervantes' friends and peers during the first years of the 1580s. The relationship between versified eclogue and the pastoral novel--indeed the very genre heterogeneity of the pastoral novel as a weaving of verse and prose--in the birth of novelistic storytelling has heretofore been passed over or explicitly ignored in literary criticism and theories of the novel.[507] By resituating the *Galatea* amongst pastoral forms of verse and prose in the early 1580s, I will demonstrate how Cervantes' development of the aesthetics of novelistic storytelling was contingent upon his active participation in poetic milieus throughout the first decades of his authorial career, and particularly in the first years of the 1580s upon his return to Madrid. I will show how pastoral works contemporary to the composition of the *Galatea*--such as Miguel Sánchez de Lima's treatise, *El arte poética en*

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lyric subjectivity or "socially non-conditional" perspective of the protagonist as imersed within the varying perspectives of other characters. In the picaresque, all the characters are turned to archetypes by the point of view of the narrator. In contrast, the pastoral varying perspectives (fully developed through the voicing of their own lyric subjectivity) are explored in relation to one another. This is where Bahktin observes the "carnevalesque" and its origin is to be found in pastoral literature.

[506] (Avalle-Arce, 1988, pp.8). As Marín Cepeda writes in her 2007 article, "Acerca del contexto histórico de Miguel de Cervantes,": "Ascanio Colonna intentó crear una pequeña corte literaria, en torno a su secretario, Galvez de Moltalvo [sic]. Como recuerda Blasco, *La Galatea* se imprimió en Alcalá, en la imprenta de Juan Gracián, un importante editor en cuyo entorno se movían los mismos autores que Cervantes celebrara en las octavas del "Canto de Calíope". La elección del género pastoril, en boga por aquellos años, permitió al alcalaíno incluir a sus amigos bajo el disfraz de pastores, recreando los círculos literarios del momento. Como recuerda Rey Hazas, a juzgar por lo que dice el manuscrito 2.856 de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, Damón oculta a Pedro Laínez, Tirsi a Figueroa, Larsileo a Mateo Vázquez, Siralvo a Gálvez de Montalvo, Astraliano a don Juan de Austria, quizá Erastro a Antonio de Eraso, conforme piensa Astrana Marín, y Lauso al propio Cervantes. Y como han propuesto los críticos, Meliso, a Diego Hurtado de Mendoza," (2007, pp.11). While I disagree with Marín Cepeda that Ascanio was integral to this group at the time that Cervantes composed the *Galatea*, the dedication of the *Galatea* to Ascanio does signal his ascension among circles of poets which would color the middle years of the 1580s in Madrid.

[507] Lukác's theory that, "the novel is the epic of an age in which the extensive totality of life is no longer directly given, in which the immanence of meaing in life has become a problem, yet which still thinks in terms of totality," (1987, pp.56), will neither serve for the sixteenth-century Spanish literary context, nor for the particular example of the *Don Quijote.*

romance castellano (Alcalá, 1580)[508], Pedro de Padilla's collection of poetry,*Thesoro de varias poesías* (Madrid, 1580), Luis Gálvez de Montalvo's pastoral novel (verse and prose), *El pastor de Fílida* (Madrid, 1582), Pedro de Padilla's novelistic eclogue (verse), *Églogas pastoriles* (Seville, 1582), and Pedro Laynez's unpublished and poorly preserved (only fragments remain in manuscript) novelistic eclogue (verse), *Engaños y desengaños de amor*--directly informed the way in which Cervantes conceptualized the mimetic process of rendering historical experience into lyric forms.[509] As the narrator of *Don Quijote* tells us:

> Por otra parte, me parecía que, pues entre sus libros se habían hallado tan modernos como *Desengaños de celos* y *Ninfas y pastores de Henares*, que también su historia debía de ser moderna.
>
> (Moreover, it seemed to me that, well among his books they had been found such modern ones like *Desengaños de celos* [1586] y *Ninfas y pastores de Henares* [1587], that his history should also be modern.[510]

From the mimetic *pastoral play* of Isabel de Valois in the 1560s, to the *lyrical simulacra* of the pastoral gardens of Rome, to the literalization of captive metaphors in the amorous poetry which Cervantes composed in Algiers, the question of authorship and the mimetic act had undergone a long development in Cervantes' intellectual history prior to 1582 when he definitively resettled amongst a climate of *aesthetic idealism* cultivated by his fellow poets within the discourse of *erotic mysticism* in Madrid. Moreover, because Cervantes had, since his first forays in lyric verse (1567), consistently engaged in cultural and lyric practices of *erotic mysticism*, the pastoral mindset cultivated by this community of poets became a fertile space in which to

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[508] This treatise on Castilian poetry was undertaken in dialogue between two shepherds and concludes with a pastoral story a shepherd and his beloved lady. In doing so, Sánchez de Lima draws ever closer the relationship between pastoral fiction and philosophical dialgoue. It is my contention that this work be considered amongst the other pastoral lyrics of its moment.

[509] There is no space here to discuss Gaspar Gil Polo's continuation of Montemayor's *Diana*. However, the *Diana enamorada*, published in 1564 weilded considerable influence over Cervantes. The confluence of the pastoral and Heliodorus's Greek (Byzantine) novel characterize Gil Polo's work. As is known, Cervantes explicitly intended the *Persiles* as a work which would compete with the fame and legacy (immortality) of Heliodorus. As he writes in the prolgoue to the *Novelas ejemplares*, "si la vida no me deja, te ofrezco los *Trabajos de Persiles*, libro que se atreve a competir con Heliodoro," (Cervantes, 2001, v.1, pp.53). Both the pastoral and byzantine novel privileged the lyric subjectivity of their protagonists within amorous plots and discourse. This confluence of interiority and adventure would be crucial to the development of novelistic storytelling in the *Don Quijote*, which whilst masquerading as a burlesque of the romances of chivalry, is closely drawn from the literary milieu of pastoral poetry.

[510] (Cervantes, 1999, I: 9, pp.106). *Desengaño de celos* was written by Bartolomé López de Enciso and was also printed in the house of Francisco Sánchez. *Ninfas y pastores de Henares* was authored by Bernardo González de Bobadilla and the printing was undertaken by Juan Gracían. Both novels are pastoral novels published in the two years following the *Galatea*. I have not been able to examine the frontmatter to these texts either in print or digital format.

explore the questions of *erotic mysticism* and *aesthetic idealism* which would mark Cervantes' works. This literary climate formed the bedrock for Cervantes' invention of the first novelistic character, Alonso Quijano, whose ripe engagement with *erotic mysticism* and *aesthetic idealism* inspired the authorial quest which he authored by way of his own lyric subjectivity. In this sense, we may consider the *making (poiesis)* of the *Galatea* to be the unknown history of the invention of the *Don Quijote*. In absence of this history, all of the conceptual and aesthetic building blocks of *the first modern novel*--and I will argue our own ability to interpret it on its own aesthetic terms--remain absent from literary and theoretic histories of the genre and the work.

II

The notoriety which the *Galatea* enjoyed during the early years of the seventeenth century found little place in the history of literary criticism that followed.[511] Largely forgotten, it was in 1905 that Menéndez Pelayo signaled the *novedad* of the *Galatea* in relation to other sixteenth-century pastoral novels.[512] In 1919, Rudolf Schevill acknowledged Cervantes' nascent prowess as a storyteller, while disparaging the genre as a whole.[513] Since that time, Cervantes' first novel, oft-acknowledged and rarely

[511] As Cervantes writes in the dedication of the *Persiles y Sigismunda* to Don Pedro Fernández de Castro, Count of Lemos, "Si a dicha, por buena ventura mía, que ya no sería ventura, sino milagro, me diese el cielo vida, las verá, y con ellas fin de la *Galatea*, de quien sé está aficionado vuesa Excelencia," (Cervantes, 1969, pp.46). See also the introduction by López Estrada and López García Berdoy to their edition of the *Galatea*, (Cervantes, 1995, esp. pp.97-99). A. J. Duffield's comment of 1881 is indicative of the general critical trend afforded to this first novel, "There is nothing in *La Galatea* to suggest the advent of *Don Quijote*... All his best and intimate friends were poets, and Cervantes, not knowing where his strength lay, would fain emulate these singers; and there is little doubt but that he wasted much precious time in the making of verses, and that the prose of *Galatea* was written for no other purpose than to lug in the already written lines of poetry--plot there is none," (1881, pp.79). See also, López Estrada's introduction to the *Galatea*: (Cervantes, 1995, pp.96-99).

[512] "Aun en la *Galatea* que parece de las más originales, proceden de Sannazaro la primera canción de Elicio...," (Menéndez Pelayo, 1905, pp.211). As Avalle-Arce observes, "El saber enciclopédico de Menéndez Pelayo bien conocía la filosofía del siglo XVI (las *Ideas estéticas* y los *Heterodoxos* prueban esto cumplidamente) y aquellos de sus aspectos que fertilizaron efectivamente la ideología de la época," (Avalle-Arce, 1974, pp.30).

[513] "In Spain itself many great writers attempted something in this rural genre, but almost invariably when they were young and not yet inclined to sit in judgment on its uncritical and false image of life. It is, therefore, of the greatest interest to find that men like Cervantes and Lope de Vega, who during the first years of their literary career indulged in the bucolic vein, realized later, when they were creating

studied, has been considered, almost without exception, the incomplete, underdeveloped, imature and incoherent project of a great novelist in a flawed genre too early in his career. As the distinguished Cervantista, Ruth El Saffar observed:

> It is generally agreed that Cervantes' pastoral novel *La Galatea* is his least fortunate literary effort. Largely ignored by his contemporaries, the work has not fared much better in subsequent centuries. Those of us who read *La Galatea* today tend to do it out of devotion to Cervantes, or to seek for signs of literary genius that was capable, twenty years later, of creating *Don Quijote.*[514]

Late in the twentieth-century, following the quadricentenial of the first publication of the *Galatea*, both Cervantes' novel and the sixteenth-century pastoral genre enjoyed a brief revival in the field of literary criticism. In 1988 Juan Bautista Avalle-Arce signaled the import of this first work and the community of lyric poets to which it pertained.[515] However, subsequent criticism has continued to rest on the assumption that this novel is a flawed work despite the *novedades* which it brought to a genre in decline. For example, in his 1994 article on the composition of the *Galatea*, Geoffrey Stagg repeats the unstudied critical assumption that the *Galatea* is,

> a work with the loose structure and tenuous story-line of a pastoral novel [which] lends itself to intermittent composition; poems and tales can be written independently of the main theme, which can be easily modified to accomodate them; substitutions and revisions need cause little trouble, and the final text may contain elements of many different vintages.[516]

As I will demonstrate at length in the following chapter, this fragmentary and inconsequential view of the structure of the *Galatea* is inaccurate and belies a lack of study brought about by repeated prejudice against the genre and an unwillingness to engage with the novel's form. The few attempts which have been made to grapple with narrative form in the *Galatea* have been largely confined to reading backwards from the *Don Quijote* and modern theories of the novel onto this first work. The result has been the identification of modern conceptions of literary tendencies which have been grafted onto the two works, with little consideration of the first novel on its own terms and the ways in which it informs narrative structure in the *Don Quijote.*[517]

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the peculiar works for which their genius was so admirably fitted, that the tale of life among shepherds was an insecure form of literary art," (Schevill, 1919, pp.125).

[514] (El Saffar, 1981, pp.345)

[515] (Avalle-Arce, 1988, pp.11)

[516] (Stagg, 1994, pp.10)

[517] (Polchow, 2010)

This problem of anachronistic reading not only obscures the narrative mechanisms of this first novel, it also prohibits any clear understandings of the birth of the novel as a complex and organic development from the literary genres of the sixteenth-century: it completely divorces novelistic prose from its debt to those lyric forms which were central to the pastoral and the literary communitites of Cervantes' own day and the ways in which lyric subjectivity was privileged within them. Avalle-Arce, Mary Gaylord Randel and most recently, Felipe Valencia, have cited the import of circles of poets writing contemporaneously to Cervantes' composition of the *Galatea.*[518] However, the findings of their studies have left much to be determined toward a harmonious reading of the *Galatea* as a first novel. A deciphering of the pseudonyms of the *Galatea* which would reveal those aspects and personages of lyric culture which Cervantes wished to immortalize has never been achieved, nor has the relevance of personal history to the development of novelist characters been given consideration.[519] While Gaylord's assertion that the novel is indeed "poetry about poetry" is accurate, not a single monograph has "made sense" of the *Galatea* as a sophisticated, harmonious work and autobiographical work.[520] It is surprising, given the tendency to seek Cervantes' autobiography in his fiction, that more attention has not been paid to the only one of his works which actively and openly participated in the autobiographical *roman à clef* in direct relation to his literary milieu.[521] More recently, Patricia Marín Cepeda's archival research into the Italian patron, Ascanio Colonna--to whom the *Galatea* was dedicated--, has brought much documentary evidence to light surrounding those poets contemporary to Cervantes who enjoyed Colonna's patronage in the years following the composition of the *Galatea* (begining near the close of 1583 and developed from 1584-1587).[522] However, her study offers no new readings of Cervantes' first novel nor of the literary texts relevant to the composition of this first prose

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[518] (Avalle-Arce, 1988); (Gaylord Randel, 1982); (Valencia, 2010)

[519] For the most recent revisitation of the novel as an autobiographical *roman à clef*, see: (Stagg, 1972).

[520] Most recently, Marín Cepeda's study on poets in correspondence with the Italian nobleman and Spanish patron, Ascanio Colonna, has shed light on literary patronage in the years following the composition of the *Galatea*, her study advances nothing toward an understanding of the novel itself; (Marín Cepeda, 2015).

[521] Cervantes will repeat this autobiographical aspect of the pastoral when he introduces pastoral works into the liberary of Alonso Quijano (I:6). The inclusion of Gálvez de Montalvo, López Maldonado, Pedro de Padilla, and Cervantes himself underscores the interest which these authors took in seeing their own personal histories--the record of lived lyric subjectivity--rendered in poetry for posterity.

[522] (Marín Cepeda, 2015)

work. Moreover, her study nowhere acknowledges Antonio Carreño's reconstruction of the generation of the 1580s and the decisive and self-conscious role which they played in recuperating and modernizing the ballad tradition alongside their pastoral works.[523] Rather, her study is centered on the three or four poets who appear in Ascanio's correspondence rather than on the lyric community and the affinities cultivated within it. Early in my research I spent considerable time with the Ascanio correspondence. However, it soon became clear that this correspondence points to a moment subsequent to the composition of the *Galatea* and, more importantly, does not provide a clear illustration of the literary milieu in Madrid because it refers only to those select poets in correspondence with Ascanio. Nowhere does Marín Cepeda acknowledge the culture of *aesthetic idealism* and *erotic mysticism* central to this community and the composition of the *Galatea.* She mistakes Ascanio Colonna's clerical work as indicative of the mindset of this culture. She replaces the discourse of lyric subjectivity with the discourse of religion, politics and patronage. No attempts to decode the *Galatea* as *roman à clef* are put forth, nor is the study of poetry in this period particular to her focus.

The limited findings of these critical projects are the inevitable result of an increasingly ahistorical reading of early modern literature and its discourse as concerns the theory of the novel and narrative theory in general.[524] The *Don Quijote* has attracted the consideration of many modern philosophers and critics (Ortega y Gasset, Unamuno, Lukács, Bakhtin, Foucault, Auerbach, to name only a few) since its revival by the English Satirists and the German Romantics.[525] However, the *Quijote* has been continuously excised from its historico-cultural context in studies of the novel.[526] Adhering to the formal perspectives of English satire, German romanticism, Spanish realism and American literary theory, the necessity for each respective movement to find in the *Quijote* the contours of its own making has permeated criticism in all of these schools. Anthony Close has best articulated this critical trajectory:

> The topic 'Cervantes, first modern novelist' has, it is true, come in for considerable discussion. Yet those who have written about it in terms which would have been intelligible to the novelists whom Cervantes most directly inspired (Fielding, Smollett, Sterne, Stendhal, Flaubert, Mark Twain, Melville), let alone to Cervantes himself, or to Quevedo, Mateo Alemán, or

[523] "Los quince años de gestión que siguen a los quince de gestación, términos que incluyen la actividad de una generación, según Ortega y Gasset, estarían limitados, en este caso, entre 1580 y 1610, marcando el año 1595 la cifra media en que coincide el máximo apogeo del Romancero nuevo," (Carreño, 1979, pp.29).

[524] See: "Introduction" to this dissertation.

[525] For history of criticism, see: (Close, 201). See also: "Introduction"

[526] See: Introduction.

Lope de Vega, have tended to be neither Hispanists nor *cervantistas*, but comparatists or specialists in English or American literature. The reason for this is that the Romantic tradition--serious, sentimental, patriotic, philosophical, and subjective--has pulled criticism directly away from the questions that the novel most obviously and naturally prompts. Critics need not be slaves to the *idola fori* in all that they write; but if a critical tradition so perversely ignores the obvious it must be suspected of having gone badly astray.[527]

Ironically for Close's observation, the literary milieu of poets writing in Madrid in the 1560s, 1570s and early 1580s wrote in the tradition of *erotic mysticism* with an increasing eye to the immortality promised by a new concept of *aesthetic idealism*. In other words, they wrote in a tradition more "serious, sentimental, patriotic, philosophical, and subjective" than Close and the English satirist tradition may have been willing to admit.[528] However, to imagine that the philosophical perspectives of modernity (such as German Idealism) might closely approximate the philosophical outlook of poets writing in Madrid more than sixty years before the advent of Cartesian thought, would be to mistake an *amorous and aesthetic idealism* with *tragic romanticism*. Moreover, this conflation would further damage an unobscured approach to these texts. It remains that in

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[527] (Close, 1977, pp.2)

[528] Patriotism in this light should not imply poetry which lauded the nation, but rather--in keeping with Antonio Nebrija's assertion that language should accompany empire, these poets sought to aggrandize Spain by adding Castilian authors to the canonical halls of immortal authors such as Homer, Virgil, Ovid, Petrarch and Ariosto. This view of canon formation is explicit in the appearance of the muse, Calíope, in Book 6 of the *Galatea*, (see chapter 6).

As Pedro Laynez wrote in his prologue to Benito Caldera's 1580 translation of *Los Lusiadas*, Alcalá, (note difference from Gómez de Tapia's title, *La Lusiada)*: "Dexa⁀n⁀do, pues, agora de encarecer lo q⁀ue⁀ deue la edad presente a los doctos varones de la famosa antigüedad, cuyos célebres ingenios nos declararon tan profundos secretos y ta⁀n⁀ importantes remedios, aun solame⁀n⁀te en la letra de la sagrada escriptura, qua⁀n⁀do no queramos medir ni estimar este fruto tan espritualme⁀n⁀te, si vuiera⁀n⁀ faltado ente⁀n⁀dimie⁀n⁀tos peregrinos y zelosos del aprouechamiento y bien vniuersal q⁀ue⁀ nos manifestara⁀n⁀ lo q⁀ue⁀ con la fuerça dellos alcançaron en las diuinas sciencias y humanas facultades, pocos gozaron agora de la prudencia y doctrina del famoso príncipe de todos los poetas, Homero, de la moralidad q⁀ue⁀ se encierra en la dulçura de sus versos; de las sutilezas y regalos del amoroso Píndaro, a quie⁀n⁀ entre los líricos sin contradición se concede el primer lugar; de los subtiles conceptos de Calímaco, de los pastorales y blandos amores de Siracusano Theócrito, de los amorosos elogios de Alceo y de Anacreonte, de los sabrosos engaños del Cómico Aristóphanes, de las altas y facundas razones de los dos tan estimados trágicos, Sóphocles y Eurípiedes; de los mordaces y vehementes versos de Archílocho en reprehender los vicios de la docta astrología de Arato, y, al fin, los que de hablar altamente se precian de las eloquentes cláusulas del inimitable Demósthenes, si no fuera por medio de quien por las traduciones nos comunicó tan singulares beneficios. Pues si el agradescimiento dellos es justo que la memoria tenga siempre delante de los ojos al autor de la presente obra, tan útil, tan provechoso y tan doctamente escrita, no se le deuen pequeñas gracias.... No querría que a nadie le pareciesse tan fácil el traduzir de vna lengua que tan poco difiere de la Castellana, como la Portuguesa...," (Laynez, 1951, v.2, pp.349-350).

spite of the central role which the *Galatea*, and the work of Cervantes peers', played in the birth of the modern novel, the historico-cultural context (literary, personal, philosophical) of this generation remains absent from Hispanist and Genre studies alike. If we are to discover the novelistic formations, the unknown literary history, of the invention of the *Don Quijote*, then we cannot afford to ignore the aesthetic terms which the *Galatea* draws upon, delineates and enacts.

In his 1994 article, "The Composition and Revision of *La Galatea*," Geoffrey Stagg revived the critical work of Díaz de Benjumea, Cotarelo y Mori, Rodríguez Marín, and Astrana Marín in order to put forth an argment that Cervantes had composed either some or all of the *Galatea* prior to his return from captivity in Algiers.[529] While Cervantes, no doubt, was fully enmeshed in the cultural and aesthetic practices of *erotic mysticism* since his first compositions for the court of Isabel de Valois in the 1560s, I will demonstrate throughout this chapter and the following that the *Galatea* is a work which was composed in full after Cervantes' return to Spain in 1580 and which refers directly to the personal and aesthetic experiences of those poets whom Cervantes encountered at that time. As I have previously explained, Stagg's assertion that "the loose structure and tenuous story-line of a pastoral novel lends itself to intermitten composition," (1994, pp.10) resucitates previous judgment calls inappropriate to the study of this work.[530] As I will demonstrate at length in chapter 6, the *Galatea* is a well-organized and coherent work of literature inspired by Ariosto's narrative interlacing which David Quint has already masterfully observed in the *Don Quijote*.[531] There is no evidence that the *Galatea* does not explicitly pertain to the group of lyric *ingenios* who formed Cervantes' closest peers upon his return to Madrid in the 1580s, and I will show how close attention to the nuanced

[529] (Stagg, 1994)

[530] For example, when Stagg writes, "his experiments with a new (for him) literary manner; his wish to give greater depth to the analysis of the workings of the human heart; his vague dissatisfaction with accepted models of prose narrative--all early, halting steps, perhaps, but already set on the path that would, in the fullness of time, lead to an unimagined New World of prose fiction," (1994, pp.22), Stagg betrays the full extent to which his study rearranges details and misreads the *Galatea* in order to work it into the standard picture of this work drawn up by the history of criticism. This received view of the *Galatea* is one of the many reasons I have thought it necessary to provide a complete reading of the *Galatea* in the following chapter.

[531] (Quint, 2003) See also: (Chevalier, 1966)

relationships among these *ingenios* allows for a complete reading of the text.[532] Simple details such as the relative age and position of the shepherds in relation to one another provide much clarity not previously achieved by readers of this text. While Mirta Zidovec's observations on the use of time and perspective in the *Galatea* share some insights on the cosmos of the novel which may be readily correlated to Spitzer's observations of perspectivism in the *Don Quijote*, her article does not arrive at the *cosmos of erotic mysticism* and *aesthetic idealism* which properly situates the *Galatea* within its original cultural and intellectual lexicon.[533] Several aspects of the *Galatea* have been drawn out in recent articles, however, neither a decoding of the novel as *roman à clef* nor a harmonious reading of the work exist. In short, there is no definitive critical approach to the *Galatea*, nor any modern translation that would introduce it to studies of a comparative approach.[534] Its relevance to the *Don Quijote* remains superficial and is often treated as superfluous.

It remains to say something of the efforts which have been made to decipher the *Galatea* as an autobiographical *roman à clef*. In addition to Geoffrey Stagg's review of these identifications and suggestions in his 1972 article, "A Matter of Masks: *La Galatea*", the historical matter of the novel is best glossed in the introductions to the major critical editions. Among these I have found the editions of (1) Schevill and Bonilla, (2) Avalle-Arce, (3) López Estrada and López García Berdoy most valuable.[535] For example, Schevill and Bonilla provide ready evidence for the identification of Tirsi with Francisco de Figueroa. When Elicio cites Tirsi's verse within the pages of the novel, "¡Aye de quan ricas esperanças vengo/ al desseo mas pobre y encogido!," (Cervantes, 1914. v.1, pp.107), Schevill and Bonilla were quick to identify this citation with

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[532] I find Staggs assertion that, "An examination of it leads to the following conclusion: that Books I to III were written in the late 1560s, and Books IV to VI in the 1580s, when certain revisions were made to both the drafted first half and the earlier-planned second half," (1994, pp.11) wholly untenable.

[533] Zidovec writes, "El arte renacentista que aplica *la mimesis*, nos muestra universos donde el hombre ha logrado sustraerse al caos que es uno de los peligros que trae el tiempo. Cervantes compartía estas ideas y juega con ellas en *La Galatea* para repetirlas de forma más compleja en su obra maestra *Don Quijote de la Mancha*," (1990, pp.10).

[534] See also: (Rhodes, 1989 and 1990), (Forcione, 1988), (Cull, 1986), (Johnston, 1988). While Johnston does propose to show that, "...*La Galatea* possesses both unity and harmony and that, to a considerable degree, it is consistent with Cervantes' goals for fiction in later years," I have found his study insightful but ultimately lacking in a harmonious reading of the work, (*Ibid*, pp.31).

[535] The most recent critical edition by Juan Montero does not fully rehearse this matter.

Figueroa's sonnet "XXXI" printed in his *Obras* ed. Pedro Craesbeeck (Lisbon, 1625). Compare the citation of Tirsi which Cervantes inserts into the text with the following sonnet of Figueroa from his *Obras*:

¡Ah, de quan ricas esperanças vengo
al deseo más pobre i encogido
que jamás encerró pecho herido
de llaga tan mortal como yo tengo!
Ya de mi fee, ya de mi amor tan luengo,
que Phili sabe bien quan firme ha sido:
ya del fiero dolor con que he vivido,
i en quien la vida a mi pesar sostengo,
otro más dulce galardon no quiero,
sino que Phili un poco alce los ojos
a ver lo que mi rostro le figura:
que, si lo mira, i su color primero
no muda, i aun quiça moja sus ojos,
bien será más que piedra helada i dura.

(Ah, from what rich hopes I come/ to the desire most poor and hunched over/ that never did a wounded breast enclose/ such a mortal flame as I have!/ Already of my faith, already of my love so long,/ that Phili knows well how firm I have been:/ already of the fierce pain with which I have lived,/ and in whom the life with heavy heart I sustain,/ I don't want another sweeter prize,/ but that Phili raise her eyes a bit/ to see what my face figures [represents]:/ that, if she looks, and her first color/ doesnt' change, and even perhaps her eyes dampen,/ well she will be more than a frozen and hard stone.)[536]

It is crucial to our understanding of Cervantes' full engagement with this community that Figueroa did not publish his works during his lifetime. Cervantes could only have known Figueroa's poetry by way of friendship and manuscript circulation. Moreover, by the early 1580s Figueroa--like the shepherd, Tirsi--was the most renown living court-poet of Castile who had retired to Alcalá at the close of the previous decade. His position as wisened mentor to the younger poets of the *Galatea* is identical to the role which Figueroa held in Cervantes' literary milieu. The poet had been a figure of admiration in lyric communities since his return from Sienna and service in the palace during the reign of Isabel de Valois, as discussed in chapters 1 and 2.

Schevill and Bonilla also recovered the correlation between the "canción de Lauso" of the *Galatea* and Cervantes' *Epístola a Mateo Vázquez* composed just a few years earlier in Algiers.[537] Thanks to the recent

[536] (Cervantes, 1914, v.1, pp.246)
[537] See: (Cervantes, 1914, v.2, pp.35-40 and 285). "En cuanto a *Lauso*, el mismo Navarrete opina que es Luis Barahona de Soto; aunque consideramos mucho más probable la conjetura de José María Asensio,

work of Gónzalo Sánchez-Molero, the *Epístola a Mateo Vázquez* has now been investigated and identified as a definitively authentic work, (2010). This also facilitated the identification of Larsileo--the shepherd to whom the "canción de Lauso" was directed--with Mateo Vázquez.[538] The reading of several aspects of Lauso's character and poetry by Schevill and Bonilla, made, from the outset, the identification of Lauso and Cervantes fairly definitive. This marks one of Cervantes' several innovations in the form of the pastoral novel because, as I will discuss at length in chapter 6, Lauso is not the main character of the novel: the protagonist of the novel is Elicio. In the *Diana* of Montemayor and *El pastor de Fílida* of Gálvez de Montalvo, both authors encoded themselves as the protagonist of the beloved lady for whom the text was named. I will return to this, as Lauso's relationship to Galatea is one of the most complex aspects of the novel and it necessitates the close reading which I will provide in the following chapter.

The observations of Schevill and Bonilla found empirical proof in Astrana Marín's discovery, a few decades later, of manuscript 2,856 in the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid. On folio 144 several pastoral pseudonyms are identified with the historical poet behind the name. These include: Liñán [de Riaza]--*Risselo*, Lope de Vega--*Belardo*, Francisco de Figueroa--*Tirsi*, and Miguel de Cervantes--*Lausso* [sic], among others.[539] While some have expressed scepticism with the numerous documents printed by Astrana-Marín, I personally examined this manuscript in the fall of 2012: the image which Astrana-Marín provided is authentic and reliable. While the manuscript has been generally dated to the sixteenth-century, I believe this

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para quien *Lauso*, 'verdadero amigo de *Damón*,,, [sic] y amante de *Silena*, es el propio Cervantes," (Cervantes, 1914, v.1, pp.xxxi).

[538] Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga has also been proposed for the shepherd, Larsileo. While this suggestion has been scoffed at by many, Ercilla's active role in the writing of *aprobaciones* during these years does make the proposition more reasonable. Nonetheless, the prosifed description of Larsileo which follows the "canción de Lauso" seems irrefutably to refer to Vázquez. Even though Cervantes made several changes between the two lengthy poems (the first composed in Algiers and the second composed after his return to Madrid), they share a structural framework and several conceptual sentiments. The major difference between the two is that in the first Cervantes was still soliciting the court to intercede on his behalf, and in the latter he has left the court and taken up the world of pastoral poetry entirely. These changes and shifts--rather than eliminating the connection--reinforce the way in which Cervantes edited and employed the earlier work in order to lend further development to the character who bore his pseudonym.

[539] (Astrana Marín, 1949, v.2, pp.429-431). There are also a number of curious sixteenth-century cartoons on the same folio which include the depiction of stick-*caballeros* dueling. The elision of the pastoral and the *terreno* of the palace found its way into even the smallest margins of aesthetic forms.

dating can be further modifed to some time after 1588, and perhaps as late as the early seventeenth century. This is because Lope's first definitive use of the pseudonym, Belardo, did not occur until the *Arcadia* of 1598. And, as I will show, Cervantes employed different pseudonyms for both Liñán de Riaza and Lope de Vega in the *Galatea*. The frequent use of several different pseudonyms was customary for Lope, while it appears that both Figueroa and Cervantes were recognized by a single consistent name, Tirsi and Lauso, respectively. A close reading of the *Galatea* well illustrates the identification of Tirsi with Figueroa, Damón with Laynez and Cervantes was the Lauso.[540]

The explicit citation of various verses by Figueroa in the mouth of Tirsi throughout the novel have, as I have said, provided ready evidence for the former identification.[541] While the most sceptical critics have retained doubts over Laynez, the citation of Figueroa and Laynez together at the culmination of the *Canto de Calíope*, Teolinda's comments on the pair in Book 2, and the close freindship between these two poets, the last remaining figures of their generation, make the identification clear.[542] As I will demonstrate throughout chapter six, various instances in the novel between Lauso and Damón refer to Cervantes' relationship to Laynez.[543] The other two identifications which have been made and which also originate with the edition of Schevill and Bonilla are Meliso--Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, and Australiano--Don Juan de Austria.[544] These are both valid beyond question.[545] In 1919 Mendina attempted to identify Lauso with Ercilla; the article has been spurious and unconvincing since the outset. In 2010 Sánchez Portero attempted to identify the *desamorado* Lenio of the *Galatea* with Liñán de Riaza and the *desamorado* don Quijote of Avellaneda. This too is unfounded. As I will show, Lenio refers to López Maldonado--known misogynist and enemy of Love

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[540] See also: (Astrana-Marín, 1951, v.3, pp.179-184). See chapter 6 for a complete reading of the novel as *roman à clef*.

[541] (Cervantes, 1995, pp.70)

[542] "*Damon*, para Fernández de Navarrete, es Pedro Láinez," (Cervatnes, 1914, v.1, pp.xxxi). See chapter 6 for discussions of Teolinda's comments in Book 2 of the *Galatea*. See chapters 1 and 6 for discussions of Figueroa and Laynez.

[543] (Cervantes, 1961, v.2, pp.15)

[544] "el *famoso pastor Meliso*, cuyas obsequias se celebran en el libro VI, y del cual constan pormenores en la *Galatea* que permiten identificarle con Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, de tan alta representación en la historia política y literaria del Renacimiento español; el tercero y último es el pastor *Astraliano*, de quien no debe dudarse que sea el propio D. Juan de Austria," (Cervantes, 1914, v.1, pp.xxx).

[545] (Cervantes, 1995, pp.68-72)

since his time in the *Academia de los nocturnos* in Valencia and author of his own *Cancionero* of 1586 for which Cervantes would compose a laudatory sonnet, as well as author of a laudatory sonnet for Cervantes' *Galatea.*[546] xx Meanwhile, Liñan de Riaza does appear in the *Galatea*, but as Erastro, the rustic sidekick of the protagonist, Elicio, who is no other than Lope de Vega. Liñán de Riaza's cultivation as the bucolic or rustic pastoral amid this group of poets has been well documented by Antonio Carreño in his exemplary study of Lope's role during this period:

> Al mismo grupo [generación de 1580] pertenece Pedro Liñán de Riaza, nacido en Toledo y de padres aragoneses, muerto en 1607. A él le dedica Lope varios sonetos (*Rimas*, núms. 54 y 92) y lo elogia en *La Filomena.* La atribuye el *Ramillete de flores* el romance «Pues ya desprecias el Tajo» (*Fuentes*, V, Fol.5), y es posible, como bien afirma José F. Montesinos, que su mismo nombre «atrajera romances espúreos». Lo considera este crítico como el iniciador («el cultor») más eficaz «de cierto realismo bucólico». La aldea arcádica, convencional, idealizada, es sustituida por la rústica, atenuada, según la convención, por las circunstancias de la vida pastoril cotidiana. Vista desde la corte adquiere una perspectiva irónica, incluso burlesca. Y de Liñán procede esta modalidad rústica, dentro de la temática pastoril.
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> (To the same group [the generation of 1580] pertained Pedro Liñán de Riaza, born in Toledo and of Aragonese parents, [and] died in 1607. To him Lope dedicated various sonnets (*Rimas*, n.54 and 92) and he lauded him in *La Filomena.* It is attributed to him in the *romance* "atrajera romances espúreos". This critic considers him as the initator (cultivator) most efficacious "of a certain bucolic realism". The Arcadian village, conventional, idealized, is substituted for the rustic, attenuated, in accordance with the convention, for the circumstances of the quotidian pastoral life. Seen from the vantage point of the court it aquires an ironic perspective, including a burlesque one. And from Liñán it proceeds this rustic modality, within the pastoral themeatics.)[547]

I do not agree with Carreño's interpretive conclusion that a turn to the rustic implied an ironic turn. While Liñán--as with any of his lyric peers--was well capable of irony and humour, it is more likely that this corresponded, to take a term from Elias Rivers, to "the pastoral paradox of natural art".[548] Moreover, that is how Cervantes paints the rustic Erastro in the *Galatea*, as an example of rustic purity and bucolic simplicity. Ironic or sincere, it remains that within this literary milieu, it was Liñán de Riaza who was known for his rustic approach to the pastoral language. It is this distinct form of lyric subjectivity which Liñán de Riaza cultivated in his own works to which the character of Erastro most obviously refers. Moreover, the character of Lenio most closely relates to López Maldonado. Maldonado's poem, "Definición de Amor", which appeared in his *Cancionero* of 1586 makes evident his correspondence to the character of Lenio amdist this

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[546] On López Maldonado's idea of love, see: (Maldonado Cuns, 2004).

[547] (Carreño, 1979, pp.28, emphasis mine)

[548] "The fact that Renaissance art can compete in this way with nature itself poses once more the question of art's relation to nature. It is technical skill, the new artifice of perspective, which allows the artist to produce a natural-looking painting and even to improve upon the natural scene being imitated. Similarily it is Garcilaso's art which allows him to use the pastoral conventions in so apparently natural a way that we are convinced of his 'sincerety'; his poetry can thus compete with non-artistic human experiences of love and death and can claim a profounder and more lasting mode of existence," (Rivers, 2009, pp.97).

milieu.[xxi] Throughout the *Galatea* Cervantes took care to develop the lyric subjectivity in accordance with the distinct perspective of each shepherd and the corresonding lyric personality of the poet encoded under each pseudonym. Not only was this care crucial to this history of lyric culture, this close adherence to the portrayal of lyric subjectivity made possible the development of novelistic characters within the pages of the *Galatea.*

Liñán de Riaza's close friendship with Lope de Vega as exemplified in their epistolary correspondence and laudatory poems, further underscores this pair of lyrical *dos amigos* as the protagonists of the central plotline of the text.[549] As I said, the novel is careful to illustrate the various generations of poets who came together during the 1580s. Elicio and Erastro represent the youngest poets of this group. Lauso is a bit older than they are and all three shepherds are younger and work in admiration of the distinguished pair of elder shepherds, Tirsi and Damón. This is an exact transposition of the generational gaps between Lope (b.1562), Líñan de Riaza (b. ca.1558), Cervantes (b.1547), Laynez (b. ca.1538) and Figueroa (ca. 1530). Cervantes intentionally juxtaposes Lope and Liñán (Elicio and Erastro) as the youngest generation of lyric poets with Figueroa and Laynez (Tirsi and Damón) as the famous senior generation of poets; he, Lauso, just returned from abroad occupies a mediary and somewhat aloof position betwixt the two generations. Finally, from my close reading of the novel and the community which it reflected, I propose that the infamously discrete Galatea of the *Galatea* is Elena Osorio. The years (1582-1583) of the composition of the *Galatea* accord to the years of Lope's early courtship of Elena when Lope was around twenty to twenty-one years old. The identification of Lope de Vega and Elena Osorio with the protagonists of the *Galatea*--Elicio and Galatea--will no doubt meet with skepticism. This identification is further problematized by the fact Lope's own creative works concerning this affair were all composed after the suit for libel and his exile from Madrid in 1588, that is to say some three years after the publication of the *Galatea.* While Elicio's verses may--as in the case of Figueroa--have referred to early verses of Lope which had circulated amongst the members of this milieu circa 1582 and 1583, precise identification of these verses in Lope's oeuvre and comparison with those of Elicio has thus far proved impossible. Nonetheless, the character of Elicio clearly corresponds to a younger member of Cervantes' milieu during the earliest years of Lope's courtship of Osorio. Of particular

[549] For their letters, see: (Entrambasaguas, 1958).

note is the way in which Elicio's allusions to classical mythology mirror those which would mark most of Lope's corpus--particularly his pastoral works, such as the *Arcadia*, which also glosses the Osorio affair. A comparison, by way of example, of Lope's sonnet "41" and verses sung by Elicio in the *Galatea* strongly indicate that Lope--amongst the milieu of the early 1580s--was most likely the poet whom Cervantes encoded as the shepherd Elicio.[xxii] To these identifications I propose the additional identification of the widowed Orompo with the widowed Dr. Campuzano,[550] and, as is known, Siralvo was the pseudonym of Gálvez de Montalvo in his own *El pastor de Fílida* of 1582.

To review, the characters of the *Galatea* which I understand to be identifiable are:

Galatea--Elena Osorio (Madrid)
Elicio--Lope de Vega (Madrid)
Erastro--Liñán de Riaza (Madrid)
Lauso--Cervantes (Madrid)
Lenio--López Maldonado (Madrid)
Tirsi--Francisco de Figueroa (Alcalá)
Damón--Pedro Laynez (Alcalá)
Meliso--Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (deceased, celebrated in Madrid)
Siralvo--Gálvez de Montalvo (Madrid)
Australiano--Don Juan de Austria (deceased, referenced)
Orompo--Dr. Campuzano (Madrid)
Larsileo--Mateo Vázquez

I do not mean to suggest that these are the only historical personages in the novel. Throughout chapter 6 I will repeatedly demonstrate the ways in which Cervantes repeatedly calls attention to the historical circumstances of this aesthetic tapestry. However, these are the identifications which I have found to be most obvious given the historical data available to me at the present time. While it is wise to proceed with caution when approaching this novel as a *roman à clef*, the relatively concise circle which characterized this literary milieu does make identification of poets with their corresponding pseudonyms easier than may previously have been assumed. As Avalle-Arce wrote in 1988, "I think it would be worthwhile to reconstruct and study these provincial poetic cliques, because they might solve more than one small mystery of the times," (pp.8).

[550] Campuzano's poems which appear in López Maldonado's *Cancionero* readily discuss his amorous grief as a widower.

Indeed, Cervantes himself invited the reader to the same when he explicitly stated in the prologue to the *Galatea,*

> Mas advirtiendo--como en el discurso de la obra alguna vez se hace--que muchos de los disfrazados pastores della lo eran sólo en el hábito, queda llana esta objectión [sic].
>
> (But warning--as in the discourse of some work it sometimes is done--that many of the disguised shepherds of it were only so in habit, this objection is leveled.)[551]

It is not only a suggestion, but a critical obligation to acknowledge and grapple with this crucial aspect of the text and the relevance of this pronounced lyric subjectivity to the rise of the novel therein.

Something must also be said of the geography of the *Galatea* and this will further serve to illuminate the identifications which I have set forth. The central plot and narrative timeline of the *Galatea* takes place on the river Tajo, and includes visits from several foreign shepherds. The community which most directly corresponds to and is enmeshed with the community of the Tajo are those from the community of the Henares. The shepherd-poets of both rivers obviously pertain to the same milieu as they know one another by both personal frienship and literary fame. For example, Lauso (Tajo) is friends with Damón (Henares). Tirsi (Henares) is famous throughout. Tirsi and Damón (Henares) are privy to the courtship of Elicio and Galatea (Tajo). All the poets of the Tajo know of, or are friends with, Tirsi and Damón. That Figueroa, and perhaps Laynez, pertained to Alcalá (Henares) during the years of the 1580s is well known. Figueroa was married in 1575 and retired to Alcalá in 1579.[552] What is curious is why Cervantes chose to situate the poets of Madrid (himself, Lope, Liñán de Riaza, López Maldonado, etc.) on the banks of the Tajo. Moreover, while we have a general idea of which poets were writing during the 1580s, given the multitude of poets listed in the *Canto de Calíope* it has heretofore been difficult to arrive at any precise limitations for the possiblities of historical personages concealed behind these pastoral pseudonyms. A close inspection of the *Canto de Calíope* answers both of these queries.

A common device for referring to noble families in the pastoral genre was the use of the major rivers of Spain, as Gálvez de Montalvo readily employed in *El pastor de Fílida* in imitation of Garcilaso's same practice in his eclogues.[553] Cervantes transposed this practice to the organization of poets in the *Canto de*

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[551] (1961 v.1, pp.8).
[552] (Figueroa, 1989, pp.43)
[553] see chapter 2

Calíope, again using rivers, and this time for the purpose of grouping poets. The most obvious solution to the plurality of poets possibly encoded in the *Galatea* then would be to seek the names of the shepherds on the Tajo among those names of poets listed on the Tajo in the *Canto de Calíope*. Cervantes places twenty-eight poets on the Tajo in Caliope's song.[554] In this section of her song, Caliope directly addresses the shepherds of the Tajo (and Henares) present for Meliso's exequies in order to underscore that these are poets (shepherds) of their community:

> ¿Quién pudiera loaros, mis pastores,
> un pastor vuestro amado y conocido
> (Who could laud him, my shepherds,/ a shepherd [of] yours loved and known.)[555]

That is to say that these poets on the Tajo in the *Canto de Calíope* are the same shepherds of the Tajo encoded in the novel: in the novel they are given pastoral pseudonyms but in the *Canto de Calíope* they are referred to by their historical names. By way of example, Gálvez de Montalvo appears by name amongst the poets of the Tajo in the *Canto de Calíope*, but in the rest of the novel he is referred to by his pseudonym, Siralvo. Significantly, the shepherds whom Cervantes placed on the Tajo in the *Canto de Calíope* were not poets who pertained to the Tajo, that is these were not Toledan poets. (The Tajo typically denoted Toledo, as in Gálvez de Montalvo's novel.) But the poets of the Tajo in Caliope's song are the poets who shared Cervantes' poetic milieu in Madrid: they are Madrileños. Among them, Dr. Campuzano, the *maestro* Garray, Juan de Vergara, Diego Durán, López Maldonado, Luis Gálvez de Montalvo, Liñán de Riaza, Pedro de Padilla, Baptista de Vivar, and of course, Lope de Vega all pertained to the literary milieu of Madrid. In other words, Cervantes gave a pastoral disguise not only to his poet friends, but also to their community. The community of pastoral poets in Madrid was encoded in the *Galatea* as a community set on the banks of the river Tajo. These poets were amongst Cervantes' closest friends and authorial peers. I will return to the identifications I have drawn from these details. But first something must be said of the form of this community.

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[554] They are: Dr. Francisco Campuzano, Dr. Suarez de Sosa, Dr. Vaca, lic. Daza, Maestro Garay, Maestro de Córdoba, Dr. Francisco Díaz, Luján, Juan de Vergara, lic. Alonso de Morales, lic. Hernando Maldonado, Marco Antonio de la Vega, Diego de Mendoza, Diego Durán, López Maldonado, Luis [Gálvez] de Montalvo, Pedro de Liñán [Riaza], Alonso de Valdés, Pedro de Padilla, Gaspar Alfonso, Cristóbal de Mesa, Pedro de Ribera, Benito Caldera, Francisco de Guzmán, Capitán Salcedo, Baptista de Bivar, Balthasar de Toledo, and Lope de Vega.

[555](1961, v.2, pp.198)

III

Y aquel famoso Leon,
por sobre nombre el Hebreo,
dize, que Amor es desseo
de figura possesion.
Vna lenta calentura
que quema hasta el postrer huesso,
y que al mas maduro seso
condena a mayor locura.

(And that famous León,/ for nickname Hebreo,/ says, that Love is desire/ of ⌈a⌋ figure possession./ A slow fever/ that burns to the last bone,/ and that to the most mature brain/ it condemns to the greatest madness.)[556]

While Cervantes' participation in pastoral literature had begun and grown while he was a court-poet during the reign of Isabel de Valois (1560s), a courtier and soldier-poet in Italy (1569-1575), and a captive-poet in Algiers (1575-1580), upon his return to Madrid he would undertake his most extensive work in the genre of pastoral poetry. Between 1582 and the end of 1583 Cervantes completed his first novel, the *Galatea* which was finished by February 1st, 1584 when it received an *aprobación* from Lucas Gracían Dantisco.[557] In fact, the entirety of the composition of the *Galatea* can be limited to a space of two years: from 1582 to 1583. Following his return from Algiers in 1580, Cervantes was briefly in Madrid prior to pursuing the court in Portugal.[558] On May 21st, 1581, then in Thomar, Cervantes undertook a secret royal mission to Oran. This mission was brief and he arrived back in Lisbon towards the end of July 1581.[559] The exact date of Cervantes' return to Madrid from Portugal is unknown. However, his contribution of an encomiastic poem to Pedro de Padilla's *Romancero* (1583) indicates that he had retaken his role amongst the pastoral milieu in

[556] (López Maldonado, 1932, fasc. 1586, pp.1).
[557] Gracián most likely received the work some weeks prior in order to sign this document by the 1st of February, 1584.
[558] For the annexation of Portugal, see: (Bouza, 2011).
[559] (Astrana Marín, 1951, v.3, pp.143-151)

Madrid in time for the September 22nd, 1582 *privilegio* of this work.[560] Moreover, in 1954 Amezúa y Mayo published his discovery of a letter written by Cervantes on February 17th, 1582 stating that he was "criando a Galatea" which indicates that he may have rejoined these circles of poets as early as late-1581 following his mission to Oran. It is clear that sometime in the first months of 1582, Cervantes had retaken his role as one of the leading lyric authors in Madrid and begun to compose his first full-length pastoral work.[561] This reunion with his old fold of shepherd-poets brought Cervantes into contact with the younger generation which included Lope de Vega and Liñán de Riaza. As Carreño writes of Lope, "Entre 1581 y 1582, de vuelta de la universidad, empieza Lope su vida literaria en la corte," (Between 1581 and 1582, back from the university, Lope began his literary life in the court," (1979, pp.69).[562] The inclusion of a laudatory poem by Lope de Vega in López Maldonado's *Cancionero* (1586) is indicative of the character of Lope's versified subjectivity at this time.[xxiii] Cervantes would likely have heard also of the young Luis de Góngora who included a laudatory poem in Caldera's translation of *Los Lusiadas* (1580). It is utterly certain, that the completion--and I will argue, the conceptualization, drafting, and completion--of the *Galatea* took place in this narrow window of time which coincided with Lope's earliest courtship of Elena Osorio in 1582 and 1583. (The novel itself takes place over the course of eight days.)

The thorough knowledge of his own contemporary literary climate and his friendships with the most important poets writing in these circles, indicate that Cervantes' career as a poet, begun already in the court in 1567, was the central focus of Cervantes' time following his return to Madrid.[563] This is reflected in the character who bares his pseudonym--Lauso--who has likewise given up courtly and military endeavors in order to pursue the rustic life of pastoral poetry.[564] The autobiographical "canción de Lauso" is explicit in

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[560] I have been unable to examine either in print or digital form the 1583 *Romancero* of Pedro de Padilla.
[561] (Amezúa y Mayo, 1954)
[562] While Carreño dates the Osorio affair to 1583, the dates are uncertain and it could have begun as early as 1580 or anytime in the first years of that decade. Carreño also notes that in 1587 Lope de Vega translated Claudiano's *De raptu Proserpinae* from the Latin and dedicated it to Ascanio Colonna. This would have been shortly before Colonna's departure from Madrid for Rome.
[563] This period also pertains to early writing for the *corrales*. Of this period, the works, *La Numancia*, the *Trato de Argel* and the attributed, *Jerusalén* remain.
[564] "Cuán bien se conforma con tu opinión, Darinto--dijo Damón--, la de un pastor amigo mío que Lauso se llama, el cual, después de haber gastado algunos años en cortesanos ejercicios, y algunos otros en los trabajosos del duro Marte, al fin se ha reducido a la pobreza de nuestra rústica vida, y antes que a ella

this regard.[xxiv] In many ways the generation of poets whom Cervantes had left behind in Madrid in 1568 was still intact. Francisco de Figueroa and Pedro Laynez (Tirsi and Damón) remained the two eldest and most respected living models for the younger generation of poets coming to formation beyond the walls of the Alcázar in the streets of Madrid. Of the younger poets whose work had first begun to appear in the 1560s: Luis Gálvez de Montalvo and Gómez de Tapia, both saw their lyric work printed during the first years of the 1580s.[565] Gálvez de Montalvo would also contribute a laudatory sonnet in the frontmatter of the *Galatea*. To this generation of the 1560s--Figueroa, Laynez, Gálvez de Montalvo, Cervantes, Gómez de Tapia, Juan Rufo Guitiérrez--a new generation formed amongst them which included Pedro de Padilla, Gabriel López Maldonado (Lenio), Luis Vargas Manrique, the Dr. Campuzano (Orompo), the *maestro* Garray, Diego Durán, Liñán de Riaza (Erastro) and Lope de Vega (Elicio)--just twenty years old in 1582.

In the years following the publication of the *Galatea* (1585) the Italian patron, Ascanio Colonna, would play a significant role as patron and friend to a handful of these urbanite poets writing in Madrid. However, when the *Galatea* was completed at the end of 1583, Gálvez de Montalvo had only just come into Ascanio's service, and Ascanio himself did not arrive in Alcalá until the early weeks of January 1584, which is to say once the *Galatea* had already been completed and submitted for review.[566] The dedication of the *Galatea* to Ascanio Colonna could not have been written prior to August 1st, 1584, more than six months after completion of the novel. In the dedication, Cervantes laments the death of Ascanio's father, Marco Antonio on August 1st of that year. I make a point of this because Marín Cepeda, in her study of Ascanio's correspondence with Spanish poets, anachronistically links Ascanio's status as a religious figure to the cosmos of the *Galatea*, again mistaking clerical power with religious devotion, and literary patronage with

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viniese, mostró desearlo mucho, como parece por una canción que compuso y envió al famoso Larsileo, que en los negocios de la corte tiene larga y ejercitada experiencia," (Cervantes, 1961, v.2, pp.34).

[565] As discussed in chapters one and two, Gómez de Tapia's eclogue on festivities in Aranjuez for the birth of Isabel's daughter, Isabel Clara Eugenia (1566) appeared in Gonzalo de Argote's *Libro de la montería* (1580). His translation of Camoes also appeared that year, dedicated to Ascanio Colonna. Gálvez de Montalvo's pastoral novel, *El pastor de Fílida*, which encoded the earliest years of Isabel de Valois's court appeared in 1582. On the translations of Camoes, see: (Alonso, 1974).

[566] Gálvez de Montalvo's correspondence with Ascanio on June 6th, 1584. (Marín Cepeda, 2015, pp.200-207)

intellectual (particularly aesthetic) history or discourse.[567] As I have shown in my 2013 article on this community[568], by the end of the 1570s Ascanio had become known as a man of letters and a literary patron. However, to imagine that his clerical position--he would not receive the Cardinalship until after the publication of the *Galatea*--inform the cosmos of Cervantes' literary aesthetics is an anachronistic mistake.[569]

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[567] "Cuatro años más tarde, *La Galatea* cervantina aglutina en el mismo contexto alcalaíno a Gálvez, don Luis de Vargas, López Maldonado, Colonna y el resto de escritores que se ocultan bajo el disfraz de pastores," (Marín Cepeda, 2015, pp.186). While Marín Cepeda's study does provide valuable documentation of Ascanio's correspondence with literary and political Spanish gentlemen, it neither directly pertains to the making of the *Galatea* nor contributes anything new to the study of this work. In her study I have found several of the anachronisms I have tried to avoid passed off as historical fact. Ultimately, this study misguides readers as to the origins, content and significance of the *Galatea*. Nonetheless, Marín Cepeda makes a valuable contribution to studies of patronage in Spain, of which there is great need.

While Marín Cepeda has published her archival findings for some years, she had failed to connect these manuscript selections with the larger picture of the 1580s. Marín Cepeda quickly glosses and dismisses Cervantes' period in the court of Isabel de Valois, Italy and Algiers and names the decade of the 1580s as the author's beginnings. This, as chapters one and two of this dissertation have demonstrated, is wholly inaccurate. Marín Cepeda and I have both been working with the same font of information drawn from the correspondence files of Ascanio Colonna held in the Colonna family archive, and her recent study does much to bring these documents into relation to the third phase of Cervantes' literary development. However, she incorrectly signals this as a first and singular moment rather than a piece of a larger and more complex development. She quickly glosses and dismisses Cervantes' period in the court of Isabel de Valois, Italy and Algiers and names the decade of the 1580s as the author's beginnings. I am grateful to her study because it has allowed me to pay greater attention to the literature of the period, as many of the letters which I have been working with from the Ascanio correspondence are now available in print. Ascanio Colonna's correspondence extends far beyond the circles of poets and the period in question. Beginning in the late 1570s and concluding with his death in 1608, the political, literary, artistic, and clerical significance of this correspondence warrant full transcription and a lengthy monograph which Marín Cepeda may provide in her future work. Nonetheless, Marín Cepeda's study does not undertake to illuminate this almost entirely overlooked period which gave birth to the literary works of Cervantes, Lope de Vega, Góngora and many others. Because the Ascanio correspondence is posterior to the composition of the *Galatea*, her study ignores the character of this literary work and no additional information is added to our understanding of the *Galatea* or the works of Cervantes' peers.

[568] (Ponce-Hegenauer, 2013)

[569] "En esta línea, el posicionamiento literario y social del autor del *Quijote* ha sido puesto en relación desde hace una década con la figura de Mateo Vázquez, secratario de Felipe II. De la misma manera, los inicios poéticos de un joven Miguel en el entorno de Juan López de Hoyos, protegido por Diego de Espinosa--patrón de Vázquez--, se han relacionado con las tentativas del alcalaíno por congraciarse con las hechuras del cardenal Espinosa, antes y después de su participación en Lepanto. Todo parece indicar que, a pesar de los primeros tanteos cervantinos en unos años en los que el panorama político era bien distinto a aquel que encontró a su regreso de Argel y, a pesar de los posteriores intentos por lograr

Moreover, Ascanio did not yet pertain to the lyric communities of Madrid which Cervantes encoded in the *Galatea* when the novel was written, nor does he appear in pseudonymic fashion anywhere in the novel.[570] While, as I have stated in previous articles, Ascanio's pertinence to the *Academia Imitatoria* during the middle years of the 1580s would have a profound organizational effect on the poets in Madrid as they endeavored to develop their own literary academies on par with those of Italy, Ascanio's pertinence to the conceptualization, drafting and completion of the *Galatea* is altogether false.[571] As I have stated in my pervious articles, Cervantes' dedication of the *Galatea* to Ascanio does indeed reveal a mindset--a mindset which was shared by the majority of his peers--which still looked toward Italy as a beacon of literary taste and style: in particular Petrarch and Ariosto were held up as exemplars to be bested by the poets of this generation.[572] However, the

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desde el cautiverio el favor del todopoderoso secretario como parece indicar la recuperada *Epístola a Mateo Vázquez*, Cervantes nunca llegó a sentirse recompensado en modo alguno por Vázquez y que son otras amistades más estrechas y constantes las que determinan la posición del autor del *Quijote* en el mapa político y literario de su tiempo. La reconstrucción del círculo cervantino mediante nueva documentación apunta, desde sus inicios, precisamente en la dirección opuesta, es decir, a personalidades muy vinculadas a la reforma religiosa y al grupo papista, y que en ningún caso son excluyentes de los acercamientos puntuales y necesarios al grupo encabezado por el todopoderoso Vázquez," (Marín Cepeda, 2015, pp.15-16).

[570] At the outset of my research I began with the same proposition as Marín Cepeda, namely that Ascanio's correspondence files would reveal--by way of his patronage--the makings of the *Galatea* in its historical context. After much investigation and research, simply put: they do not. The correspondence with Spanish poets pertinent to Cervantes begins just after the completion of the *Galatea*. While this correspondence is informative, useful and a source which I expect to use in future articles, it is not immediately relevant to the content of this dissertation nor to the literary history which I investigate.

[571] (Ponce-Hegenauer, 2013)

[572] (Ponce-Hegenauer, 2011, pp.719 and n.87), and, "As I have argued elsewhere, Cervantes's decision to dedicate his debut in prose fiction to an Italian nobleman indicates a perspective still turned toward Italy: he mentions the recent death of Marco Antonio, his own service under Marco Antonio at the Battle of Lepanto, and his service to the Cardinal Giulio Acquaviva in Rome. This pronounced interest in aquiring a patron with Italian tastes was not, however, particular to Cervantes," (Ponce, 2013, pp.171).

In 1585--the same year as the publication of the *Galatea*--Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga wrote the *aprobación* for the Madrid printing of Diego Vázquez de Contrera's prose translation of the *Orlando Furioso*. He included and unprecedented, to my knowledge, sonnet with his *aprobación*, (see: Aristo, Madrid: Francisco Sánchez, 1585, unpaginated). Likewise, the sonnet to the Ebro river by Duarte Gómez included in the frontmatter to the 1567 translation of Petrarch's *Cancionero* by Salusque Lusitano serves as a ready indication of the poet's influence on pastoral literature in sixteenth-century Spain. Or as Alonso de Ulloa writes in the prologue, "Porque anfi como el que quiere hazer una Cancion o Mandrial en Tofcano, abre el Petrarca, y efcoge aquella, o aquel que mas le agrada, y a fu femejanca,

secrets of the *Galatea* anticipate this, to modify a phrase from Harry Sieber, 'magnificent font of literary patronage', and Ascanio's later significance should not be conflated with the cosmopolitan community which the *Galatea* immortalized.[573]

In the absence of a centralized font of literary patronage such as that of Isabel de Valois, Ascanio Colonna or later the III Duke of Lerma, these urban poets often congregated independently of a figurehead--as is clear in the community depicted in the *Galatea*.[574] Many of the poets party to the early literary salons, academies and *corrales* of Madrid had written as soldier-poets (Laynez, Rufo, Gálvez de Montalvo, Cervantes), courtier-poets (Laynez, Figueroa, Cervantes, Gálvez de Montalvo, the Argensola brothers), shepherd-poets (Laynez, Figueroa, Cervantes) and as captive-poets (Cervantes), but the group which forged

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en quanto a los verfos, y a la orden, compone la fuya, lo puedan los nueftros Efpanoles hazer, aunque tengan las obras de Bofcan, de Garcilaffo de la Vega, de Don Diego de Mendoça, de Iorge de Montemayor y de otros Autores, que con much grauedad y faber, han efcrito en efta fuerte de verfo, a imitacion del Petrarca," (Venice: 1567, unpaginated).

[573] "Royal patronage, which had been controlled and distributed, carefully and infrequently, by the "prudent" king, as Philip II had been known to his contemporaries, now fell into the hands of the new king's favorite. During his *privanza*, Lerma would function as a "canal" for royal favors, according to the patronage metaphor used by Francisco Fernández de Caso, one of Lerma's personal chroniclers: La satisfación y consuelo que ha tenido siempre esta Monarquía Católica con la elección que el santo zelo de Su Magestad hizo (desde el primer día que con tan feliz pie entró a governarla) en el Exc⁅elentísi⁆mo Duque de Lerma, para el despacho y distribución de las cosas, *haziéndole como un canal*, por cuyo medio se comunicasse a todos el *caudal de la fuente de sus magnificencias*, llegará a ser justamente encarecido, quando llegare a conocerse," (Sieber, 1998, pp.95).

[574] In my previous article, "A Novel Community: Pastoral Pseudonyms, *La Galatea*, and the *Academia Imitatoria* in Madrid, 1585", I put forth a selection of my findings drawn from my research in the Archivio Colonna (Biblioteca Sancta Scolastica, Subiaco, Italy), including the previously unedited and unknown manuscript sonnet by Luis Gálvez de Montalvo, "No son guiadas tus saetas de arte".[574] In my article I triangulated publications such as the reprinting of Jerónimo de Urrea's translation of Ariosto, (1577) and Gómez de Tapia's translation of *Los Lusíadas* (1580), both of which were dedicated to Ascanio Colonna, with printings in which Gálvez de Montalvo (his secretary) had participated, such as Caldera's translation of *Os Lusiadas* (1580) and Cervantes' *Galatea* (1585). Through citations not only of Gálvez de Montalvo, but also of Juan Rufo, taken from Ascanio's correspondence, I demonstrated the strong likelihood that Ascanio Colonna was indeed the anonymous president of the *Academia Imitatoria*, the first known literary academy to have functioned in Madrid, around the middle years of the 1580s. I signaled the necessity of a literary historical study of this revolutionary decade, which preceded the first part of the *Quijote* (1605), Lope de Vega's *Arte nuevo* (1609), and Góngora's *Soledades* (1613) by roughly thirty years, heretofore ignored in constructions of the Spanish Golden Age and the Baroque.

the core of Cervantes' literary milieu upon his return to Spain were the first of decidedly urbanite-poets, at times tied to individual nobleman and patrons, but no longer united under the cultural rubric of palace life, as in the exemplary case of Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (Meliso) whose memory the shepherds of the *Galatea* celebrate in Book 6. Pedro de Padilla, Gabriel López Maldonado, Lope de Vega, Diego Durán, Dr. Francisco Campuzano, Pedro Liñán de Riaza and Luis de Vargas Manrique represented the conglomeration of a new type of poet-lover, the modern-poet, during the explosion of the emerging book market in Madrid. To the courtly experiences of the 1560s which had inspired Pedro Laynez, Francisco de Figueroa, Gálvez de Montalvo and Miguel de Cervantes, they lent a new ingenious independence to the way in which lyric verse was composed and published.[575] While many of these poets continued to be employed within the court in various administrative or *escribano* duties, their works and their lives no longer pertained to palace life as in the decade of the 1560s under Isabel de Valois and the 1570s under Ann of Austria.[576] Even the aging courtier, Pedro Laynez, assumed the administrative duty of overseeing printing *aprobaciones*, the days of his service in the palace to Prince Carlos more than a decade in the past.[577]

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[575] See chapters 1 and 2 for the 1560s.

[576] For example, in the *licencia* for the 1582 printing of Pedro de Padilla's *Églogas pastoriles*, Antonio de Erasso addressed Padilla as "estante en nuestra Corte" (Padilla, 2010, pp.47), a particularly interesting denomination considering that the court was at that time in Lisbon following the annexation of Portugal, "Lisboa a 18 del mes de nouiembre Año de 1581," (*Ibid*). From the same frontmatter, it is clear that around the same time Pedro Laynez was no longer with the court, but had written the *aprobación* rather from Madrid, "Madrid Iueues a dos de Nouiembre de 1581," (*Ibid*, pp.48). Laynez characterized the work as follows: "el estilo es dulce, fácil, y propio, la inuención nueua, apazilbe y muy ingeniosa, y aunque en el discurso de la obra ay algunos lugares ymitados y traduzidos, es con tanta facilidad y dulçura, que ygualan a sus primeros Auctores...," (*Ibid*). By mid-March Padilla was in Seville as evident in the dedication to Ana de Mendoza, Duchess of Medina de Rioseco who he was presuambly in the service of, "De Seuilla. 18 de março de 1582. ... Las Excell. manos de v. Excellencia besa su seruidor y criado. Pedro de Padilla," (*Ibid*, pp.49). Liñán de Riaza worked as the secretary to the Marquis of Camarasa, (Liñán de Riaza, 1876, pp.51). For a thorough historical study of the occupation of *escribano* amongst poets, see: (Marín Cepeda, 2015, chapter 4, pp.171-234).

[577] See chapter 1 of this dissertation. Laynez wrote a number of *aprobaciones*, including those written for, (1) Pedro de Padilla's *Églogas pastoriles* (Seville: 1582); (2) Gómez de Luque's *Celidón de Iberia* (Alcalá: 1583); (3) Juan Rufo Gutiérrez's *La Austriada* (Alcalá, 1585); and Gregorio Silvestre's posthumous *Obras* (Granada: 1582). He also wrote the *censura* for Gálvez de Montalvo's pastoral novel, *El pastor de Fílida* (Madrid: 1582). As Laynez wrote in the *aprobación* for *El pastor de Fílida*, "me parece no sólo digno de salir a luz, en co⁅n⁆formidad de la pretensión de su autor, más aún, que merece por su pureza, propiedad, facilidad y dulçura, por la nouedad de las inue⁅n⁆ciones, por la orden y disposición con que

Trained on the battlefield, in the royal palaces, noble estates, foreign shackles, university towns along the Henares and Tormes rivers, and often of more obscure title and lineage, these urban-poets of Madrid wrote with an autonomy unprecedented in Iberian literary history and with an expressed interest--more in immortal fame, than in economic gain--in the emerging book market.[578] More than any of their Castilian exemplars, this generation pursued and cultivated a practice of *aesthetic idealism* which--while fostered by the growing independence of the book market--originated in their own sense of lyric subjectivity as drawn from the *cosmos of erotic mysticism.* Over the course of the previous decades, the practice of continously exploring and authoring the soul in amorous experience gave to this literary milieu a distinct sense of their own subjectivity in the world. This view of the author as a creative divinity--rather than as an encomiastic servant--is readily apparent in the laudatory sonnets which these poets composed for one another for the printing of thier works. Exemplary in this regard are the latin verses which *fray* Antonio Suarez wrote for the publication of Pedro de Padilla's *Thesoro de varias poesías* in 1580:

> Æonides muse te lactauere sub antro
> Padilla et artes te docuere suas,
> voce quod Anphion, Orpheus fide, pectine Arion
> hoc tu, Padilla, carmine et ore facis
> quod si clara tonet facundia, non modo siluas,
> non freta, non verbis saxa, sed astra moues.
> Ore medusa viros mutauit carmine circes,
> haec pecos, huc lapides, tu facis esse Deos.

(The Aonides Muses nurtured you in a cave,/ Padilla, and taught you their arts./ What Amphion does with his voice, Orpheus with his lyre and Arion with his plectrum,/ You, Padilla, do with your own mouth and poetry,/ ss when your brilliant eloquence resounds, with your words you move not only the forests,/ the seas, the rocks, but even the stars./Medusa with ⌈her⌉ glance, Circes with ⌈her⌉ chant turned men/The latter into cattle, the former into stones, you turn them into gods.)[579]

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las trata, ser estimado por vno de los más acetos que hasta agora en este género han salido a juyzio del mu⌈n⌉do," (Laynez, 1951, v.2, pp.354).

[578] For a clear index of the exponential increase in publications of imaginative literature between the founding of Madrid as a captial city in 1561 and the number of lyric publications by 1590, refer to Pérez Pastor's *Bibliografía madrileña*, (1891, v.1). See also: (Clemente San Román, 1998, v.1) For literacy in early-modern Spain, see: (Dadson, 2014). For Lope de Vega's relationship to literary markets, see: (Gilbert-Santamaría, 2005).

It is important to remember that in Lope's *Proceso* for libel in 1587 and 1588, the author was reluctant to say that he wrote *comedias* for money. It seems clear that the notion of writing and publishing for econcomic gain was still distasteful amongst writers of the 1580s.

[579] (Padilla, 2008, pp.43). I wish to express my gratitude to Francesco Dellaruso for his assistance in the translation of this sonnet.

Most of these poets brought a cosmopolitan experience to the capital--which had once been little more than a village and a court--drawn from travels throughout Spain and abroad: Italy, France, England and the Mediterranean. López Maldonado's time in the *Academia de los Nocturnos* in Valencia is indicative of this experience.[580]

Moreover, Madrid itself had only existed as a capital city since Philip II's transposition of the court in 1561, just six years prior to Cervantes' earliest work as a poet. While only six books are known to have been printed between 1561 and 1566, by 1579 as many as sixteen volumes appeared in a single year. Over the course of the decade of the 1580s as many as one hundred and sixty-eight volumes would appear in Madrid alone.[581] While several of these volumes included royal provisions, juridical and courtly decrees and religious volumes, the market was also flooded with volumes of poetry, annotations, translations and new works of medicine and philosophy. And this is to speak only of those volumes printed in Madrid. It is well known that volumes from Alcalá, Salamanca, Seville, Valencia, Ambers, Venice (a key Spanish printing center) and many other cities were in wide circulation. In 1580 a kaleidoscope of lyric publications exploded into the Castilian book market. For the first time in Spanish literary history, living authors writing in Castilian pursued the art of lyric verse and prose in a public format. Sánchez de Lima's *El arte poética en romance castellano* (Alcalá: Juan Iñiguez de Lequerica, 1580), Pedro de Padilla's *Thesoro de varias poesías* (Madrid: 1580), Fernando de Herrera's *Anotaciones a la poesía de Garcilaso* (Seville: Alonso de la Barrera, 1580), Caldera's translation of *Os Lusiadas* (Alcalá: Juan Gracián,1580), and Gómez de Tapia's translation of *Os Lusiadas* (Salamanca: Joan Perier 1580) all appeared within a single year. The competing annotations and commentaries on Garcilaso de la Vega authored by El Brocense and Herrera now brought the tradition of Castilian poetry into full focus and reinforced the concept of immortality as something which might be achieved amongst those poets of the 1580s fully entrenched in the *aesthetic idealism* of their lyric endeavors.[582] Gabriel de Arriaga's tercets for the front matter of Pedro de Padilla's *Églogas pastoriles* (1582) well illustrates

[580] (Maldonado Cuns, 2004) and (Werner, 2011)
[581] (See: Pérez Pastor, 2000, v.1, pp.1-165)
[582] See Inorio Pepe and José María Reyes introduction to: (Herrera, 2001).

this changing emphasis from the *erotic mysticism* of the divine beloved to the *aesthetic idealism* of the divine *ingenio*, both lady and poet depended upon one another in the quest for immortality:

Damas que soys del mundo vn paraíso,
sabroso, y regalado acogimiento,
de Amor dulçura, discreción, y auiso
do hallen los discretos su contento
porque en effecto soys gloria cifrada
do hazen las virtudes aposento.
Por vosotras la fama es leuantada
de los que sabiamente os an amado
y por mil siglos viue eternizada.
Porque los raros versos que á cantado
Petrarca, eternizando su memoria
el ser hermosa Laura lo á causado.
Y al nombre de cien mil, que en larga historia
los ponen entre Dioses inmortales
quién si no las hermosas dieron gloria.
Y a Padilla, que va dando señales
de dexarlos a todos por el suelo,
mostrando fuerças más que naturales,
quién pensáys que le haze dar tal buelo
si no Siluia, vna dama más hermosa
en la tierra, que Venus en el Cielo.
Gallarda Siluia, Siluia venturosa,
do se quiso esmerar la alma natura
haziendo vna riqueza milagrosa
dándote quanto pudo en hermosura
y dándote también quien la cantasse
en dulce y soberana compostura.
Y esto fue por que el Mundo celebrasse
tu perfectión y nombre tan glorioso,
y que la que más vale te inuidiasse
pues tienes prisionero al más famoso
discípulo que tiene el Dios Apolo,
y por ser tuyo, el hombre más dichoso
que se halla del vno al otro Polo.

(Ladies who are of the world a paradise,/ tasty and delicate lodging,/ of sweet Love, discretion and advisement/ where the discrete ones find contentment/ because in effect you are codified glory/ which the virtues make their bedroom./ For you the fame is raised/ of those who wisely loved you/ and for centuries live made eternal./Because the rare verses that have been sung/ by Petrarch, made his memory eternal/ the beautiful being Laura has caused this./And to the name

> of a hundred thousand, that in long history they put them among immortal gods/ who if not the beautiful ones gave them glory./And to Padilla, who goes giving signs/ to leave all of them behind in the dirt,/ showing supernatural forces,/who would think what makes you take this flight/ if it is not Silvia, a lady more beautiful/ on earth than Venus in the Heaven./ Gallant Silvia, fortunate Silvia,/ where Nature wanted to take great pains with its soul/ making a miraculous treasure/ giving you as much as it could in beauty/ and giving you also someone to sing of you/ in sweet and sovereign writing./ And this was why the World celebrates/ your perfection and such glorious name,/ and that she most worthy envies you/ well you have as your prisoner the most famous/ disciple of the God Apollo,/ and for being yours, the most fortunate man, /who is found from one to the other Pole.)[583]

Over the course of the decade pastoral novels and poetry would flood an emerging book market which had seen virtually no prior precedent for the publication of imaginative verse and prose by living authors within their own communities and in explicit pursuit of lasting renown and fame. This was only forty-years since the posthumous publication of the works of Garcilaso and Boscán.[584] Laynez and Figueroa's works remained in manuscript and would not be published until after their deaths.[585] In the case of Laynez, his works would not appear in print until the twentieth century. Only the Portuguese poet and novelist, Montemayor had dared to publish his lyric verse during his lifetime and, even then, he had done so abroad in Antwerp and Valencia. While Gálvez de Montalvo's pastoral novel, *El pastor de Fílida*, encoded the earliest years of Isabel's reign (roughly 1560-1563, see chapters 1 and 2), he did not actually endeavor to have the work printed until 1582.[586] The flowering of publications in the 1580s by the author's themselves in the same cities where they lived and wrote--and adorned with the laudatory verses, and preliminary comments of their friends-- indicates the first shift in an entirely new relationship between the author, his works and the reading public: *aesthetic idealism*.[xxv] Moreover, this view of authorship was one which Cervantes had already encountered in his captive friend, the Sicilian poet, Antonio Veneziano.[587] These early kernels of authorial ambition would have found a ready home in the ambitions of the lyric community in Madrid to which Cervantes returned and joined in 1582. Because the poet now referred directly to his own

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[583] (Padilla, 2010, pp.51)

[584] These two were readily held up as exemplars for the aimes of *aesthetic idealism* as in evident in López Maldonado's prologue to his 1586 *Cancionero*: "Y fi me dixeren que no hago cofa nueua, porque Garcilafo, aquien yo pongo por exemplo defta poefia lo hizo, y Bofcan, y otros muchos qu juntaró eftas tres diferencias de verfo en fus obras, digo a efto que tanto es en mi mas loable quanto ha fido hecho antes por mas entre los celebrados poetas," (1932, fasc. 1586, pp. unpaginated).

[585] As I have said, Laynez's death in 1584 took Cervantes to Esquivias in an effort to oversee the printing of Laynez's works; the two were close friends. There is no evidence that the intent was successful.

[586] See chapter 1 of this dissertation.

[587] see chapter 4

milieu and the printers of that city, the role of the author's own *ingenio* and the treatment of his own lyric subjectivity took an largely unprecedented role in aesthetic discourse at this time.[588]

This new independence, moreover, gave new poetic-license to those engaged in the enterprise of lyric verse. The increasing seriousness of this thinking on the relationship between *poetry* and *history* would have a direct effect on the formulation of Alonso Quijano who readily imagines the telling of his history and even seeks to modify that history once it appears in print in the second part. The formulation of a particular aesthetic or aesthetics directly related to lyric subjectivity became an explicit aspect of this milieu during the decade of the 1580s.[xxvi] The culmination of this new aesthetic consciousness is apparent in two of the earliest collections of *romanceros* which appeared at the close of the decade. The *Cuadernos de varios romances, los más modernos que hasta hoy se han cantado* (Valladolid, 1589) and the *Flor de varios romances nuevos y canciones ahora nuevamente recopilados por varios autores* (1st Part, Huesca, 1589) indicated the culmination of a decade during which authors had begun to view themselves as distinct from their literary antecedents--even those as near as Montemayor, Figueroa and Laynez.[589] They saw themselves and their arts as *modernos*, makers of a new and unprecedented lyric art.[590] Moreover, they staked their own immortality on this *ingenious* aptitude for invention, an ambition which Cervantes would maintain throughout the first decades of the seventeenth

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[588] As Maldonado writes in the prologue to his Cancionero: "Porque a mi me estuviera bien presentar novedades, donde ay tantos que sepan examinar lo que sabe mas a la antiguedad, porque esso tienen por mejor, ni osara yo a ventura fiar mis trabajos de solo el gusto del mundo, sin tener con quien escusarlos, quando no parecieran tales como se desea," (1932, unpaginated).

[589] (Sánchez Alvarez, 1982)

[590] "En su concepto dinámico, como término *ad quem*, usamos aquí el concepto generación, conscientes de que la simple coetaneidad no basta para que un conjunto de individuos constituyan una generación. Es imprescindible un cierto contacto entre ellos, una comunidad de experiencias vividas en grupo. Y ambas premisas se dan a partir de 1580, en que varios núcleos de poetas jóvenes (conjunción de elementos artísticos y sociales), empiezan a difundir un nuevo romance lírico y cantado: el llamado romance nuevo. Con este grupo se inicia en la literatura española el siglo XVII. La fecha divisoria que hemos señalado (1580) como puente de enlace entre un Romancero (viejo) y otro (el nuevo), nos vale, a su vez, por su utilidad pedagógica, pues históricamente, sería necesario fijar ciertas matizaciones y deslindes: «hilar más fino» al uso de los viejos maestros. Porque es a partir de 1589, exactamente, cuando series de romancerillos de pocas hojas, con el común rótulo de *Cuadernos de varios romances, los más modernos que hasta hoy se han cantado*, van saliendo de las prensas de Valencia," (Carreño, 1979, pp.25-26).

Don Quijote's reliance on the *romance* versions of the various histories of knights errant (see, for example: I: 13)--in addition to Menéndez Pidal's discovery of the *romance* origins of the story--underscores Cervantes' relationship to the poetry behind these fictions or histories.

century as in the prologue to the *Novelas ejemplares*[591]. There is no doubt that is was this mindset which spurred on the invention of the novel, the *comedia*, and *culturanismo* poetry in the works of Cervantes, Lope de Vega and Góngora, respectively. Cervantes' links to the period of the 1560s, 1570s and 1580s demonstrates that works in lyric verse and prose were readily contingent upon a synthesis of *history* and *poetry* distinguished only by way of a pastoral veil cast between them for the sake of discretion.[592] This mimetic relationship has been formulated in many ways: art/life, history/poetry, truth/poetry, history/fiction, substance/form, etc. My use of the word *poetry* (*poesis)* is synonymous with the *creating* of aesthetic forms out of historical experience by way of the poet's lyric subjectivity.

This milieu differed from prior generations of poet-lovers, and from their own prior literary endeavors, through the close relationships which they cultivated with the burgeoning proto-capitalist book market then flowering in Madrid, Alcalá and Salamanca. Drawing on the tropes, lexicons and traditions of ancient and Renaissance predecessors, the urban-poets rendered the pastoral the sole literary landscape which they pursued both on the page and in their imaginative literary salons. More so than any previous generation, the urban-poets came about once a sufficient modern literary canon had been established in Castilian. Their sense of debt and responsibility to their national language was more marked than in previous generations of Golden Age poets. The result was a flood (relative to previous generations) of lyric publications in both lyric-verse and lyric prose. This included a number of compilations and collections of lyrics by whole groups of poets, frequently in response to one another, such as Lope Maldonado's *Cancionero* of 1586. In contrast to the *Cancionero General* of 1511 or the 1577 Mexican manuscript, *Flor de baria poesía*, the collections produced by Madrid's urban-poets pertained to small, friendly, at times inter-urban, groups of

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[591] "que yo soy el primero que he novelado en lengua castellana," (Cervantes, 2001, v.1, pp.52).

[592] For a discussion of the pastoral as literary *form*, see the Introduction to this dissertation. I have drawn my understanding of *history* (*Erlebnis*) and *poetry* (*poiesis*) from Alan Trueblood's exemplary study of Lope's *Dorotea*: "My aim is to reach a fuller understanding of Lope's creative processes, and signally of the meaning of the *Dorotea*, by examining the interaction of substance with form, *historia* or *Erlebnis* with *poeisis*, in the artistic products of the experience..... One may preface an examination of these acquisitions by indicating their underlying assumption: namely, an unusual proximity between the spheres of personal history and artistic creation in Lope, and unusual ease in the passage from experience to art. I shall seek in all the exposition that follows to explore the character and consquences of this intimate symbiosis," (1974, pp.3).

poets writing alongside one another or in epistolary correspondence when distance demanded. Many of these poets had once written in a rich and courtly atmosphere when the aging monarch, Philip II, was in his prime. The deaths of Isabel de Valois (1568), Juana of Austria (1573) and Ann of Austria (1580) had left Philip to the reclusive lifestyle which he cultivated in El Escorial during the final decades of the century. Like refugees from the increasingly austere court of the quadruple-widowed king, these poets inherited the imaginative play of the court in their own decentralized and independent literary circles. María of Austria (once patroness of the young Montemayor) survived, but she lived cloistered in the Convent of Las Descalzas Reales in Madrid until her death in 1603. She is said to have sponsored the performance of *autos* and *comedias* within the confines of the cloister.

The *Galatea*--as well as the *Quijote*--belongs to the lyrical *cosmos of erotic mysticism* and the project of *aesthetic idealism* which developed over the course of the sixteenth-century by way of poets writing in the pastoral tradition (see chapters 1 and 2). As the relatively small canon of amorous poets (Petrarch, Ovid, Ausias March) grew to include Garcilaso, Montemayor, Laynez, Figueroa, Herrera, Aldana and others, the poets of the 1580s became increasingly aware of the stakes of their own *ingenios*, or literary legacy. As Pedro Laynez wrote in the *abrobación* to Pedro de Padilla's *Églogas pastoriles:*

> ...todo me paresce digno de salir en público: el estilo es dulce, fácil, y propio, la inuención nueua, apazible y muy ingeniosa, y aunque en el discurso de la obra ay algunos lugares ymitados y traduzidos, es con tanta facilidad y dulçura, que ygualan a sus primeros Autores, y en muchas partes se les auentajan.
>
> ...it all seems to me worthy of being brought out in public: the style is sweet, easy, and appropriate, the invention new, pleasant and very ingenious, and although in the discourse of the work there are some places imitated and translated, it is with such facility and sweetness that they equal their first Authors, and in many places excel beyond them.[593]

Huarte de San Juan's publication of *Examen de ingenios* in 1575 reinforced confidence in the divine creative faculty of the *ingenio* (the divinity of the poet) and the legacy which such a poet might garner for himself.[594]

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[593] (Padilla, 2010, pp.48)

[594] In a humility typical to dedicatory notes and prologues, Padilla took up Huarte de San Juan's language in his own genuflection before the reader in the prologue to his 1580 *Thesoro de varias poesías*: "Aunque esta obra, por no tener determinado sujeto, no tenía necesidad de prólogo o prefación alguna, he querido, discreto y curioso lector, hazer esta para disculpar la temeraria osadía de auer sacado a luz estas imperfectas y mal limadas poesías, entre las de tan illustres y famosos poetas como en este tiempo florescen. Ello no ha sido perderme de confiado, porque sé la poca razón que tengo de serlo, sino lástima de ver algunos hijos de mi pobre entendimiento tratados menos bien que merecen de muchos que no siendo sus padres los han hecho hijos adoptivos, para solo destruyrlos: y temeroso de que faltando yo se hiziese lo mismo con los que me quedauan, quise más subjetarlos a la piadosa censura de los buenos

The poets of the 1580s--in Madrid as well as poets such as Herrera in Seville--increasingly envisioned and pursued this *aesthetic idealism* which Cervantes would immortalize in the errant author, Alonso Quijano whose pursuit of his own lyric subjectivity forged the first novelistic character in the *Don Quijote*.

Nonetheless, twenty years prior the divinity of the *ingenio* and the *aesthetic idealism* of lyric works was everywhere apparent in the *Galatea*, most obviously in Cervantes' substitution of noble ladies with ingenious poets in his *Canto de Calíope*. (This section of the pastoral novel had traditionally been reserved for ladies of the court.) This *cosmos of erotic mysticism*--formulated by León Hebreo in his *Diálogos de Amor* and readily applied in Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier*, and lyric communities throughout Spain, Italy and France--pervades Cervantes' prose fiction from the *Galatea* to the *Quijote*. It is found throughout the *Novelas Ejemplares*, as Ruth El Saffar has observed in her study *From Novel to Romance*. The problematics which this *cosmos of erotic mysticism* faced in confrontation with the *cosmos of Counter-Reformation Spain* are ones which Cervantes sought to reconcile in his last novel, the *Persiles y Sigismunda*.[595] Criticism has been want to attribute a variety of *cosmos*--or worldviews--to the author the *Quijote*. At once a Counter-Reformation Catholic, an Erasmist and a secret *converso*, the ambiguity which criticism has marked in Cervantes' work owes largely to the mystery surrounding the discourse which was most readily taken up by this author and his peers.[596] All of these atribuations of thought, even the most aesthetic such as E.C. Riley's *Cervantes's*

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entendimientos, que dexarlos a elección de quien sabrá mejor acabarlos de hazer imperfectos, que corregirlos y perfectionarlos. Hízose de industria varia la compostura desta obra (y creo es lo que más ha hecho al caso para que pareciesse menos fea), y con toda esta preuención estoy temeroso que no ha de auer buen ingenio que con ella se case, porque faltándole caudal y hermosura, no será tan venturosa que halle quien la quiera," (Padilla, 2008, pp.35).

[595] Throughout this chapter and this dissertation, I will refer to Cervantes' prose works as novels. I insist that both the *Galatea* and the *Persiles y Sigismunda* pertain to this genre. Neither, allegorical nor historical, these novels are the poetry of unique novelistic characters whose motivations accord to unique interior frameworks particular to the introspection of the novel. In accordance with Northrop Frye's distinction of literary modes (mythic, romantic, high-mimetic, low-mimetic, and ironic) none of Cervantes' characters so exceed the laws of nature and man as to enter into the *romantic* mode. Except for Cervantes' own claim to the model of Heliodorus, the *Persiles* is not a byzantine romance, but a modern novel, firmly rooted in the logic and circumstance of the seventeenth-century world. That the author and his peers may have accorded to a *cosmos* alternate to our own late modern outlook, is not sufficient grounds for labeling the novel a *romance*.

[596] See: "Introduction". Like any lionized author, Cervantes has been asked to share the outlook of nearly every generation of criticism which has racked his pages for affirmation of their own beliefs.

Theory of the Novel, are drawn from theoretic sources--theological, historical, formalistic--rather than from a wholistic reading of the author's own work and those of his peers. Cervantes was neither a theologian nor a literary theorist, he was first and foremost a poet and his *cosmos* and discourse accords to the *poetry* of his day.

I have discussed the *cosmos of erotic mysticism* at length in the first chapters of this dissertation. I will review the basic tenents of this worldview here for the convenience of the reader. The *cosmos of erotic mysticism* is a non-hierarchical framework influenced by Neoplatonism and amorous sensuality.[597] It was drawn largely from the widely published and translated philosophical treatise by León Hebreo, *Los Diálogos de Amor*. Hebreo himself was heavily influenced by the writings of Marsilio Ficino and several other currents drawn from both Eastern and Western theology and philosophy. In Spain the philosophy of Hebreo found a ready home amongst medieval conceptions of the universe in micrcosmic and macrocosmic structures. Within this discourse the experience of love engaged the poet's body, soul and intellect in such a way as to inspire amorous meditation and pronounced lyric subjectivity in the existential world. As I have stated elsewhere, it matters only slightly whether--in accordance to our own perspectives--we understand the poet's metaphysical capacities as lyric subjectivity, soul, Dasien, or *ingenio*. The *cosmos of erotic mysticism* engaged the interiority of the poet in a metaphysical experience of being in the world. This sense of experience was central to the construction, composition and, no doubt, receipt of the *Galatea*.

The story of the *Galatea* is the story of the *becoming* of two of Spain's greatest authors (Cervantes/Lauso and Lope de Vega/Elicio) within the *cosmos of erotic mysticism*, a discourse in which both poets received their literary and philosophical educations. Narratively, the *Galatea* forms a perfect and subtle arc which recounts the courtship of Elicio and Erastro and casts them in relation to the stories interwoven into the text (a technique known as narrative interlacing). The novel is designed to approach its climax at the close of Book 6, leaving the heightened action forestalled in the expectation of a second part. While the techniques of the serial novel have not often been discussed in sixteenth-century Spanish literature, the novel accords to just such a sort of narrative design. Moreover, the urban dissolution of Lope's affair with Elena Osorio in the 1587 and 1588 suits for libel incapacitated the possibility of the second part of the *Galatea*. To

[597] See chapters 1 and 2 for Hebreo and the poetry of *erotic mysticism*.

read the conclusion of Cervantes' first work, we must turn to Lope's *Dorotea* of 1632, an altogether different work written long after a period of loss and bitterness foreign to the years 1582 and 1583.

The practice of pastoral poetry in the Spanish Renaissance had developed a *cosmos of erotic mysticism* since Garcilaso's *Eclogues* (1543). As I have shown in chapters 1 and 2, Francisco de Figueroa, Pedro Laynez and Luis Gálvez de Montalvo and the pastoral poets, many of whom I have discussed in previous chapters and will continue to discuss here are numerous. But, the catalogue of pastoral novels is much slimer.[598] In addition to a handful of less successful minor works, the major authors who wrote in the genre of the pastoral novel can be limited to: Montemayor, Gil Polo, Gálvez de Montalvo, Cervantes and Lope de Vega. Moreover, both Cervantes and Lope published their novels--the *Galatea* (1585) and the *Arcadia* (1599), respectively--early in their careers and prior to the later antagonisms for which they are known. The relationship, personal and literary, between Lope de Vega and Cervantes has been explored by various critics, but few have returned to the early years of the 1580s and the origins of this fraught friendship.[599] José Montero's 1999 article, "Una amistad truncada: Sobre Lope de Vega y Cervantes", has done much to recover this crucial period in the formation of both major authors. He writes:

> La primera etapa, de amistad, o al menos, cordialidad entre ambos escritores, se extendería desde el momento en que se conocieron, esto es, en torno a 1580 tras el regreso de Cervantes de su cautiverio argelino, hasta una fecha no concreta, pero que probablemente sería el año de 1587 o principios del siguiente, en todo caso el momento en que Lope ha de abandonar Madrid, desterrado tras los libelos contra Elena Osorio y su familia.
>
> (The first stage of friendship, or at the least, cordiality between the two writers, extends from the moment in which they met, that is, around 1580 when Cervantes returned from his Algerian captivity, to a not very concrete date, but which probably was around the year 1587, or at the beginning of the following, in any case the moment in which Lope had to abandon Madrid, exiled for the libel against Elena Osorio and her family.

That Cervantes well knew the Elena Osorio affair, from its inception in the first years of 1580s to its unhappy conclusion in 1588 is a detail significant to the composition of the *Galatea* which this chapter seeks to bring to light. Cervantes' reference to Elicio's (Lope de Vega's) departure from the pastoral to neighboring cities (Toledo and Alba) in the *Coloquio de los perros* (see the epigraph with which this chapter began) implicitly refers to Lope's exile following the suit for libel and the forestalling of the second part of the *Galatea*, which, as we know, never appeared. Moreover, while Cervantes may have met Lope as he was

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[598] (Rennert, 1912)

[599] (Montero, 1999), (Barrera y Leirado, 1973), (Green, 1971), (Entrambasaguas, 1950), (Buchanan, 1942), (González de Amezúa, 1935-1943), (Hartzenbusch, 1874)

passing through Madrid on his way to Portugal in 1580, it is more likely that their friendship began late 1581 or 1582 upon Cervantes' definitive return to Madrid and reintegration into the community of lyric poets whom he had left behind more than a decade prior. The early years of the friendship between Cervantes and Lope coincides with the dates of composition of the *Galatea* and Lope's courtship of Osorio: 1582-December 1583.[600] This is particularly significant because the young Lope (twenty years old in 1582) and the discrete Elena Osorio would easily have been one of the most popular topics amidst this pastoral milieu. Osorio's fame amongst the same circles of poets--many of whom also wrote for the theatre--make obvious the identity of the discrete Galatea, sought by so many shepherds of the Tajo (Madrid). Lauso's love for the shepherdess whom he disguises as Silena (Galatea, see: chapter 6), moreover, directly involves Cervantes in the sidelines of this infamous affair.[601] As I have said, the dissolution of the affair in the libel suits of 1587 and 1588 made the continuation of the *Galatea* impossible, as is well known Cervantes never wrote, or at least published, the second part. The conclusion of the *Galatea* (1585) is refigured in Lope's publication of the *Dorotea* in 1632, an unmasked and urban denouement (1587-1588) of the courtship (1582-1583) which Cervantes had cast in pastoral fiction. Like the *Galatea*, Lope's late work explicitly refers to the same pastoral community, often by proper name, and to the pastoral genre as a *roman à clef*. Because this aspect of the pastoral novel has never been taken in full seriousness by criticism, no definitive reading of the *Galatea* exists and no reading has ever sufficiently uncoded the central narrative of the text.[602]

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[600] The *privilgenio y licencia* for the *Galatea* was written in February 1584, meaning that Cervantes would have had to have completed and submitted the manuscript for review either weeks or months prior. The *Galatea* could hardly have been completed no later than December 1583.

[601] In chapter 6 I will demonstrate that Lauso employs the pseudonym of Silena to disguise his love for Galatea. The use of the name Silena is quickly recognized by the other shepherdesses as a fake name. That is, within the construct of the novel, Lauso employs a pseudonym which disguises his love for Galatea. I give this aspect of the novel further elucidation in the close reading provided in the following chapter.

[602] "Graues poetas son los desta edad, pero más querrán ellos imprimir sus obras que ilustrar las agenas. Diego de Mendoza, Vicente Espinel, Marco Antonio de la Vega, Pedro Laínez, el doctor Garay, Fernando de Herrera, los dos Lupercios, don Luis de Góngora, Luis Gálvez de Montalvo, el marqués de Auñón, el de Montes Claros, el duque de Francauila, el canónigo Tárraga, el marqués de Peñafiel, que tanta gracia tuuo para los versos castellanos....Francisco de Figueroa y Fernando de Herrera, que entrambos han merecido nombres de diuinos; Pedro de Padilla, el doctor Campuzano, López Maldonado, Miguel Ceruantes, el jurado Rofos, el doctor Soto, don Alonso de Ercilla, Liñán de Riaza, don Luis de Vargas Manrique don Francisco de la Cueua y el Licenciado Berrío, y este Lope de Vega," (Lope de Vega, 1958, pp.315-320).

The poetry of the urban-poets is marked by the shared conceit of bringing the ancient pastoral world to life—not in a single eclogue as Garcilaso had done, but rather—across hundreds of lyrics by various authors all dialoguing amongst one another within a mutually agreed upon imaginary space. The port of entry to this ingenious world, like the password to a prohibition-era nightclub, was the pastoral pseudonym chosen by the poet for himself or by his peers, and for his various lyric characters in the case of the pastoral novel. This was the fullest iteration of the literary pastoral in which soldiers, courtiers, former-captives and citizens of Madrid all found repose within a collectively imagined landscape of their shared *ingenios*—a metaphysical community. This differed starkly with the actual pastoral community in which Cervantes, Laynez and others had participated during the reign of Isabel de Valois, as well as the pastoral forms of entertainment cultivated in the gardens of Italy, such as those of Vicino Orsini at Bomarzo and those of the Farnese. For the urban-poets of the 1580s the material landscape of Aranjuez was replaced with the entirely imaginary landscape of their own publications, a collective and intangible simulacrum written in the urban landscape of Madrid. It was this *intangible simulacrum*, this shared imaginary space, which Cervantes immortalized in the *Galatea*.

As I have discussed in chapter 1 of this dissertation, the world of the pastoral pertained to a particular and alternative worldview drawn from the sensual Neoplatonism of León Hebreo. This *cosmos of erotic mysticism* was readily understood and cultivated by the urban poets writing in Madrid and it is this *cosmos* which the *Galatea* fully reconstructs for its characters. Within this alternative *cosmos* the *divine entendimiento* of both poet-lover and beloved lady were fully activated in a form of sensual Neoplatonism which materialized the "Good" within the existential world--or *tercia realidad*-- of the pastoral fiction. In other words, and in contrast to the Christian Neoplatonism of hierarchical ascent, the *cosmos of erotic mysticism*, manifested the ultimate "Good" within the natural world and amongst the shepherds who inhabited it. In this world any and all concepts of a deity are always redirected toward either 1) the *divine beloved lady*, 2) the *divine ingenio* of the poet, or 3) a classical conception of the god, *Amor*, at times personified as either Venus or Cupid. I want to underscore this point: nowhere in the *Galatea* or within the *cosmos of erotic mysticism* which the novel erects does the concept of a Christian or Counter-Reformation god appear. It may be either by virtue of the fact 1) that Cervantes--and his peers--so seamlessly appropriated the language

of religious mysticism, or 2) that the work was simply viewed within the unthreatening lens of entertainment *poetry*, that these pastoral works went undetected by Inquisitorial censorship. In either case, the *Galatea* creates an alternative *cosmos* for the metaphysical community of pastoral poets as this poetry of *erotic mysticism* was practiced in Madrid. In other words, it creates a landscape in which to explore the lyric subjectivities of these first novelistic characters drawn from the poetry of immediacy and experience: the *Galatea* gives various lyric subjectivities a mutually intelligible landscape. This matters greatly for the development of Cervantes' fictional frameworks because it is this *cosmos of erotic mysticism* which is explicitly denied to Alonso Quijano in favor of the *cosmos of Counter-Reformation Spain*: his lyric subjectivity is at odds with the landscape in which he attempts to enact it. Don Quijote's speech on the Golden Age and the subsequent pastoral episode of Marcela and Grisóstomo would have explicitly underscored this shift from the *cosmos* of the *Galatea* to the *cosmos* of the *Quijote* for any reader even loosely familiar with the development of pastoral *poetry* in sixteenth-century Spain. The *cosmos* of the Galatea recreates that universe in which the powers of the *divine beloved*, the *divine ingenio* and the divinity *Amor* are fully intact. It is a pantheistic world, populated by the varying mystical capacities of its characters and the amorous deities of the classical world. Within this world in which Neoplatonism is rendered a sensory and existential philosophy, the souls (almas) of the shepherds are constantly in play amidst their amorous endeavors. In other words, the shepherds of the *Galatea* act on their lyric subjectivity, just as Alonso Quijano will make his own soul-quest as don Quijote. But these are not Counter-Reformation souls in search of redemption. These are pantheistic souls--as Tirsi says, a "tabla rasa"-- in search of the fulfillment of Aristotle's *eudaimonia*. The heterodox *cosmos* of the *Galatea* has never been recognized in literary criticism and it is, I will argue, the failure of our post-Cartesian modernity to contemplate a worldview so drastically different form our own which has thus far prohibited a coherent reading of Cervantes' early text. The recent critical editions of Pedro Padilla's corpus have done much to augment this wholly neglected decade.[603]

IV

[603] For complete list see: (Padilla, Pedro) in bibliography.

Cerca de aquella dulçe i clara fuente
que, por medio de aqueste verde prado,
discurre tan suaue y blandamente,

a la sombra de un sauçe recostado,
me acuerdo ahora que estaua el primer día
que fuí de Galatea enamorado.

(Close to that sweet and clear spring/ that, in the middle of this green meadow,/ runs so smoothly gently,/ in the shadow of an oak reclined,/ I remember now that it was the first day/ that I fell in love with Galatea.)[604]

So begins Pedro Laynez' s unfinished and unedited novelistic eclogue, *Engaños y Desengaños de Amor*, which brought Cervantes to Esquivias in 1584 for the purpose of seeing his mentor's work appear posthumously in print.[605] This trip would also occasion Cervantes meeting with and marriage to Catalina de Salazar; however, this occurred after the completion of the *Galatea*. Laynez had died in early March 1584. Laynez's eclogue, like Padilla's *Églogas pastoriles* betrays a strong interest in the art of storytelling, of novelistic art forms, among the generation of poets writing in Madrid in the early 1580s. As Aurelio Valladares writes in the introductory study to Padilla's *Eclogues*:

La censura fue a manos de Pedro de Laínez, quien no oculta en ella la buena amistad que le une al autor, y su buen conocimiento de la poesía de Padilla. Alaba el "estilo dulce, fácil y propio", a la vez que resalta la "invención nueva y muy ingenioso" del vate. Cierto es que Padilla halló la fórmula para integrar "originalidad y singularidad" con la arraigada tradición castellana. La "invención" era enlazar el discurso sublime con el discurso humilde, y buscar la forma de diferenciarse del resto de los escritores intentando hacer una "novela pastoril toda en verso".

(The *censura* was in the hands of Pedro Laynez, who did not conceal the good friendship that united him to the author, and his good knowledge of the poetry of Padilla. He lauds the "sweet, easy and appropriate style", and at the same time underscores the "new and very ingenious invention" of the bard. It is certain that Padilla found the formular necessary to integrate "originality and singularity" with the rooted Castilian tradition. The "invention" was to connect the sublime discourse with the humble discourse, and to look for the form to differentiate himself from the rest of the writers attempting to make a "pastoral novel entirely in verse.[606]

The concept of a pastoral novel written entirely in verse may come as somewhat unexpected to a critical tradition which has readily disparaged the inclusion of verse in the prose of the pastoral novels. But the concept of elevating the novel by way of further versification was in no way foreign to the generation of 1580. Indeed, Padillas collection of thirteen eclogues, which together form a single cohesive narrative, employed several novelistic elements such as exposition and dialogue--in addition to declamative lyrics--all

[604] (Laynez, 1951, v.2, pp.272)
[605] (Laynez, 1951, v.2, pp.272-325)
[606] (Padilla, 2010, pp.23)

composed entirely in verse. Padilla's eclogues build like a novel in such a way that the first five eclogues undertake dialogue between only two characters, but the sixth eclogue unites six characters who have already appeared in previous eclogues. The reader recognizes them and they recognize one another. Padilla introduces new shepherds in the 12th eclogue, the 13th eclogue. The 13th eclogue ends in prose as if making way for the *Galatea*.

It is fitting that Laynez authored the *censura* for Padilla's eclogues because Laynez too, in his *Engaños y desengaños de amor*, employed the novelistic techniques of exposition, dialogue and direct citation of previous conversations which occurred offstage of the story, in addition to the apostrophes of lyric verse. For example, Galatea (a character somewhat distinct form Cervantes' shepherdess) narrates to Amaranta the occasion by which Montano fell in love with her. This represents a significant development in narrative tecnique because the work opens with Montano recalling the same incident (as in the epigraph which opened this section). Thus both the perspective of Montano and of Galatea on the same event is given over the course of the novelistic eclogue, (Laynez, 1951, v.2, pp.272 and 296). Moreover, Galatea goes on to directly recite the verses which Montano has sung to her. This use of reported speech is one which Cervantes readily employs throughout the *Galatea* (as well as his later novels), both amongst the shepherds of the Tajo and those of the interpolated tales.

These eclogues, moreover, must be distinguished from the traditional form of the eclogue as it was practiced and as Cervantes includes it in the *Galatea*. Traditionally, an epilogue was sung like a dialogue amongst shepherds on a single theme or concept. In this way the traditional eclogue shared a close relationship to philosophical discourse, which was typically undertaken in dialogic forms. Remember, even León Hebreo's treatise, *Dialogues of Love*, was in the form of a dialogue between Filón and Sophia. In the same way Giordano Bruno formulated his *Heroic Frenzies*, also set in the pastoral mode. But the eclogues of Padilla and Laynez are not topical, but narrative. That is to say that the central interest of these versified works was storytelling rather than lyric discourse. This constitutes a significant shift in the content of full-length versified works amongst Cervantes and his peers in the first years of the 1580s. While the several verse collections which these poets would complete--and often print--during the decade of the 1580s testifies

to an unyeilding interst in the composition of lyric verse, the eclogue was already taking on the form of the novel even as its creators continued to render it verse rather than in prose.

This new form of novelistic verse posed a significant problem for the storyteller. Because only one character could be "on stage" at a time, the narrative could not transition freely along the landscape or through time. To some degree the use of exposition and reported speech allowed for a fuller development of the story accross several moments in time and space. But the thread of the narrative was still limited to the series of shepherds whose versified speech were necesesarily linked in time and space. In other words, in these eclouges there is no narrator. And this is the major difference between the novelistic eclogues which were told in verse (Padilla and Laynez) and the eclogues which were told in prose (Gálvez de Montalvo and Cervantes) during the first years of the 1580s. Nonetheless, the narrator of the prosified pastoral eclogue is impersonal in a way in which the narrator of *Don Quijote* is not. Given the centrality which the narrators of the *Quijote* play for narrative studies of this work, it is understandable that critics have been somewhat dissapointed by the *Galatea* even if they have not directly put their finger on the absence of "narrator play". The narrator of the *Galatea* shares the *erotic cosmos* of the narrator of *El pastor de Fílida* and the authors of *Églogas pastoriles* and *Engaños y desengaños de celos.* The "narrator play" of *Don Quijote* is necessitated by the inclusion of more than one *cosmos* within a single narrative space: the lyric subjectivity both of Alonso Quijano and of the narrator, as well as the narrator's acute awareness that all the other characters possess the same. Beause the pastoral poets of the 1580s shared a single *cosmos* this distancing was not necessary to the narrator of the *Galatea*, and the narrative distancing which occurs in the novel pertains directly to the autobiographical content pertinent to Lauso (Cervantes' pseudonym). Moreover, because the characters of the *Galatea* reveal a strong sense of lyric subjectivity by way of the verses which they sing, the narrator was not under the same pressure to reveal this aspect of perspective by other means. The versified novels of Cervantes' friends readily illuminate the organic way in which the novel developed out of these lyrical and pastoral communities who constituted Cervantes' closest peers.

V

Ayer sus librillos vi,

papeles y escritos varios,

pensé que devocionarios,

y de esta suerte leí:

Historia de dos amantes,

sacada de lengua griega,

Rimas, *de Lope de Vega,*

Galatea, *de Cervantes.*

...

Temo, y en razón lo fundo,

si en esto da, que ha de haber

un Don Quijote Mujer.

(Yesterday I saw her books,/ various papers and writings,/ I thought they would be devotionals,/ and of this type I read:/ *History of Lovers,*/ taken out of the Greek,/ *Rhymes* of Lope de Vega,/ *Galatea* of Cervantes./.../ I fear, and in reason I found it,/ if in this she gives herself, that I'm going to have/ a female Don Quijote.)[607]

Lope's reading of Cervantes' works in his later *comedia*, *La Dama Boba* (1613) draws an uncanny link between two very particular aspects of each author's oeuvre: Lope's *Rimas* and Cervantes' *Galatea*. Perhaps more importantly, through the paternal gaze of Octavio he delineates these genres as the leading sentinels on the path to quixotic folly. In the case of Octavio, it is his daughter, Nise, whose reading habits are in question. But, as one of the earliest and intimate readers of both the literary climate of the 1580s as well as that of the 1610s, Lope de Vega did not, in fact, include the romances of chivalry in Nise's library. So, it is telling that Lope associates her with Don Quijote. The other works which Octavio mentions are, Camoes (*Os Lusiada* and/or lyric verse, he does not specify); *Los pastores de Belén*, the *comedias* of Don Guillén de Castro, the *liras* of Ochoa, the *Canción* of Luís Velez de Guevara, *Obras* de Luque, *Cartas* of Don Juan de Arguillo, *Cien sonetos* of Pedro Liñán de Riaza, *Obras* of Fernando de Herrera, el divino, and *El pícaro [Guzmán de Alfarache]* of Mateo Alemán. Nearly all of these works (with the exception of Alemán) were pastoral and amorous, largely conceptual and influence by the *erotic mysticism* or metaphysics drawn from León Hebreo. Liñán de Riaza also, as I have said, appeared in the pages of the *Galatea* as Elicio's (Lope's) rustic counterpart, Erastro. Lope's inclusion of the *Galatea*—at the outset of Octavio's rant and coupled with his own *Rimas*, no less--

[607] Octavio's comment on his erudite daughter, Nise, whom in Lope's *La Dama Boba*, 1613. (Lope, 2012, pp. 142 and 144, verses 2113-2120 and 2145-2148)

comes as a surprise given the vitriolic nature of the two authors' relationship by 1613. No less revealing for its implied observations on the nature of quixotic folly, this later privileging of the *Galatea* underscores Lope's continued regard for the early novel, a regard which he would extend agian in the *Dorotea*.

The early works of Lope de Vega and Miguel de Cervantes have rarely been considered in relation to one another. Aside from the occasional glance backwards at the *Galatea* and even more scarce acknowledgement of Cervantes' early poetry, Lope de Vega's earliest compositions are often difficult to identify and, more difficult still, to place within the earliest years of his personal and literary biography. *La Dorotea*, for example, which narrates his 1580s love affair with the actress, Elena Osorio, was not completed or published until 1632.[608] *El verdadero amante* which Lope dated to his earliest authorial years--roughly twelve years of age, 1574--places this earliest of *comedias* years before the Osorio affair and presumably related to an earlier beloved whom Lope's biographers have not recovered from history. The *Galatea*, in spite of its potency as a *roman à clef* of poets in the 1580s, has rarely been taken seriously either as a aesthetically-mature work nor as a key to recovering the literary milieu which nurtured the tropological, conceptual and linguistic perspectives of Cervantes, Lope de Vega and Luis de Góngora, to name only the three most significant authors of the early seventeenth-century.[609] In the case of Cervantes, this has largely been due to a critical tendency to read satire indiscriminately into any and all of Cervantes' works and to take his late (particularly, *Viaje del Parnaso*, 1614) frustrations with his own lyric achievements as indicative of his literary pursuits over thirty years prior. As Mary Gaylord Randel has written, "These negative self-appraisals have tended to bolster "disappointed" modern reactions to the *Galatea* and to provide readers with an excuse for skipping over its verses in search of Cervantes," (Gaylord Randel, pp.256). No critical study of either author has ever observed that in the midst of a much earlier age and a quite different literary climate, Cervantes included the young *Fénix* as a forlorn shepherd in the pages of the *Galatea*. Nor has any critical study lent full consideration to the identity of the shepherds on the banks of the Tajo or the significance with which these narrative developments frame much of the action of *Don Quijote I*. And yet, in the *Canto de Calíope*, of

[608] For the definitive critical study on Lope's use of experience in his literary works, specifically in the case of Elena Osorio, see: (Trueblood, 1974).
[609] I have made a case for this period in my prior article: (Ponce, 2013)

Book 5 of the *Galatea*, Cervantes reveals quite clearly the identity of those poets gathered on the river Tajo (Madrid). From this it takes very little effort to surmise that Lope was the only *verdadero amante* of the group young enough and talented enough to have inspired the character Elicio. And, moreover, Galatea's distinguishing characteristics--her *ingenio*, discretion and fame amongst the shepherd-poets--could only have accorded to Elena Osorio.

"But what shall we do with these tiny books which remain?" the barber, Nicolás, inquired towards the end of the infamous *escrutinio* of Don Quijote's library. The *tiny* books amount to a relatively complete (Lope's *Arcadia* of 1599 is conspicuously absent)[610] list of pastoral novels in Spain and a very abbreviated selection of amorous lyric poetry. They are: *La Diana* of Montemayor (1559), *La Diana segunda* of Alonso Pérez (1563), *La Diana enamorada* of Gil Polo (1564), *Los diez libros de Fortuna de amor* of Antonio de Lofraso (1573), *El pastor de Iberia* of Bernardo de la Vega (1591), *Ninfas de Henares* of Bernardo Gónzalo de Bobadilla (1587), *Desengaño de celos* of Bartolomé López de Enciso (1586), *El pastor de Fílida* of Gálvez de Montalvo (1582), *Tesoro de varias poesías* of Pedro de Padilla (1580, revised 1587), *Cancionero* of López Maldonado (1586), the *Galatea* of Miguel de Cervantes (1585).[611] More importantly, why did the author chose to insert the pastoral and amorous works of his contemporaries, himself included, in a chapter which might easily have concluded, without further necessity, upon the exceptional recommendation of *Tirant lo Blanc* on the part of the priest, Pero Pérez?

These books tell us as much about the contents of Alonso Quijano's mind as they do about the time and place in La Mancha from which he came. Unlike the romances of chivalry which appear in the same chapter, these books referred to a living literary culture some of whose authors were still alive, indeed the author of the novel himself. While most of the pastoral novels are grouped in a list, Cervantes singled out

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[610] This chapter takes place some time between 1591 and 1599. *La Arcadia* was not published until 1599, the year in which Pedro de Padilla died. The priest could not be friends with Padilla and also come across Lope's text which circulated widely following its publication in 1599.

[611] These books are followed by the epic genre, *La Araucana* of Alonso de Ercilla (1569, 1589, 1590), *La Austriada* of Juan Rufo Gutiérrez (1584), *El Monserrato* of Cristóbal de Virués (1587) and the Ariostian epic romance, *Las lágrimas de Angélica* of Luis Barahona de Soto (1586). Salinger's argument that the *Don Quijote* is a prose epic is quickly undermined by the nature of the epic in Cervantes' time. His novel bares little resemblance to the works of Ercilla, Rufo and others, (Salinger, 1966).

Gálvez de Montalvo, Pedro de Padilla, López Maldonado and himself for particular comment. Gálvez de Montalvo and López Maldonado had both contributed laudatory sonnets for the publication of the *Galatea*. Of Gálvez de Montalvo's *El pastor de Fílida* we learn that the author was not a shepherd but a "discrete courtier" and his book a "precious gem". Of Padilla's *Thesoro* we learn that it required a bit of cleaning up but that the author had even more heroic works (likely a reference to his pastoral eclogues), and was, more importantly, a friend of the priest. Of Maldonado's *Cancionero* we learn that his verses are admirable and that he is a great friend of the priest. And, of Cervantes' *Galatea* we learn that he is a great and old friend of the priest; his book is inventive but it doesn't resolve its own propositions and judgment must be held until he has released the second part. For readers of the *Quijote* with a historical view in mind, this small exchange between the priest and the barber is revelatory. Gálvez de Montalvo, referred to here in the past tense, died in 1591 and Bernardo de la Vega's pastoral novel was not printed until that year. Pedro de Padilla, referred to here in the present, died in 1599. It is clear that the opening chapters of the *Quijote* are set during, and only during, the last decade of the sixteenth century, between 1591-1599. At this time the romance of chivalry had long been eclipsed by the vogue of the pastoral. Lope de Vega's new *comedia* was not yet fully formalized; his *Arte nuevo* would not be delivered until 1609.[612] The period in which the *Quijote* is set follows directly upon the most effusive decade of pastoral and lyric publications to date in Spain. More importantly, this genre rivaled, if not exceed, the romance of chivalry in its ability to transform the lyric subjectivities of its readers and writers into living simulacrum of their literary forms. As Alonso Quijano's niece exclaimed:

> —¡Ay, señor! bien los puede vuestra merced mandar quemar como a los demás, porque no sería mucho que, habiendo sanado mi señor tío de la enfermedad caballeresca, leyendo estos se le antojase de hacerse pastor y andarse por los bosques y prados cantado y tañendo, y, lo que sería peor, hacerse poeta, que según es enfermedad incurable y pegadiza.
>
> (--Oh, Sir, your grace can well send those to burn with the others, because it won't be long before, having cured my uncle of the chivalric disease, reading these he will desire to become and shepherd and to go about the woods and meadows singing and playing, and, what would be worse, to become a poet, which they say is an incurable and contagious disease.)[613]

The act of playing at the pastoral in quotidian, court, life had been popularized in Madrid by the court of Isabel de Valois in the 1560s[614], and the consequences of such mimetic transference, particularly as it regards *aesthetic idealism*, had taken on full resonance in the lyric verse and prose of Spanish authors in the

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[612] While already successful in the world of the theatre, it was his *Arte nuevo* of 1609 which made his style singularly famous.

[613] (Cervantes, 1999, pp.84)

[614] See: chapter 3 of this dissertation

1580s, already fostering new forms of novelistic art by the time Cervantes completed the *Galatea*. While the continuations of the romance of chivalry adhered to a fictional lineage of knights, the appearance of pastoral novels in Spain, stemming from Montemayor's *Diana*, continued the evolution of a philosophical discourse on love born of León Hebreo's *Diálogos de Amor* and developed by a generation set on immortal fame by way of their own *ingenios*. Moreover, Cervantes not only directly situated the library of Alonso Quijano in relation to this milieu: the priest's friendship with Padilla, Maldonado and Cervantes himself directly refers the audience of the *Don Quijote*: the generation of the 1580s and the shepherd-poets whom Cervantes immortalized in the *Galatea*.

-6-

"Sentido y Forma" of the *Galatea*

soy la que ayudó a tejer el divino Ariosto la variada y hermosa tela que compuso

(I am she who helped the divine Ariosto to weave the varied and pretty cloth which he composed)[615]

Introduction

———

I have taken the title of this chapter from Joaquín Casalduero's many studies on the works of Cervantes in order to demonstrate the absence of and necessity within critical discourse of a close "reading for plot" in the *Galatea*, which I will undertake in this chapter. Not only is a "sentido y forma" of the *Galatea* conspicuously absent from Casalduero's critical oeuvre, nowhere in critical discourse do we discover a close textual analysis of Cervantes' first novel.[616] This has led to considerable oversight and frequent dismissal of this work.[617] If we take the *Galatea* to be a series of loosely connected plots and poems about love, we have

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[615] All citations of the *Galatea* from ed. Avalle-Arce: (Cervantes, 1961, v.2, 6, pp.188, spoken by the muse, Calíope)

[616] Casalduero's work concerns the *Sentido y Forma* of: 1) *los Trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*, 1975, 2) *el Quijote, 1605-1615*. 1970, 3) *las Novelas Ejemplares*, 1962, 4) *el Teatro de Cervantes*, 1961. As Casalduero writes, "FORMA: Composición circular; composición en cascada; cuatro partes; dos salidas; dos ventas; tres «reprises». CONTENIDO: Tres temas: *Caballeresco:* Doce aventuras, que se corresponden en dos grupos de cinco y las dos aventuras de sueños. *Amoroso:* Dos discursos, de los cuales dependen todas las historias. *Literario:* Se presenta unido a los otros dos temas en la segunda y la tercera parte; sirve de encuadramiento a las otras dos.

Si vemos el trazado de la novela, no sólo podemos gozar de ésta en toda su inteligente claridad, sino que descubrimos su verdadero núcleo: la polaridad (en los tres temas) entre el pasado y el presente; y la exacta relación de Don Quijote y Sancho, los cuales ni se oponen ni se complementan, sino que representan dos valores distintos del mismo mundo ideal: Dulcinea, la Insula," (Casalduero, 1970, pp.47).

While it is not my intent to recapitulate Casalduero's analysis of the *Quijote*, or any other Cervantine work, I do wish to underscore the absence and necessity of a close reading of the *Galatea* in critical discourse.

[617] In the most recent article (2010) on the *Galatea*, Shannon Polchow reiterates this blindspot in critical discourse, "In the criticism that does exist, many tend to examine Cervantes's Spanish and Italian pastoral predecessors in relation to *La Galatea.* Few scholars discuss the narrative structure of the work, for as Hugo A. Rennert's extremist point of view indicates, 'There seems to be no attempt at plot or connected narrative, and it is with the greatest difficulty that the reader keeps track of the various characters...'," (pp.169). Polchow goes on to review some thematic discussions of the *Galatea* which have given it a greater sense of coherence and to delineate her own project within studies of narratology in the *Quijote.* Nowhere in her analysis does Polchow arrive at an understanding of the narrative structure of the *Galatea.* Rather, her study is devoted to identifying "manifestations of a supernarrator" in order

completely missed the point. The *Galatea* is a novel about poets in Madrid, by way of which it stages complex developments in the discourse of *erotic mysticism* and *aesthetic idealism* undertaken by Cervantes and his peers. Quite simply it is a love-story: the story of two discrete lovers who are compelled to action by way of an unwanted and arranged marriage. The plot arc of the *Galatea* assumes a steady rise in stakes of Elicio's courtship of Galatea. Drawn and developed over the course of six books, Cervantes situates this love story within the discourse of *erotic mysticism* and its various iterations amongst their community. Composed just three to four years after the octaves which Cervantes sent to Antonio Veneziano from Algiers, the *Galatea* represents Cervantes' next step in exploring the *cosmos of erotic mysticism* within his own lyrical works. Moreover, if we consider the definitive stance which Cervantes took within this discourse--that of the disinterested lover (see chapter 4)--the narrative architecture of the *Galatea* marks a rich development in Cervantes' thought. That the *Galatea* is explicit in its philosophical concerns was something which Cervantes both underscored and defended in the prologue to this work.[618] Moreover, this is a key indication of the ways in which the author of the *Quijote* expressly viewed amorous philosophy as a discourse central to the development of literary aesthetics and the project of authorship.[619]

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to argue for *quixotic* narrative technique in Cervantes' earlier work. As I have stated in the previous chapter, the intrusion of the narrator was not as crucial in the *Galatea* as it was in the *Quijote* because in the *Galatea* all the shepherds adhere to a single *cosmos* (or *worldview* or *discourse*). Moreover, I have found late twentieth-century fascination with *narratology* largely obfuscating of the overarching structures of the *Don Quijote*. While it is indeed the case that both the protagonist (Alonso Quijano) and the primary narrator (Cervantes?) possess a lyric subjectivity unique to the developments of Cervantes' literary milieu, these innovations drawn from pastoral poetry are largely distorted by the discourse of narratology as it developed in European and American academies after 1960. Returning to the *Galatea*, the history of critical discourse on this text could easily make it seeem as if no critic has ever read the entirety of the book. This alone necessitates the present study.

[618] "así no temere mucho que alguno condemne haber mezclado razones de filosofía entre algunas amorosas de pastores," (Cervantes, 1961, v.1, pp.8).

[619] In is this same amorous discourse which inflames Alonso Quijano's reading of the romances of chivalry: "y, de todos, ningunos le parecían tan bien como los que compuso el famoso Feliciano de Silva, porque la claridad de su prosa, y aquellas entricadas razones suyas le parecían de perlas, y más cuando llegaba a leer aquellos requiebros y cartas desafíos, donde en muchas partes hllaba escrito: «La razón de la sinrazón que a mi razón se hace, de tal manera mi razón enflaquece, que con razón me quejo de la vuestra fermosura». Y también cuando leía: «Los altos cielos que de vuestra divinidad divinamente con las estrellas os fortifican y os hacen merecedora del merecimiento que merece la vuestra grandeza...». / /Con estas razones perdía el pobre caballero el juicio, y desvelábase por entenderlas y desentrañarles el sentido, que no se lo sacara ni las entendiera el mesmo Aristóteles, si resucitara para solo ello," (Cervantes, 1999, I:1, pp.38, emphasis mine).

Significant in the narrative of the *Galatea* is the fact that Cervantes did not simply construct archetypal characters who were representative of the various discourses on love current amongst his lyric milieu in Madrid. As the previous chapter has demonstrated, the various amorous philosophies--the voiced lyric subjectivities-- of the characters of the *Galatea* were drawn from the historical biographies and aesthetic appeals of Cervantes' peers who wrote in the same tradition of *erotic mysticism* and who pursued *aesthetic idealism* on similar if not individually-developed terms. Far from the representational figures of the sentimental novel, the *Galatea* takes existential experience and lyric subjectivity as its primary subject matter. The *Galatea* then would have been intelligible to its first readers in two ways: 1) as a thinly veiled chronicle of their amorous and aesthetic experiences and discourse, and 2) as a stylized *symposium* which engaged and set into motion the various approaches to a phenomenology of love which had originated in León Hebreo's *Dialogues of Love* and been explored both in both cultural and literary practice by Cervantes and his peers.[620] Within the history of criticism the genre and its concerns have chiefly been considered to be sentimental, insufficiently serious and frivolous. However this anachronistic reading fails to comprehend the philosophical and aesthetic stakes of *erotic mysticism*--a tradition which blended aesthetics and existentiell ontology (phenomenology) in such a way as to engage the poet not only on emotional, but also a sensorial and metaphysical exploration of lyric subjectivity.[621] Moreover, because the aesthetic ambitions of the poet

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[620] If, by way of analogy, we may relate this discourse to later investigations into the nature of Being and Subjectivity--and I believe that it may be productive to do so, Heidegger's comments on the existential of Being are useful here: "Not only, however, does an understanding of Being belong to Dasein, but his understanding develops or decays along with whatever kind of Being Dasein may possess at the time; accordingly there are many ways in which it has been interpreted, and these are all at Dasein's disposal. Dasein's ways of behavior, its capacities, powers, possibilities, and vicissitudes, have been studied with varying extent in philosophical psychology, in anthropology, ethics, and 'political science', in poetry, biography, and the writing of history, each in a different fashion. But the question remains whether these interpretations of Dasein have been carried through with a primordial existentiality comparable to whatever existentiell primordiality they may have possessed," (2008, pp.37). I propose that the discourse of *erotic mysticism* by way of its engagement of the poet's sensory body, comprehensive intellect, and unified soul, situates this Pre-Cartesian discourse within the existentiell primordiality which so interested Heidegger, centuries later when he endeavoured to peel back the layers of discourse produced by Kant and Descartes. My intention here is not to invite a Heideggerian reading of the discourse of *erotic mysticism*, but rather to recognize this as a unique and valuable discourse in the history of Subjectivity (or, to use Hegel's term, Being), and one in which Cervantes was directly and explicitly engaged, to take seriously the philosophical stance of this discourse.

[621] In using the term "phenomenology" I here find useful Heidegger's differentiation of "phenomenon", "semblance" and "appearance": "'*Phenomenon*', the showing-itself-in-itself, signifies a distinctive way in which something can be encountered. '*Appearance*', on the other hand, means a reference-relationship

were directly tied to the amorous poetry produced for a divinized beloved lady, *erotic mysticism* conditioned the way in which this *aesthetic idealism* was both conceptualized and actualized. As the primary mode in which individual subjectivity engaged in spiritual (metaphysical) discourse and the question of authorial immortality, the literary projects of these poets stands as a significant marker in the development of "philosophies of Being" in the history of Western thought, particularly noteworthy given the religious fanaticism of many forms concurrent to this moment which sought to indoctrinate and subvert subjectivity to programatic discourse. To comprehend these machinations--and their implications for readings of the *Don Quijote*-- the reader will necessarily want to fully engage with the narrative developments of the *Galatea*. As I have said, no prior study of the *Galatea* has attempted a cohesive reading of the narrative unity of the novel.[622] While some readers may find such a thorough engagement with Cervantes' first novel tedious, the very inclination to dismiss such an approach is evidence of its necessity. The study undertaken in this lengthy chapter endeavours to provide *cervantistas*, theorists of the novel and intellectual historians with an altogether unprecedented view into the birth of the novel in sixteenth-century Spain as it arose from lyric eclogues and amorous phenomenology during the final decades of the sixteenth century in Spain. I beg this reader's patience in this lenghty study as it as heretofore never been undertaken for this cornerstone work of Cervantes' oeuvre.

In the *Galatea* it matters *how* each character relates to, personifies and modifies the philosophy of León Hebreo.[623] With equal weight, it matters *how* each character or subplot relates to the other characters and subplots in the recuperation of a coherent reading of the text. The novel does not simply regurgitate Hebreo in the manner of those citations which appear in the Neoplatonic debate on love undertaken by Tirsi

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which is in an entity itself, and which is such that what *does the referring* (or the announcing) can fulfil its possible function only if it shows itself in itself and is thus a 'phenomenon'. Both appearance and semblence are founded upon the phenomenon, though in different ways. The bewildering multiplicity of 'phenomena' designated by the words "phenomenon", "semblence", "appearance", "mere appearance", cannot be disentangled unless the concept of the phenomenon is understood from the beginning as that which shows itself in itself.....and what thus shows itself in itself (the 'forms of the intuition') will be the "phenomena" of phenomenology," (Heidegger, 2008, pp.54-55).

[622] Indeed, the mere concept of "narrative unity" has become so unpopular as to be considered by some taboo.

[623] As I have previously noted, we are in the process of encountering existential iterations of an existential philosophy.

and Lenio in Book 3. Rather, his debate on love is narratively employed to illuminate and underscore the various philosophies of love which have been personified in the various plot-lines of the novel. As I have stated in the previous chapter, the novel, as a whole, forms a dialogue on love drawn from the histories of amorous poets in Madrid, and this narrative architecture is streamlined by a formal plot (or *praxis*) concerning the courtship of Galatea and Elicio.[624] Not only do Galatea and Elicio represent extremes of virtuous love--discretion and disinterestedness, respectively--they also fictionalized and immortalized the earliest and happier years of Lope de Vega's courtship of Elena Osorio: roughly 1581 to the end of 1583. Using the river Tajo as a pseudonym for the *villa y corte* of Madrid, Cervantes encoded his immediate literary milieu as the central characters of this text--Tirsi/Figueroa, Damón/Laynez, Elicio/Lope de Vega, Erastro/Liñán de Riaza, Lenio/López Maldonado, Mireno/Padilla, Galatea/Elena Osorio, Siralvo/Gálvez de Montalvo, Lauso/Cervantes--, a milieu whose chief, if not sole, concern was the new amorous poetry both in their lives and in their works.[625] The *Galatea* is a symposium of *enamored ingenios*, a lyrical symposium, and its content was drawn from the lives and works of poets writing in Castilian during the decade of the 1580s.

This milieu and the record of it found in the *Galatea* explicitly pursued lyric subjectivity as the primary *logos* for narrative forms.[626] As Mary Gaylord Randel has observed:

> The "natural" language of shepherds does not simply accept imitation of poetic models. It makes that imitation a central principal of its art. Pastoral, then, advertising itself as poetry, can readily become *poetry about poetry*. Quite predictably, we often find pastoral works addressing the nature, the claims, and the status of the poetic enterprise. *La Galatea* provides a particularly rich illustration of this tendency.[627]

While I have demonstrated that Cervantes' novel is not simply of a metafictional tenor, but a *roman à clef* which puts the poetic debates of Cervantes' own day into narrative play, Gaylord's observation of the self-conscious aspects of pastoral verse and prose indeed corresponds to the climate of this literary milieu for which lyric subjectivity--and its implied self-consiousness--was a primary focus. Reflective commentary on the experience and the authorship of *erotic mysticism* within lyric verse date, at least, to the poetry of Juan

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[624] I use the term *praxis* here to denote plot or action of the text, as opposed to *mythos* which refers to thematic structures. Indeed, the *mythos* of the *Galatea* is rooted in the discourse of *erotic mysticism* but the *praxis* of the novel directly follows the love-story of Elicio and Galatea.
[625] See chapter 5 for a more detailed discussion.
[626] "[Logos] as "discourse" means rather the same as δηλοῦν: to make manifest what one is 'talking about' in one's discourse," (Heidegger, 2008, pp.56).
[627] (Gaylord Randel, 1982, pp.255)

Boscán and Garcilaso.[628] Boscán in particular wrote in a meta-poetic way on this topic.[xxvii] This trend was continued by the opening sonnet of Montemayor's amorous verses which is itself both a gloss of Boscan's sonnet and of Petrarch's prologue sonnet.[xxviii] This meta-poetic practice was at the forefront of aesthetic traditions undertaken by Cervantes and his peers. The mimetic correspondence--and transference--between art and life (aesthetics and experience) at this moment in literary history had been drawn so tightly so as to make the two virtually synonymous. In the *Galatea* this aspect of the novel was underscored by Cervantes with the insertion of the *Canto de Calíope* towards the close of Book 6. In previous pastoral novels, such as Montemayor's *Diana* and Gálvez de Montalvo's *El pastor de Fílida*, this section was traditionally reserved for the noble ladies of Spain, as in the *Canto de Orfeo* and the *Canto de Erión*, respectively. Cervantes' use of the *Canto de Calíope* to laud not noble ladies but living poets transposes the central role of the divinized lady with the lyric subjectivity of the divinized *ingenio*. This shift is not only central to the structure of the *Galatea*, it is also fundamental to the development of *aesthetic idealism* and the character of don Quijote as the authored *ingenio* of Alonso Quijano.[629]

The *Galatea* is divided into six books of equal length. The action of the novel is set on the banks of the river Tajo (which is a pastoral pseudonym for Madrid) sometime after 1576, likely no earlier than 1581 as Cervantes was captive in Algiers until late in 1580. Within the novel, Lauso (Cervantes' own pastoral pseudonym) has just returned from a lengthy period abroad. Because Cervantes did not actually settle in Madrid until 1582, this detail situates the action of the novel between the years 1582 and 1583.[630] Again, the novel was completed and submitted for an *aprobación* in December 1583 or January 1584. The central plot of the novel concerns the love which the courtly but poor Elicio holds for the discrete Galatea. This plot is complicated in Book 4 when Galatea's father, Aurelio, arranges for her an unwanted marriage to a

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[628] In fact, this tradition dates to Petrarch and, it may be argued, is a constituent component of lyric verse since the Greeks. I have here limited the discussion to the tradition of poets writing in Castilian during the sixteenth-century.

[629] Remember that while Alonso Quijano's library is full of romances of chivalry, it is the *romanceros* of chivalry which he will cite most frequently in his recollection of this herioc world. The *máquina* of his *ingenio* is fueled by poetry rather than prose. Remember, that the only textual composition which he creates is his lyrical poem to Dulcinea in the Sierra Morena.

[630] Damón (Pedro Laynez) and Lauso (Miguel de Cervantes) have not seen one another since Australiano (Don Juan de Austria) departed for the Spanish Netherlands in 1576.

Portuguese shepherd, just as in Lope's *Dorotea* when Fernando's beloved is promised to an *indiano.* The unwanted arranged marriage of a beloved shepherdess to another shepherd is a trope which dates to Montemayor's *Diana.*[631] However, the custom of arranged marriages was pervasive enough to refer to several love triangles and there is no evidence that the *Galatea* was intended as a prequel to the *Diana.* On the contrary, as I have said and will continue to demonstrate, the plot of the *Galatea* refers to Lope's courtship of Osorio. The conclusion of this courtship is left unresolved at the close of the novel, which Cervantes intended as the first of two parts. It is important to remember that at the close of 1583, the 1587 and 1588 suits for libel against Lope lay four or five years in the unforseeable future. For the duration of his literary career, Cervantes promised the second part of the *Galatea*, but it never appeared in print. By the time of Lope's exile (1588), it is likely that Lope no longer corresponded to the earnest and true lover (*verdadero amante)* whom Cervantes had depicted during Lope's youth. Only much later in life, would Lope publish his supposed earliest *comedia*, the *Verdadero amante* centered on a shepherd-lover whose innocence matched that of Elicio.[632] Three years prior to his death in 1635, Lope would return to the dissolution of this affair in the *Dorotea*, that is to say some fifty years after the publication of the *Galatea.*

In the *Galatea* Cervantes augments the central plotline of Galatea and Elicio with several other members of their community and the corresponding community of Alcalá (in other words the two lyric milieu which Cervantes knew well). These included: 1) the love which Elicio's friend, the rustic Erastro,[633] also cultivates for Galatea,[xxix] 2) the visit of Tirsi and Damón[634] from the river Henares to the banks of the Tajo for the marriage festivities of Daranio and Silveria, 3) the suffering of Mireno who has lost Silveria to Daranio, 4) the interjections of the *desamorado* Lenio[635] and the dramatic irony of his subsequent love for the *desamorada* Gelasia, 5) the eclogue of the competing suffering lovers, Orompo, Marsilio, Crisio and Orfinio, 6)

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631 At the close of the *Galatea*, Galatea's impending marriage to the Portuguese shepherd and the plans of Elicio and his friends to prevent, perhaps by force, this undesired union, recapitulates a plot prior to the unhappily married Diana with which Montemayor's novel opens.

632 Lope claimed to have composed the *Verdadero amante* around the age of twelve or thirteen. Morby and others have resituated this work in concern to Lope's early affair with Osorio. See, in particular: (Morby, 1959).

633 Liñán de Riaza

634 Figueroa and Laynez

635 López Maldonado

the *amores* and liberation from *amores* of Lauso[636], 7) the troublesome love which the aged Arsindo develops for the young Maurisa, 8) the funeral exequies for the deceased shepherd, Meliso[637], and 9) the appearance of the muse, Calíope, and her *Canto* on the living poets of Spain.

To the narrative community on the banks of the river Tajo, Cervantes adds four interpolated tales--1) Lisandro from the Betis (Seville), 2) Teolinda from the Henares (Alcalá), 3) Silerio from Jerez, and 4) Rosaura from the Henares (Alcalá). These interpolated tales are woven into the narrative in Ariostian fashion. Without exception, all of these interpolated narratives will either be resolved or further complicated once the foreign characters have entered into the central landscape on the Tajo and mingled with the central characters of the text. Their tales do not represent strict insertion, as in the case of the *Curioso Impertinente* in the *Quijote*, but rather the introduction of foreign characters with back-stories which Cervantes weaves into and makes part of the central plot.[638]

From this wealth of characters, *erotic mysticism*, in its full existential variety becomes the central subject of the text. Moreover, the narrative fates of these characters provides key insights into how Cervantes, as author, maneuvered amongst these various lyric subjectivities. For example, the *desamorado* Lenio--like his historical counterpart, López Maldonado--not only loses the debate on love to Tirsi, he also suffers poetic justice by quickly thereafter falling into a miserable and unrequited love for the *desamorada* Gelasia.[xxx] In contrast, such is the purity of the love which Elicio cultivates for Galatea, that even Lauso, who has himself loved the same shepherdess, will later enlist himself in the service of Elicio's quest.[639] Historically, this may in fact reveal Cervantes' (Lauso) very motives for writing the *Galatea*, but I will return to this at the close of this chapter once a better grasp of the novel has been provided.

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[636] Miguel de Cervantes
[637] Diego Hurtado de Mendoza
[638] That Nísida and Blanca are travelling through to find their parents in Toledo is another indication that the novel is not set in Toledo but Madrid.
[639] "Y luego Lauso, volviéndose a Elicio, le dijo:--En la compañía que traemos puedes ver, amigo Elicio, si comenzamos a dar muestras de querer cumplir la palabra que te dimos. Todos los que aquí ves vienen con deseo de servirte, aunque en ello aventuren las vidas; lo que falta es que tú no la hagas en lo que más conviniere," (Cervantes, 1961, v.2, pp.265).

While it is uncertain to what degree Cervantes continued to draw on historical personages in his later fiction, many of the figures who appear in the *Galatea* prefigure characters from the *Quijote,* the *Novelas ejemplares* and the *Persiles y Sigismunda.* In the female characters we find the discrete Galatea, the unfortunate Teolinda (a prototype of the unfortunate Dorotea of the *Quijote*), the fickle Rosaura (a prototype of Luscinda of the *Quijote*), the meddling Leonarda, the unyielding Gelasia (a prototype for the Marcela of the *Quijote*), the innocent Maurisa (a prototype of Leonida from the *Celoso extremeño),* and the unhappily married Silveria who recalls Montemayor's Diana and anticipates the *Bodas de Camacho.* In the male characters we find the true courtly lover Elicio and his counterpart the steadfast rustic lover Erastro, the vengeful Lisandro, the anti-lover Lenio (Lenio's indifference to love anticipates the character of Tomás Rodaja in the *Licenciado vidriera),* the widowed Orompo, the jealous Orfinio, the absented-lover Crisio, the unrequited lover Marsilio, the hopeless lover and true friend Silerio, the fortunate lover and true friend Timbrio (the tale of Silerio and Timbrio prefigures both the *Amante liberal* and the *Curioso Impertinente*), the frantic Arsindo (a prototype of the desperate Cardenio of the *Quijote*), the free Lauso (a young Alonso Quijano of the *Quijote*)[640], the lecherous Arsindo (a prototype of Carrizales of the *Celoso extremeño*), the gentle Francenio, the furious Artandro (who behaves in a manner akin to Fernando of the *Quijote),* the suicidal Galercio (a prototype for the Grisóstimo of the *Quijote),* the hopeless abandoned lover Mireno, and the rich husband Daranio (together Daranio, Silveria and Mireno form the prototype for the *Bodas de Camacho* in the *Quijote*). To these lovers are added the wizened and famous shepherd-poets, Tirsi and Damón (Figueroa and Laynez), whose judgments on the lyrics and amorous discourse of the younger shepherds, as well as their own discourse on amorous philosophy prefigure the commentary of the priest, the barber and the canon in the *Quijote.* In their motley variety, all of these lovers and poets are united under the common rubric of León Hebreo's *erotic mysticism* as it had manifested in and been modified by earlier generations of poet-lovers writing in Castilian, as well as the very historical personages encoded by Cervantes in this text.

[640] Correspondence between Lauso of the *Galatea* and Alonso Quijano of the *Quijote* strongly indicates Cervantes close relationship to the lyric subjectivity of the latter protagonist. The degree to which Cervantes identified with his fictional creation--Alonso Quijano--is a matter which should be treated with the utmost delicacy and caution. But, it is also a feature of his authorship which the careful reader cannot afford to overlook.

Structurally, the *Galatea* is the most complex of Cervantes' three novels. This is because--unlike the case of Alonso Quijano in the *Quijote* and Persiles and Sigismunda in the *Persiles*--the varied amorous plots of the *Galatea* revolve around the plot of Galatea and Elicio with near equal narrative weight: that is to say, the central plot is submerged and interwoven into the community of shepherds. Had there been a second and conclusive part to the *Galatea* much of the trouble over the *praxis* of the novel may have been more easily resolved. We may consider that Cervantes decision to unite Persiles and Sigismunda in Rome (the novel unfolds in four parts) in spite of Sigismunda's unwanted betrothal to Persiles' elder brother in some ways recapitulates and resolves the very problem of the unwanted engagement of Galatea which arises at the climax of the first part of the *Galatea*. Nonetheless, the *Galatea* was left incomplete and the anticipated outcome of this central plot, while unwritten, is readily mirrored in a *hall of mirrors* constructed by the multitude of secondary characters whose own amorous struggles and successes reflect a myriad of possible outcomes for the central characters of the text. For example, in Book 4 Galatea relates the misfortune of her betrothal to the Portuguese shepherd to the misfortunes of Nísida and Timbrio. By way of reflecting on the story of Timbrio and Nísida, she suggests that present struggles may ultimately be overcome to happy ends:

> Dichoso Timbrio y dichosa Nísida, pues en tanta felicidad han parado los desasosiegos hasta aquí padecidos, con la cual pondréis en olvido los pasados desastres...
>
> (Happy Timbrio and happy Nísida, well in such felicity have they ended the unrest they suffered until [coming] here, with which they forget past disasters...)[641]

This masterful use of narrative foils to recreate the *cosmos* of an entire community of characters--indeed, the *cosmos* of author's own milieu--has never been fully appreciated by Cervantes' subsequent readers. Not only does Cervantes give us the *"logos" amoenus* of Madrileño poets in the 1580s, he reveals the unknown cosmology, or cultural mindset, of his most famous character, Alonso Quijano.[642] As I have observed in the previous chapter, in the expurgation of Alonso Quijano's library (I: 6) the priest recalls that Pedro de Padilla, López Maldonado and Cervantes (authors who appear in the lyrical and pastoral section of the library) are all friends of his. That is the say that Alonso Quijano inhabits a cultural space contemporary to and shared by

[641] (Cervantes, 1961, v.2, 5: pp.135)

[642] The Marcela and Grisóstomo episode of the first part of the *Quijote* is indicative that the *cosmos* of the *Galatea* was still in practice within the fictional landscape of Alonso Quijano.

Cervantes and his milieu.[643] The suggestion by the *cura* during the *escrutinio* of Alonso Quijano's library that the completion of the second part of the *Galatea* will be necessary before any judgments are made, has provided a ready excuse to any reader who would simply pass over this complex work.[644] Rather, this self-referential comment early in the *Quijote*, reveals some of Cervantes' finer irony; the Lope-Osorio affair and the suit for libel was infamous enough that surely no contemporary reader doubted the reasons for the abandoned continuation of the *Galatea*. As to the proposition of the novel, at the close of the *Galatea* we observe the shepherds of the *Galatea* (that is the poets of Cervantes' milieu) organizing to free Galatea--by force if necessary--from her impending arranged marriage. In other words, Cervantes directly engages the *cosmos of erotic mysticism* in opposition to the social customs of marriage in sixteenth-century Spain. The heros of the novel--Lauso among them--explicitly privilege erotic love over socially advantageous marriage. And, like Alonso Quijano, they are willing to risk legal and religious discipline and punishment in order to defend the spiritual (that is her will or *voluntad*) freedom of Galatea. The magnitude of this proposition is largely contingent on the realization--throughout the previous five books--of a fictional community whose *cosmos of erotic mysticism* directly opposed the social (marital) obligations forced on Galatea. Cervantes' sophisticated skill with narrative interlacing, which has been well demonstrated by David Quint in the case of the *Quijote*, was already fully developed when he wrote the *Galatea*; and the degree to which he was successful with this narrative technique made possible the climax of Book 6.[645] While the conclusion of the

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[643] The near unanimous critical judgment of the past few hundred years that the *Galatea* reveals but fails to develop the embryonic signs of Cervantes' narrative art owes more to the exigencies which the novel places on the less than *curioso lector*, than it proves any actual lack of structural coherence.

[644] "Muchos años ha que es grande amigo mío ese Cervantes, y sé que es más versado en desdichas que en versos. Su libro tiene algo de buena invención: propone algo, y no concluye nada; es menester esperar la segunda parte que promete; quizá con la emienda alcanzará del todo la misericordia que ahora se le niega; y entre tanto que esto se ve, tenedle recluso en vuestra posada, señor compadre," (Cervantes, 1999, I:6, pp.86).

[645] "Cervantes's method of playing one episode of the novel off against another derives from and is inspired by the technique of narrative *interlace* ("entrelacement") that organizes the great chivalric romances of the Middle Ages such as the prose *Lancelot*.... The plots parallel one another and may share common motifs, and the reader begins to realize that the romance coheres and generates meaning not so much from the endings of the knights' stories, which are hardly in sight, as from the juxtaposition of the stories and their reflection upon one another. Narrative strands that initially seem to be discrete can turn out to be symbolically related.... Interlace is the principle of narrative organization in Ludovico

love between Elicio and Galatea is forestalled at the close of Book 6, the significance of the questions raised by the text, not to mention a clear reading of the narrative strucutre, should not be denied to the reader. When the novel has, on rare occasion, been treated in full, as in the introductory study of Francisco López Estrada to his edition of the text, the interpolated stories are often excised from the central narrative, and a coherent reading is withheld. These four interpolated tales represent the most obstinate in a handful of barriers to a complete structural analysis, which this chapter will, for the first time, provide.[646] These stories will play out along the central timeline of the text. They form a part of its *praxis* rather than a diversion from it. The analysis which follows is lengthy. The absence of any such analysis from critical discourse necessitates such a reading and recovery of narrative and structural coherence. However, again, I beg the reader's patience and appreciate any fuller consideration which the reader may lend to this first of modern novels.

Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* (1516), the literary work that most deeply influenced Cervantes in the *Don Quijote*," (Quint, 2003, pp.5-6)

[646] The first interpolated tale is told by the Sevillian, Lisandro, in one sitting. With no pending resolution the character quickly passes out of the novel at the close of Book 1. But even this seemingly closed narrative, is resolved within the timeline of the central narrative. Lisandro's murder of Crisalvo before the eyes of Elicio and Erastro in the first pages of the novel--often the most discussed moment of the six books--weaves Lisandro's experience into the experiences of the novel's main characters. All subsequent interpolated tales (those of Teolinda, begun in Book 1; Silerio, begun in Book 2; and Rosaura, begun in Book 3) are inconclusive at the time of their introduction. These plotlines are all, in Ariostian fashion, woven into the central narrative of the text on the banks of the river Tajo. Their resolutions are inextricably mixed with the plotlines of those characters who are native to the Tajo, as well as the introduction of other foreign characters who pertain to the same interpolated plot.

Book 1:

Structural Symmetry and Mirroring Interpolations

The structure of Book 1 is neatly symmetrical and organized by gender divisions around two pairs of shepherds native to the banks of the Tajo:

1) Elicio & Erastro (males) 2) Galatea & Florisa (females)

Each pair encounters a foreign shepherd or shepherdess whose amorous suffering has brought them to the Tajo, the backstory of which will be the content of their interpolated tale:

1) Elicio & Erastro meet with Lisandro 2) Galatea & Florisa meet with Teolinda

The gender divisions are united by the central plot of the novel which, as I have said, concerns Elicio's love for Galatea. While Elicio and Erastro briefly encounter Galatea and Florisa near the center of Book 1, the structure rests neatly on these gender divisions and their encounter serves as a narrative transition from the male stories to the female stories. The first half of Book 1 treats the male characters. The second half of Book 1 treats the female characters. Cervantes employs the narrative technique of introducing foreigners, Lisandro and Teolinda, in order to have them relate their story in first-person exposition, a technique which had already appeared in *El abencerraje* and, of course, *La Diana.*[647]

Book 1 opens on Elicio who sings his verses on love in the solitude of nature. As I have discussed in chapter 4, these verses directly recall those which Cervantes sent to Veneziano from Algiers whilst delineating his conception of the ideal poet-lover. In these first pages the reader learns that Elicio is rich in

[647] Contrary to general impressions of early modern gender roles, the lyrics of the enamored shepherdesses do not differ conceptually from those of their male peers. Love serves as an androgynous force which--in full sensual Neo-Platonism--affects the souls, hearts, thoughts and senses of male and female shepherdesses in precisely the same manner. Teolinda begins as a narcissistic character and enemy of love only to fall for the sensitive Artidoro (Cervantes, 1961, v.1, 1: 65-66); in this way she anticipates the character of Lenio, an enemy of love who will fall for the virile Gelasia shortly after taking on Tirsi in a philosophical debate in which he attempts to discredit love. Teolinda's description of her enamourment with Artidoro betrays a sensual Neo-Platonism clearly conditioned by León Hebreo's *Dialogues of Love*, (Cervantes, 1961, v.1, 1: 68-69). See: chapter 1 of this dissertation.

nature and poor in fortune and love. His beloved Galatea is introduced through a description by the narrator which, in keeping with the observed social hierarchies of the pastoral novel, says that she as exceeds the ladies of the palace in beauty and virtue; though a commoner, she is desired by many shepherds of the Tajo (Madrid). Elicio suffers not from rejection but from Galatea's discretion. The shepherd is shy and he has been unable to determine whether or not Galatea cares for him.[648] With the central conflict of the text in place, Cervantes introduces the rustic Erastro who also loves Galatea but who makes no pretense to compete with Elicio and who tends no hope of attaining her.[649] As a rustic mirror of the courtly Elicio, Erastro too exemplifies disinterested love. Having introduced the first version of the *dos amigos*, the narrative moves back into lyric verse.[650] Elicio and Erastro sing an exchange of verses on their love for Galatea; they will repeat this practice several times throughout the novel. These verses serve as character development. Each shepherd expresses himself as a particular type of lover. Elicio is courtly and engages in pursuit. He employs many classical tropes such as *saetas de oro* and a reference to Orpheus. He lauds Galatea for her grace, her finesse and beauty. He treats love as glory, even if it is to kill him. His approach is consistent with the lyrics which opened the text:

> que tengo por mi gloria y mi sosiego
> la saeta, la red, el lazo, el fuego.
> (I have for my glory and my peace
> the arrow, the net, the rope, the fire.) [651]

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[648] As I have discussed in chapter 4, these verses also closely recall Cervantes' verses to Veneziano from 1579, as well as Veneziano's own verses to Celia from the same period. "Pero la discreción de Galatea conocía bien, en los movimientos del rostro, lo que Elicio en el alma traía; y tal el suyo mostraba que el enamorado pastor se le helaban las palabras en la boca, y quedábase solamente con el gusto de aquel primer movimiento, por parecerle que a la honestidad de Galatea se le hacía agravio en tratarle de cosas que en alguna manera pudiesen tener sombra de no ser tan honestos que la misma honestidad en ellas se transformase," (Cervantes, 1961, v.1, 1: pp.17-18).

[649] "No sé, gallardo y enamorado Elicio, si habrá sido causa de darte pesadumbre el amor que a Galatea tengo; y si lo ha sido, debes perdonarme, porque jamás imaginé de enojarte, ni de Galatea quise otra cosa que servirla.... Permíteme, buen Elicio, que yo la quiera, pues puedes estar seguro que si tú con tus habilidades y estremadas gracias y razones no la ablandas, mal podré yo con mis simplezas enternecerla," (Cervantes, 1961, v.1, 1: pp.23).

[650] For the *dos amigos* in Cervantes and the history of this literary topography, see: (Avalle-Arce, 1961)

[651] (Cervantes, 1961, v.1, 1: pp.16).

The rustic Erastro is more akin to a troubadour. He owes the divine Galatea his soul but he has no pretense of winning her; she is a divinized and unattainable beloved from whom he takes pleasure in worship.

The verses of the two shepherds are then interrupted by the entrance of two foreign shepherds running through the landscape. Elicio and Erastro witness one shepherd slay the other. The *pastor homicida* declares that they not bury the body of the slain shepherd and disappears into the landscape. While this episode has been heavily commented as Cervantes' innovative introduction of *et in arcadia ego* into the blissful lives of the Spanish pastoral world, the murder which opens the novel is hardly shocking to Elicio and Erastro. As the narrator tells us:

> Por las cuales palabres [los de Lisandro] imaginaron Elicio y Erastro que no con pequeña causa había el otro pastor ejecutado en él tan cruda y violenta muerte. Y por mejor informarse de todo el suceso, quisieran preguntárselo al pastor homicida, pero él, con tirado paso, dejando al pastor muerto y a los dos admirados, se tornó a entrar por el montecillo adelante.
>
> (By which words [those of Lisandro] Elicio and Erastro imagined that it was not without a small cause that the other shepherd had executed such a crude and violent death. And in order to better inform themselves of the event, they wanted to ask the homocidal shepherd about it, but he, with quick steps, leaving the death shepherd to the two admiring shepherds, again entered [the forest] by a small hill ahead.) [652]

Within the narrative world which Cervantes is creating, the murderous effects of love are not only metaphorical but actionable. In this world, dominated by Love, the ethics of the shepherds accord to a different rubric than social norms; in many ways this reflects to numerous duels undertaken, at the cost of imperial punishment, within the palace over the same sorts of conflict. Far from horror or Counter-Reformation sanction, Elicio and Erastro show interest, wanting to know the cause of such a dramatic end. This concludes the first day of the central timeline on the banks of the river Tajo.

After nightfall Elicio discovers the grieving *pastor homicida*, Lisandro, when he overhears his verse. By way of lyric recitation, Lisandro is fully integrated into Elicio's world which the narrator indicates through a change of epithet. Again this form of pseudonymic perspectivism (or "polyonomasia) has been well studied in the *Quijote* by Leo Spitzer.[653] The *pastor homicida* becomes the *pastor del bosque.* Cervantes will employ this same use of changing names and epithets in the *Novelas ejemplares*, the *Quijote* and the *Persiles y Sigismunda*; it is the hallmark of his ability to account for changes in time, place and perspective within the development of the narrative. Elicio convinces Lisandro to reveal his tale which Lisandro will refer to as the

[652] (Cervantes, 1916, v.1, 1: pp. 29)
[653] (Spitzer, 1962)

"tragedia de mi vida". This characterization is repeated by Teolinda and Rosaura in the retelling of their tales and it anticipates Lope de Vega's similar description in the setting of the *Arcadia* (1598), also on the Tajo, as "el teatro de mi historia".

Lisandro's tale recalls the Italian author Mateo Bandello as well as, according to Avalle-Arce, the story of Lisandro and Carino which Jerónimo de Tejada inserted into the *Diana*.[654] Like Bandello's Romeo and Juliet, Lisandro and his beloved Leonida pertain to two powerful feuding families. Their tale is set on the banks of the Betis, which is to say Seville. It is unknown whether Cervantes adapted an amorous scandal which he knew to have taken place in Seville, the conclusion of which would then have occurred in Madrid, or whether the tale is wholly in imitation of previous literary models, which seems dubious given the general pseudonymic nature of the text.[655] It is more likely that Cervantes reshaped historical matter to the mimetic structures of previous literary models. Lisandro's presence in the novel lasts hardly longer than the tale itself. At its conclusion his epithet of *el pastor del bosque* is replaced by his name, Lisandro. Elicio attempts to console Lisandro, but admits that his amorous situation is beyond remedy; his beloved Leonida is dead and her vengeance is concluded. The night has passed and the start of the second day of the novel reunites Elicio with Erastro. Lisandro accompanies them.

With the start of the second day, the male-half of Book 1 comes to a close and the female-half begins. This shift is orchestrated around Galatea's meeting with Elicio, Erastro and Lisandro. Elicio invites her to spend the day grazing her flocks with them, but she refuses. Their conversation develops the amorous logic of the pastoral world. Moreover, this is done by way of contrasting Elicio and Galatea's shared dialogue with their private lyric verses. This is one of the major innovations of the text. Cervantes uses the contrast between public dialogue and private verse to develop interiority and exteriority for the drawing of the novelistic character. While the use of lyric verse in the pastoral novel for the purpose of developing unique novelistic characters may also be noted as early as the *Diana*, the intricacy with which Cervantes allies the interiorities of characters by way of these verses is unique to the *Galatea*, as I will demonstrate throughout this chapter. When Galatea decides to go her own way to meet Florisa, Elicio tells her:

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[654] (Cervantes, 1961, v.1, 1: pp.36 n.)

[655] For the dream elements of Lisandor's tale Aurora Egido (1994, pp.29).

Ora vayas al arroyo de las Palmas, al soto del Concejo o a la fuente de las Pizarras, ten por cierto que no has de ir sola, que siempre mi alma te acompaña, y si tú no la ves, es porque no quieres verla, por no obligarte a remediarla.

--Hasta agora--respondió Galatea--tengo por ver la primera alma, y así no tengo culpa si no he remediado a ninguna.

(Go now to the *arroyo de las Palmas*, to the *soto del Concejo* or to the *fuente de las Pizarras*, but know for certain that you do not go alone, that my soul accompanies you always, and if you don't see it, it is because you don't want to see it, in order not to be obligated to remedy it.) [656]

Elicio's assertion not only that his soul will accompany Galatea in her work, but that she should be able to see (*ves*) his soul with her should be no less problematic for a modern reader than it is for Galatea, who quickly dismisses the notion that she has ever seen his soul or anyone else's. However, where the modern rejects the assertion out of incredulity, Galatea rejects it out of discretion. The common critical response has been to pass these less than modern moments off with a nod to Cervantine irony. But something more interesting is happening within the text. Cervantes--and any astute reader--would have readily recognized the religious overtones of Elicio's assertation, who like any "divine ingenio" was capable of guiding and protecting his beloved lady. Cervantes is turning the conceits of *erotic mysticism*, of the poetry of the period including his own poetry, into the action of the prose. Moreover, it was this very conceit of the "divine ingenio" which Alonso Quijano would literalize as don Quijote; Cervantes underscores this aspect of the conceptual framework following don Quijote's speech on the Golden Age when he promises to accompany and defend Marcela. Conditioned by the philosophy of León Hebreo, the cosmic vision of the poet-lover was one in which the beloved lady was indeed the sovereign of his soul and in loving her, he often found himself without his own.[657] This concept had already been versified by Cervantes' primary models, such as Francisco Figueroa, as I have demonstrated in chapter 1. Within this framework there should be nothing astounding about Elicio's assertion. Moreover, Galatea's refusal is confirmed by Elicio as a result of her discretion--¡Ay, discreta Galatea...cómo te burlas con lo que de mi alma sientes, (Oh, discrete Galatea...how you jest with what you feel of my soul), (v.1, 1: pp.56)--rather than as a sign of disbelief.

The irony is not a satiric one but a dramatic one. It is not in disbelief of the soul in love, but rather in fear ("tener la mía [alma] en su calor deshecha", "to have my soul in this heat undone") of love that Galatea resists. In this way, the poems of the shepherds (which depict their interiors) undermine or

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[656] (Cervantes, 1961, v.1, 1: pp.56). For Cervantes use of Castilian geography, see: (Avalle-Arce, 1974, pp.244). However, given Cervantes use of the Tajo as a pseudonym for Madrid, these geographical locations could also be pseudonymic denominators for shared meeting points in Madrid.

[657] See chapter 4 of this dissertation for a reading of Cervantes' early octaves to Antonio Veneziano.

complicate the dialogues of the characters (which depict their public personas). The use of the lyric in a complex form of mimesis towards the development of the novelistic (rather than historic or archetypal) character is a significant contribution to the novel as genre. It will lead directly to the perspectivalism and interior/exterior complexities of Cervantes' most famous novelistic character, Alonso Quijano. This should not be reduced to the essence/appearance trait associated with Baroque literature. In the novels of Cervantes, the interiority and exteriority of his characters relate to and modify one another toward the depiction of a complete character, neither existential aspect can be dismissed.

This first exchange between Elicio and Galatea is further developed in the sonnet which Galatea sings after departing from their conversation. In a moment of narrative irony, Galatea's first sonnet (v.1, 1: 57), unbeknownst to her, responds directly to the octaves which Elicio declaimed at the opening of the novel (v.1, 1: 15-16): Galatea is not present for Elicio's verses. This correspondence is groundbreaking for the development of novelistic fiction because, as I have said, it allows for dramatic irony to contrast their interior correspondence in spite of exterior comportment. Galatea is unaware of how closely her verses echo those of Elicio, but the links are apparent to the reader. This use of narrative verse to reveal interior thoughts, feelings and correspondences of narrative characters is Cervantes' first step in opening up the imaginative mind of Alonso Quijano.

Elicio:

> ...
> mas contra un alma que es de mármol hecha,
> la red no puede, el fuego, el lazo y flecha.
> Yo sí que al fuego me consumo y quemo,
> y al lazo pongo humilde la garganta,
> y la red invisible poco temo,
> y el rigor de la flecha no me espanta;
> por esto soy llegado a tal estremo
> a tanto daño, a desventura tanta,
> que tengo por mi gloria y mis sosiego
> la saeta, la red, el lazo, el fuego.
> (But against a soul that is made of marble/the net fails, the fire, the rope the arrow./ I, yes, by the fire am consumed and burnt,/ and to the rope I place my humble neck,/ and of the invisible net little I fear, and of the rigour of the arrow I am not frightened;/ for this reason I have arrived to

such an extreme/ to such damage, to so much poor fortune,/ that I have for my glory and my peace the arrow, the net, the rope, the fire) [658]

Galatea:

Afuera el fuego, el lazo, el hielo y flecha
de amor, que abrasa, aprieta, enfría y hiere;
que tal llama mi alma no la quiere,
ni queda de tal ñudo satisfecha.
Consuma, ciña, hiele, mate, estrecha
tenga otra voluntad cuanto quisiere;
que por dardo, o por nieve, o red no espere
tener la mía en su calor deshecha.
Su fuego enfriará mi casto intento,
el ñudo romperé por fuerza o arte,
la nieve deshará mi ardiente celo,
la flecha embotará mi pensamiento;
y así, no temeré en segura parte
de amor el fuego, el lazo, el dardo, el hielo.

(Out fire, rope, ice and arrow/ of love, which burn, fasten, chill and wound;/ my soul does not want such a flame,/ nor will it be satisfied with such a knot./ Consume, tie, freeze, kill, bind/ have a different will if you want; that for arrow, or for snow, or net don't wait/ to have mine in your heat undone./ If fire chills my chaste intent,/ the knot I will break by force or art,/ the snow undone by my ardent zeal/ the arrow will blunt by my thought;/ and in this way, I will not fear in the secure part/ of love the fire, the rope, the arrow, the ice.)[659]

Elicio's octaves are the first words of the novel. His song ceases at the arrival of Erastro from which the reader understands that the verses are not only a revelation of the character's interior, but also one which he himself considers to be most private. Galatea, likewise, does not divulge her sonnet to Elicio. But she does sing it aloud to Florisa after departing from her meeting with Elicio and Erastro. The conclusion of the sonnet paraphrases the conclusion of Elicio's octave with the modification that love be "seguro". The reader understands Galatea's resistance as uncertainty in the constancy of Elicio's love.

All of the female characters who suffer in love (Galatea, Teolinda, Rosaura, and to some degree, Nísida) enter into trouble by way of their discretion and their secrecy. The attentive reader, or "curioso lector", will observe how finely Cervantes develops a fully fleshed out lyrical interior and narrative exterior for each of his central characters through the way in which the lyric verse modulates, conditions and

[658] (Cervantes, v.1, pp.15-16). Elicio's lyric is lengthier, a total of 4 octaves; I have included the close of the third and the fourth, for sake of brevity in the body of this chapter.
[659] (Cervantes, v.1, pp.57)

contrasts the actions and spoken dialogue of each character. In the *Galatea* several characters will have to overcome their discretionary concealment of their interiors and act in order to reach a happy conclusion. In *Don Quijote* it is the opposite: it is precisely the choice to act on his interior which takes Alonso Quijano out of his home and himself, but that is because the story of Alonso Quijano was written within the *cosmos of Counter-Reformation Spain* whilst the story of Galatea and Elicio was written within the *cosmos of erotic mysticism.* The Golden Age for which don Quijote yearns in chapter 11 of the first part of *Don Quijote* was, historically, a much more recent phenomenon than critical discouse has previously acknowledged. As the introduction of the shepherd characters, Marcela, Grisóstomo, Ambrosio and others, makes clear, the Golden Age of pastoral practice was one which Cervantes' well knew and experienced from his time in the court of Isabel to his prominence amidst the literary milieu of the 1580s. It is worth recalling that Marcela is one of the few characters of the *Don Quijote* who readily inhabits don Quijote's own perspective without any recourse to performance or play.[660]

Following the brief reunion of the central characters, Elicio and Galatea, the narrative of Book 1 transitions to the female stories. The narrative again makes clear that neither Galatea nor Florisa pertain to the nobility of the Tajo (Madrid).[661] Almost immediately following Galatea's sonnet, the two shepherdesses are interrupted by the sight of a foreign shepherdess "outside of herself" in love. The description of Teolinda corresponds directly to León Hebreo's sections on amorous meditation:

> ...ella venía tan embebida y transportada en sus pensamientos, que nunca las vio hasta que ellas quisieron mostrarse.

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[660] "La cual [Marcela] visto por don Quijote, pareciéndole que allí venía bien usar su caballería, socorriendo a las doncellas menesterosas, puesta la mano en el puño de su espada, en altas e inteligibles voces dijo: --Ninguna persona, de cualquier estado y condición que sea, se atreva a seguir a la hermosa Marcela, so pena de caer en la furiosa indignación mía," (Cervanates, 1999, I:14, pp.156).
This is the most significant and authentic version of *becoming* don Quijote which Alonso Quijano will experience throughout his authorial quest. Consistently resorting to his own *ingenio* in order to re-read his landscape within the discourse of the romance of chivalry, his encounter with Marcela requires no such projection. Her authentic existence necessitates ("venía bien usar su caballería") his existence or *becoming*. In contrast to the play-making of the palace of the duke and duchess, in this earlier episode both Marcela and don Quijote act authentically. In doing so, Cervantes underscores the way in which pastoral practice invited but failed to foster chivalric practice as it became a discursive discourse amongst urban and rural readers after passing out of fasion in the court.

[661] "pues no era menester para acrecentarles hermosura el vano y enfadoso artificio con que los suyos martirizan las damas que en las grandes ciudades se tienen por más hermosas," (Cervantes, 1961, v.1, 1: pp.58).

(...she came absorbed and transported in her thoughts, such that she didn't even see them until they showed themselves)[662]

Galatea and Florisa remain in hiding in order to listen to Teolinda's verses which, again, reveal for both characters and readers a glimpse into her interior. Her misfortune concerns the loss of a previously happy love, and she is clearly in a mortal state of desperation. Galatea and Florisa console her and ask that in recompense she relate to them her story. Thus begins the introduction of the second interpolated tale still in keeping with the gender divisions of Book 1. Teolinda, of the same social order as Galatea and Florisa, is a *labradora* from the banks of the river Henares (Alcalá) who has come to the banks of the river Tajo (Madrid) to seek her lost beloved shepherd, Artidoro. Teolinda's interpolated tale differs markedly from that of Lisandro. First, her story is decidedly pastoral, whereas Lisandro is clearly an urban and noble youth. This is to say that even though she is a foreigner on the Tajo, Teolinda, Galatea and Florisa all pertain to the same cosmos; they are all Castilian shepherdesses. The world of the shepherds on the Henares is in communion with the world of the shepherds on the Tajo, as the arrival of Tirsi and Damón (also from the same area of the Henares) will later demonstrate. Second, Teolinda's tale and her motivation for coming to the Tajo is inconclusive when she crosses paths with Galatea and Florisa. Unlike Lisandro, whose tale begins with its conclusion, Teolinda's tale begins in the middle and remains incomplete at the close of Book 1. She will remain with Galatea and Florisa until the close of the Book 4 and return again in Book 6. She narrates the story of her courtship with Artidoro, a shepherd of her class from the Tajo, when he was visiting the banks of the Henares. It is important to observe that Teolinda employs both dialogue and verse in the narration of her story; she is a sophisticated narrator. By way of her recitation the reader learns not only of her interactions with Artidoro but also something of Artidoro's lyric nature when she recites his verse which she has memorized.

Teolinda's story--which retells the courtship but not its dissolution--is paused towards the end of Book 1 with the arrival of Aurelio, Galatea's father, and his hunting party. Just as Rocinante amongst the mares following the Marcela and Grisóstomo episode in *Don Quijote I* (chapter 15) recalls the previous episode, the tiny hunted hare who takes refuge in Galatea's arms illustrates the refuge which Teolinda has

[662] (Cervantes, v.1, 1: pp.59). As Hebreo has Sofía ask Filón, "¿Adónde vas tan ensimismado, que no hablas ni oyes ni ves a los amigos que te rodean?," (Hebreo, 1993, pp.325)

just taken in Galatea's friendship. Cervantes then introduces the character of the *desamorado* Lenio into the central narrative at the close of Book 1. Lenio, in contrast to Lisandro and Teolinda, is not an interloper. He forms part of the pastoral community to which Florisa, Galatea and her father, Aurelio, pertain. Lenio's sonnet against love compliments the unhappy love stories which have been unfolding over the course of Book 1. Moreover, the reader immediately recognizes him as another version of Teolinda as she described herself at the outset of her amorous tale. Both Teolinda and Lenio begin with a condition which is indifferent to Love. Both characters will be cursed by another enamored shepherd for holding love in such low regard. Both subsequently suffer all the affects of love. In the case of Teolinda this fall has already occurred. In the case of Lenio it will occur "offstage" between Books 4 and 5 when he becomes enamored with the *desenamorada Gelasia*. The reader not only recognizes Lenio as another version of Teolinda, but Teolinda's own unfortunate state serves to foreshadow Lenio's narrative fate. This becomes apparent with the arrival of Elicio and Erastro who immediately enter into a debate with Lenio over the value of Love. Elicio calls Lenio a heretic of love ("se castigasen los herejes de amor"), which further draws the spiritual cosmos of the text, *erotic mysticism*, for the reader. Erastro then curses Lenio. The curse is nearly a direct echo of the curse which Lidia had placed on Teolinda in the beginning of her interpolated tale.

Teolinda:

> Cuando Lidia oyó de mi boca tan contraria respuesta de la que esperaba de mi piadosa condición,... me dijo: «Ruego yo a Dios, Teolinda, que presto te veas en estado que tengas por dichoso el mío, y que el amor te trate de manera que cuentes tu pena a quien la estime y sienta en el grado que tu has hecho la mia.»
>
> (When Lidia heard from my mouth such a contrary response to what she had been hoping for from my merciful condition...she told me, "I beg God, Teolinda, that soon you see yourself in such a state that you take mine to be fortunate, and that love treats you in such a manner that you tell your pain to someone who esteems and empathizes with you to the degree that you have done for me,") [663]

Lenio:

> Grande fue el enojo que Erastro recibió de lo que Lenio le dijo, y así le respondió:
>
> —Paréceme, Lenio, que tus desvariadas razones merecen otro castigo que palabras, mas yo espero que algún día pagarás lo que agora has dicho, sin que te valga lo que en tu defensa dijeres.
>
> (Great was the anger which Erastro received from what Lenio said, and in this way he responded:

[663] (Cervantes, 1961, v.1, pp.85)

—It seems to me, Lenio, that your misguided reasons deserve more than verbal punishment, but I hope that one day you will pay for what you have said now, such that nothing you could say in your defense will save you.)[664]

The feud between Elicio, Erastro and Lenio over the merits of Love is put off and Lisandro, having told his tale to completion, departs from the novel. All of the other characters continue on to Book 2. The structure of Book 1 remains relatively the same at the close:

Primary:	Elicio & Erastro	Galatea & Florisa...Teolinda
Secondary:	Lenio	Aurelio (Galatea's father)

Throughout Book 1 Cervantes uses lyric verse towards both character development and narrative mirroring. At the close of Book 1 Florisa's sonnet recalls Teolinda's story and anticipates Lenio's narrative arc.

> sé bien que son de amor los escogidos
> tan pocos, cuanto muchos los llamados.
> (I know well that of love those who choose
> are very few, while so many are called.)[665]

With regard, to the verses exchanged by Elicio and Erastro throughout Book 1, they depict two very different types of Neoplatonic lovers: 1) the pure and artful courtly lover and the 2) pure and artless, rustic lover. The difference in style (linguistic and conceptual) between Elicio and Erastro should not be taken lightly, as both shepherds corresponded to actual poets, and, at that time, friends of Cervantes: Lope de Vega and Liñán de Riaza.[666] While written nearly fifty years after the publication of the *Galatea*, we can still

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[664] (Cervantes, 1961, v.1, pp.85)
[665] (Cervantes, 1961, v.1, 1:86).
[666] "Al mismo grupo [generación de 1580] pertenece Pedro Liñán de Riaza, nacido en Toledo y de padres aragoneses, muerto en 1607. A él le dedica Lope varios sonetos (*Rimas*, núms. 54 y 92) y lo elogia en *La Filomena*. La atribuye el *Ramillete de flores* el romance «Pues ya desprecias el Tajo» (*Fuentes*, V, Fol.5), y es posible, como bien afirma José F. Montesinos, que su mismo nombre «atrjera romances espúreos». Lo considera este crítico como el iniciador («el cultor») más eficaz «de cierto realismo bucólico». La aldea arcádica, convencional, idealizada, es sustituida por la rústica, atenuada, según la convención, por las circunstancias de la vida pastoril cotidiana. Vista desde la corte adquiere una perspectiva irónica, incluso burlesca. Y de Liñán procede esta modalidad rústica, dentro de la temática pastoril," (Carreño, 1979, pp.28).

observe how Erastro, in many ways, complements the love which Elicio holds for Galatea just as Julio, the *ayo*, will further Lope's intimate and lyrical portrait of Fernando in the *Dorotea* (1632). For example, it is Julio who recalls Fernando's pastoral outing with Dorotea and the pastoral verses which he composed on that occasion.

The use of prose narrative to bring lyric conceits to life within the novel begins in Book 1. For example, Cervantes takes the lyric conceits of the beloved lady as 1) the ineffable and 2) as the sun or *divino entendimiento*[667],--as used by Cervantes in his sonnet to Isabel de Valois and Gálvez de Montalvo in *El pastor de Fílida*-- and actualizes them in the prosified description of Galatea.

> Galatea, cuya hermosura era tanta que sería mejor dejarla en su punto, pues faltan palabras para encarecerla. Venía vestida a la serrana, con los luengos cabellos sueltos al viento, de quien el mesmo sol parecía tener envidia, porque hiriéndoles con sus rayos, procuraba quitarles a luz si pudiera, mas la que la salía de la vislumbre dellos, otro nuevo sol semejaba.
>
> (Galatea, whose beauty was such that it would be better to leave it in its place, well there are no words in which to praise it. She came dressed in the mountain style, with her long hair loose in the wind, of whom the same sun seemed to be envious, because wounding them with her rays, she procured to quit them of the light if she could, but that which went out to the gleam of them, another sun it seemed.)[668]

He puts the logic of the lyric into action. Moreover, these conceits reverberate throughout the cosmological lexicon of the text. Just as Elicio tells Galatea that his soul accompanies her (the lady as *soberana del alma* of the poet), Artidoro speaks of the sight of his soul to Teolinda.[669] By way of repeating the same lyric conceits in the action of the prose and the spoken dialogue of various characters, the sensual Neo-Platonism or *erotic mysticism* of Cervantes' own literary milieu comes to life in the characters of the novel. This *cosmos* is mutually intelligible to all of them. In like manner, Erastro's versified discussion of the spiritual and physiological affects of love are given prosaic action in the mouth of Teolinda as she narrates her own experience as a novice in the "escuela de amor" (school of love)--both again directly derived from León de

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[667] See chapters 1 and 2 of this dissertation for full discussion of these conceptual frameworks in conjunction with León Hebreo.

[668] (Cervantes, 1961, v.1, pp.54-55)

[669] "me turbé de manera que no acertaba a dar paso concertado en el baile, tanto, que le convenía a Artidoro llevarme con fuerza tras sí, porque no rompiese, soltándome, el hilo de la concertada danza. Y tomando dello occasión, le dije: «¿En qué te ha ofendido mi mano, Artidoro, que ansí la apreitas?» Él me respondió, con voz que de ninguno pudo ser oída: «Mas ¿qué te ha hecho a ti mi alma, que así la maltraste?» «Mi ofensa es clara--respondí yo mansamente--; mas la tuya, ni la veo ni podrá verse.» «Y aun ahí está el daño--replicó Artidoro--: que tengas vista para hacer el mal, y te falte para sanarle,» (Cervantes, 1961, v.1, pp.76). Compare to Elicio: "No seé cómo puedes decir eso--respondió Elicio--, hermosa Galatea, que las veas para herirlas, y no para curarlas," (*Ibid*, pp.56).

Hebreo and the mindset of Cervantes' own milieu. Finally, the introduction of Lenio and his verses against Love put Teolinda's amorous disdain, as she described it in prose, into versified form:

Teolinda:

¡Ay, cuántas veces, sólo por contentarme a mí mesma y por dar lugar al tiempo que se pasase, andaba de ribera en ribera, de valle en valle, cogiendo aquí la blanca azucena, allí el cárdeno lirio, acá la colorada rosa, acullá la olorosa clavellina, haciendo de todas suertes de odoríferas flores una tejida guirnalda, con que adornaba y recogía mis cabellos, y después, mirándome en las claras y reposadas aguas de alguna fuente, quedaba tan gozosa de haberme visto, que no trocara mi contento por otro alguno! ¡Y cuántas hice burla de alguna manera de compasión del mal que los suyos sentían, con abundancia de lágrimas y sospiros los secretos enamorados de su alma me descubrían!

(Oh, how many times, just to content myself with myself and to give place to the time as it passed, I went about from riverbank to riverbank, from valley to valley, picking here the white lilly, there the violet iris, here the red rose, over there a fragrant pink one, making of all sorts of odiferous flowers a woven garland, with which I gathered and adorned my hair, and later, looking at myself in the clear and resting waters of some spring, I remained so pleased with having seen myself, that I would not have traded my contentment for any other! And how many times did I jest of some manner of compassion of the bad that others felt, with abundance of tears and sighs the secret loves of their soul that they disclosed to me![670]

Lenio:

...no era otro su intento sino decir mal de amor y de los enamorados...

Un vano, descuidado pensamiento,

una loca altanera fantasía,

un no sé qué, que la memoria cría,

sin ser sin calidad, sin fundamento;

...

Y el alma que en amor tal se complace,

merece ser del suelo desterrada,

y que no las recojan en el cielo.

(...he had no other intent but to say ill of love and of lovers...

A vain, careless thought,/ a mad, haughty fantasy,/ and I don't even know, which the memory creates,/ without being without quality, without basis;/ .../ And the soul that in love is pleased,/ deserves to be exiled from the earth,/ and that he should not be accepted in the heaven.)[671]

It is important to observe that even though Lenio disdains Love, he still understands it by way of the cosmos native to Cervantes' time and place and to the fiction of the text.

At the conclusion of Book 1 the narrative structure remains rigid and organized. Three rivers have been introduced:

1) Tajo--central plot of the novel (deployed as a pseudonym for Madrid)

[670] (Cervantes, 1961, v.1, pp.65)

[671] (Cervantes, 1961, v.1, pp.80-82)

2) Betis--Lisandro's interpolated tale, concluded

3) Henares--Teolinda's interpolated tale, inconclusive.

On the banks of the Tajo three character groupings have been delineated at the close of Book 1:

1) Elicio & Erastro

2) Galatea & Florisa--Teolinda

3) Lenio

Following the interruption of her interpolated tale, Teolinda is integrated into the main narrative of the text on the Tajo; she has come to the Tajo in search of her beloved Artidoro and the action of her story, once she finishes telling it in Book 2, will remain integrated into the central narrative of the novel. Lisandro departs from the novel definitively; Silerio will take his place in Book 2. The chronological duration of Book 1 is 2 days and one night; it concludes at the close of the second day.

Book 2:

Narrating Lyric Subjectivity in the Novel

The structure of Book 2 repeats that of Book 1 but inverts the order of the female and male characters:

1) Galatea & Florisa--Teolinda 2) Elicio & Erastro--Silerio

In addition to the interpolated tales, toward the middle of the book, Cervantes supplements these two groupings with the arrival of another set of *dos amigos*, Tirsi and Damón (Figueroa and Laynez), from the banks of the river Henares. This reinforces the close ties which the lyric and publishing communities of Madrid and Alcalá held to one another. (The *Galatea* itself was first published in Alcalá, as was Sánchez de Lima's treatise *El arte poética en romance castellano* (1580).) Teolinda, who has also come from the Henares (Alcalá) both recognizes Tirsi and Damón, and fears that they will recognize her, from which the reader understands that all three shepherds pertain to the same pastoral community on the Henares (Alcalá). And moreover, that the lady behind the pseudonym, Teolinda, was recognizable to Figueroa and Laynez. By the early 1580s Figueroa had settled definitively in Alcalá and Cervantes' placement of Laynez (Damón) in the same circles suggests that Laynez may indeed have been passing much of his time in the company of Figueroa whilst continuing to write *abrobaciones* for a number of publications.[672] Tirsi and Damón do not contribute an interpolated tale to the novel; rather, they are a link between the community of the Tajo (Madrid) and the Henares (Alcalá). The shepherds from both rivers pertain to the same interconnected pastoral world. Tirsi and Damón are poet-shepherds, friends of the poet-shepherds on the Tajo, and have come to celebrate the wedding of Daranio and Silveria with their friends:

1) Galatea & Florisa--Teolinda 2)Tirsi & Damón 3) Elicio & Erastro--Silerio

[672] "A Alcalá regresó ese mismo verano [1579] tras haber confirmado a Felipe II el fracaso de su política religiosa y pacificadora en los Países Bajos. «Retiróse en summa a su patria i rio Henares--concluye Tribaldos--, donde gastó el resto de su vida tan admirado de toda la villa i universidad," (Figueroa, 1989, pp.43).

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Book 2 opens in the garden of Galatea's house on the second night of the novel. It is clear that she too corresponds to a socially organized pastoral sphere: houses, interior gardens and a father who enjoys the hunt, (I: 2: 89). For the duration of the second night, Teolinda proceeds with the remaining exposition of her story: she and the foreign shepherd, Artidoro, have fallen in love and when he departs from the Henares he promises to send a formal request for her marriage shortly thereafter, (v.1, 2: pp.93). As a lover, Teolinda is a victim of her own secrecy and discretion employed in the preservation of her honor, (v.1, 2: pp.92-verses and 97-98-prose). Her twin sister is introduced into the exposition as a foil for love's changeability. Artidoro experiences a false change in Teolinda's love by taking her twin sister, Leonarda, for Teolinda.[673] Her sister, ignorant of Teolinda's love, rejects Artidoro and informs Teolinda of this verbal exchange only when it is too late. Teolinda discovers Artidoro's interior state by way of verses which he has carved into the trunk of a tree. Artidoro's furious and desperate flight through the woods anticipates the wild man, Cardenio, of the *Quijote.*[674] The verses lament her changeability and announce his plan for suicide, to *desesperarse* (v.1, 2: pp. 99-101). Teolinda abandons her home and family on the banks of the Henares to seek out her beloved on the banks of his native Tajo. With this switch of locations, the narrative trope of the *forastero*--who must account for his past life upon his arrival in a new place--receives a new gloss by Cervantes which highlights the relativity of the *forastero* concept; I want to underscore again that this sensitivity to perspective has not only been well studied by Spitzer, it is also native to Cervantes' own biography, clearly a cosmopolitan view which he acquired early in life. In Teolinda's tale, the reader observes that Artidoro had been a *forastero* to Teolinda whilst on the banks of the river Henares; having arrived to the banks of Artidoro's native Tajo, Teolinda has become the *forastera* to Galatea and Florisa. Teolinda concludes her story by admitting that verse is a way of coping with grief and loss. This is one of the various aesthetics developed over the course of the novel, and likely modeled on Montemayor's *Diana*[675]:

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[673] On twins in Cervantes, see: (Avalle-Arce, 1961).

[674] We may also think of Orlando and Rosalind in Shakespeare's *As You Like It.* Shakespeare's use of the name Orlando underscores the clear links which all of these characters share with Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso.*

[675] (See: Wardropper, 1951)

...por saber que mi lengua cantando pronuncia, mí corazón llorando lo solemniza, haré lo que quieres, pues en ello, sin ir contra mi deseo, satisfaré el tuyo.

(...in order to know that my singing tongue pronounced, my heart crying solemnized it, I will do what you want, well in this, without going contrary to my desire, I will satisfy yours.) [676]

Her sonnet echoes Artidoro's which she had found on a tree, memorized and recited for Galatea and Florisa: both poems lament love's changeability, a changeability which Artidoro attributes to Teolinda, and which she attributes to Fortune. She vows to follow him in suicide if it is indeed the path he has taken, (v.1, 2: pp.104).

Artidoro:

...

mi firmeza y tu mudanza

han sembrado a mano llena

tus promesas en la arena

y en el viento mi esperanza.

(my firmness and your changeability/ have sewn in a full hand/ your promises in sand/ and my hope in the wind.) [677]

Teolinda:

¡Oh firme comenzar, frágil mudanza,

amarga sume de una dulce cuenta,

cómo acabáis por términos la vida!

(Oh, stable beginning, fragile changeability,/ bitter summary of a sweet story,/ how you conclude with limits [the end] the life!)[678]

At the conclusion of Teolinda's story her timeline and geography (past/Henares) have been fully integrated into the central timeline and geography of the novel (present/Tajo). At the conclusion of her tale, the third day of the novel has begun. The three shepherds sojourn out to the countryside. Teolinda attempts to take her leave from Galatea and Florisa in order to search for Artidoro, but she is forestalled when the colloquy of the shepherdesses is interrupted by the arrival of two other *forastero* shepherds to the banks of the Tajo. Teolinda recognizes these two *forasteros* as Tirsi and Damón, that is Francisco de Figueroa and Pedro Laynez, respectively. Teolinda reveals not only that she knows the two shepherds but that:

...Tirsi, que en la famosa Compluto, villa fundada en las riberas de nuestro Henares, fue nacido. Y Damón, su íntimo y perfecto amigo, si no estoy mal informada, de las montañas de León trae su origen, y en la nombrada Mantua Carpentanea fue criado: tan aventajados los dos en todo género de discreción, ciencia y loables ejercicios, que no sólo en el circuito de nuestra comarca son conocidos, pero por todo el de la tierra conocidos y estimados. Y no penséis, pastoras, que el ingenio destos dos pastores sólo se estiende en saber lo que al pastoral estado se conviene, porque pasa tan adelante que lo escondido del cielo y lo

[676] (Cervantes, 1961, v.1, 2: pp.103)

[677] (Cervantes, 1961, v.1, 2: pp.99)

[678] (Cervantes, 1961, v.1, 2: pp.104, brackets mine)

no sabido de la tierra, por términos y modos concertados enseñan y disputan. Y estoy tan confusa en pensar qué causa les habrá movido a dejar Tirsi su dulce y querida Fili, y Damón su hermosa y honesta Amarili; Fili de Tirsi, Amarili de Damón, tan amadas que no hay en nuestra aldea, ni en los contornos della, persona, ni en la campaña bosque, prado, fuente e río, que de sus encendidos y honestos amores no tengan entera noticia.... Pues, ¿qué diréis...cuando veáis que a todo eso sobrepuja la excelencia de su poesía, la cual es de manera que al uno ya le ha dado renombre del divino, y al otro de más que humano?

...Tirsi, who in the famous *Complutense* [University of Alcalá], a village founded on the banks of our Henares, was born. And Damón, his intimate and perfect friend, if I'm not misinformed, has his origen in the mountains of León, and in the famous Madrid was raised: so outstanding the two of them in every genre of discretion, science and laudable exercises, that not only in the circuit of our region are they known, but for all the land they are recognized and esteemed. And don't think, shepherdesses, that the *ingenio* of these two shepherds extends only to knowing what for the pastoral lifestyle is needed, because they pass so far ahead [in their *ingenios*] that the hidden things of heaven and the unknown mysteries of the earth, by harmonious terms and means they teach and debate. I am so confused to think of what cause might have moved them to abandon [their ladies], Tirsi his sweet and beloved Fili, and Damón his pretty and honest Amarili; Fili of Tirsi, Amarili of Damón, so loved that there is not in our village, nor in those surrounding ours, a single person, nor in the country woods, meadow, spring and river, who does not know all about their ignited and honest loves....Well, what will you say....when you see that all of this is outdone by the excellency of their poetry, which is of a manner that of the one they have already given him the name of the "divino", and of the other "more than human"? [679]

In keeping with the biographies of each poet, Teolinda refers to Figueroa's origins in Alcalá and Laynez's maturation in Madrid. She cites the pseudonyms which Figueroa and Laynez employed for their beloved ladies in their lyric verse: Fili and Amarili, respectively. In manuscript circulation the lyrics of Figueroa and Laynez were often confused--particularly with regard to the pseudonyms for their beloveds. In repeating the distinction, "Fili of Tirsi, Amarili of Damón", through Teolinda Cervantes reveals a concious awareness of the confusion which, already in the early 1580s, surrounded the manuscript works of the two poets. It is important to understand that Figueroa and Laynez pertained to a generation of palace poets who--either for reasons of decorum or personal apprehension--had abstained from seeing their own verse collections or *cancioneros* go to public printing presses. (Only the Portuguese courtier-poet and pastoral novelist, Jorge de Montemayor, had dared to see his *Cancioneros* into print in his lifetime, and this he had undertaken once free of the Habsburg court in Antwerp.) The explicitly biographical content contained in this passage narrated by Teolinda is further evident when she invokes the epithet "divino" by which Figueroa was known and bestows that of "más que humano" on Laynez, Cervantes close friend and lyric mentor.

The entrance of Tirsi and Damón into the narrative represents the first of those shepherds whose historical identities had previously been identified in literary criticism. (Lenio had been loosely tied to Liñán de Riaza, but as I have shown in the previous chapter, Lenio likely corresponded to López Maldonado. Liñán de Riaza appears in the novel as Erastro.) In doing so, Teolinda also is implied as a historical figure, rather than a purely imaginative creation. She both recognizes and fears being recognized by Figueroa and Laynez.

[679] (Cervantes, 1961, v.1, 2: pp.104-105, emphasis mine)

The narrator confirms the social prominence of Tirsi and Damón, on the following page when he describes them as, "vestidos, aunque pastorilmente, que más parecían en su talle y apostura bizarros cortesanos, que serranos ganaderos", (dressed, although in the pastoral fashion, in a way which seemed in their stature and elegance more like that of gallant courtiers than of mountain herders), (v.1, 2: pp.106). As I have stated, and as is discussed in chapters 1 and 2, Figuero and Laynez were the most distinguished court-poets of Cervantes period. By way of their introduction into the *Galatea*, Cervantes situates the younger shepherd-poets (Elicio/Lope; Erastro/Liñán de Riaza; Lenio/López Maldonado) within the fame and dominion of the two most elder and most esteemed members of his poetic circle. By 1582/83 Hurtado de Mendoza had been dead for seven or eight years; had this not been the case he likely would have remained a part, if only by way of epistolarly correspondence, of this milieu, particularly in relation to Figuero and Laynez. Instead his influence is addressed through the funeral exequies for Meliso (Hurtado de Mendoza) later on. The status of Figueroa and Laynez as courtiers in relation to the status of Galatea, Florisa and Teolinda as commoners is readily apparent in the contrast between the descriptions of the way in which they are dressed. The earliest characterization of Galatea in Book 1 narrates that she is dressed, "a la serrana" (in the mountain style), (v.1, 1: pp.54). The narrator stresses that she does not pertain to noble circles:

> la incomparable belleza de la sin par Galatea, pastora en las mesmas riberas [as Elicio, Tajo] nacida, y aunque en el pastoral y rústico ejercicio criada, fue de tan alto y subido entendimiento, que las discretas damas en los reales palacios crecidas y al discreto tracto de la corte acostumbradas, se tuvieran por dichosas de parecerla en algo, así en la discreción como en la hermosura.
>
> (the incomparable beauty of the peerless Galatea, shepherdess born on the same riverbanks [as Elicio, the Tajo]. and although in the pastoral and rustic exercises she was raised, her *entendimiento* was so high and raised, that the discrete ladies who'd grown up in the royal palaces and who were accustomed to the discrete comportment of the court, considered themselves fortunate to seem like her in some way, both in discretion and in beauty.)[680]

In other words, Galatea, Florisa and Teolinda pertain to the class of educated *labradoras* in Madrid and Alcalá, educated enough to know the work and reputations of the court-poets, Tirsi and Damón. I want to underscore here the emphasis which the narrator places on Galatea's *entendimiento* because the level of her wit or intelligence serves as further indication that the lady behind this infamously mysterious figure was indeed Elena Osorio. Like the Diana of Montemayor, Galatea is famed for their beauty and talents rather than her lineage.

[680] (Cervantes, 1961, v.1, 2: pp.16)

The three shepherdesses eavesdrop on the verses which Tirsi and Damón exchange between one another: these verses represent a dialogue or *plática* on absent lovers which glosses Teolinda's own suffering in absence of Artidoro which she has just told in narrative form. Moreover, at the conclusion of their song Teolinda pleads with Galatea and Florisa that they remain hidden because she does not want to disgrace herself by being recognized by Tirsi and Damón. This lends further credence to my suspicion that Teolinda, and the amorous tale which she relates, was inspired by way of Cervantes' direct historical knowledge or by word of mouth (*murmuraciones*). This underscores her habitation on the banks of the Henares (Alcalá) contemporaneously to Cervantes and those poets encoded in the narrative. Because Tirsi and Damón are both elder and famous it also reveals that the timeline of the *Galatea* corresponds to the early years of the 1580s, and not Cervantes previous experience in the court of Isabel de Valois in the 1560s. Teolinda's comments on Tirsi and Damón to Galatea and Florisa serve to further close the gap between historical personages and imaginative characters. Having no historical records for the intimate lives of *labradoras* in Alcalá I have, unfortunately, not been able to locate the historical identity of Teolinda. Nonetheless, it is reasonable to assume that she was of a similar station as that of Elena Osorio, the Galatea of the text. It is reasonable to suspect that Cervantes, Figueroa and any number of their peers would have immediately recognized her story transposed into the text.

From this intrusion, and the dialogue between Tirsi and Damón which the shepherdesses overhear, the reader also learns that Elicio is a poet known among the circles of Alcalá. Not only is Elicio the "íntimo y particular amigo" (intimate and personal friend) of Damón, but Tirsi and Damón have already heard about Galatea, (v.1, 2: pp.110). The conversation about Elicio and Galatea which ensues between the two visiting shepherds lends further character development to the central plot of the novel. The amorous problem which Elicio encounters in his courtship of Galatea is that of an unreadable lady. This is commented upon by Tirsi and Damón: Galatea "no da muestras de querer nin aborrecer a Elicio," (did not give a show of either loving nor hating Elicio) to the befundlment of Elicio. Galatea's discretion is praised by Tirsi and Damón, (v.1, 2: pp.111). Like Teolinda she is deeply invested in her reputation, as the narrator subsequently reveals of her inner thoughts:

no recibió poco contento, por entender que lo que la fama de sus cosas publicaba, era lo que a su limpia intención se debia. Y desde aquel punto determinó de no hacer por Elicio cosa que diese ocasión a que la fama no saliese verdadera en lo que de sus pensamientos publicaba.

(she received no small contentment, in understanding that of the fame of her dealings which were known, were in keeping which the clean [pure] intention to which she was obligated. And from that point on she determined not to do anything with regard to Elicio which would cause for her reputation not to come out true to her thoughts in what was published). [681]

I want to underscore this point because it readily refutes the critical charges against the pastoral as escapist literature. Far from removing their characters from the strictures of courtly and social etiquette, the pastoral novelists (particularly Gálvez de Montalvo and Cervantes) are acutely aware of the limitations which their characters face. The pastoral could be more intelligently understood as a literature of the interior, which keeps all social forms in place as it moves to expand upon the interior of each character in relation to the obligations of their station and class.

While all of the pastoral novels of Spain, including the original Renaissance pastoral--Sannazaro's *Arcadia*--had employed both prose and verse in their telling, the art of poetry becomes a form of characterization within Cervantes' texts. That is, Cervantes uses versified lyrics to directly engage unique lyric subjectivities in his development of character and plot. The verses do not simply serve to showcase the author's versified art, rather they are inextricably linked to the organic evolution of character and plot. While all of the characters are apt to articulate their interior thoughts and feelings in verse from time to time, select characters within the novel are singled out as being poets by fame and occupation. This is because, as I have discussed in chapter 5, Cervantes sought to encode the community of professional poets living in Madrid and Alcalá, rather than the nobility of the palace when he wrote the *Galatea.* Indeed his central characters, Galatea (Elena Osorio) and Elicio (Lope de Vega), were creative artists whose courtship Cervantes couched in the lyric milieu distinguished by the renowned Tirsi (Francisco Figueroa) and Damón (Pedro Laynez). When Damón offers to introduce Tirsi to Elicio, Tirsi interjects that he is already familiar with Elicio by way of his fame as a poet, (v.1, 2: 112). At this time (1582-1583) Lope had begun to make a name for himself as a member of the youngest generation of Madrileño poets. Already in 1580, Lope was well-known amidst this milieu.[xxxi] It is clear that the poets of the Tajo (which Cervantes uses as a foil for Madrid) and the poets of the Henares (Alcalá) know and are familiar with one another, in keeping with the

[681] (Cervantes, 1961, v.1, 2: pp. 111, brackets mine)

formation of lyric groups in Madrid during the early years of the 1580s as Cervantes encountered them following his return from Algiers, Lisbon, and Oran. As I have said, printing in the two cities, particularly in the case of lyric and imaginative works--was closely tied, and the *Galatea* itself was printed in Alcalá. In the case of Teolinda the significance lies not in the fact that she recognizes Tirsi and Damón--who are famous--but in her fear that Tirsi will recognize her. This is to say that Figueroa knew the lady behind Teolinda sufficiently to recognize her outside of Alcalá. Moreover, it should be remembered that as the Tajo represented Madrid, rather than Toledo; both the sojourn of Teolinda and that of Tirsi and Damón to its banks is reasonable given the proximity of Alcalá to Madrid, a verisimilitude which could not be extended to Toledo.

The arrival of Tirsi and Damón following Teolinda's interpolated tale (roughly the first third of Book 2) serves as a transition from the female half of Book 2 to the male half of Book 2. Elicio now arrives unaware of the two groups. Tirsi and Damón are visible, but Galatea, Florisa and Teolinda remain hidden. At the sound of Elicio's song, Tirsi and Damón also hide in the woods for the purpose of eavesdropping. That is, Elicio is observed by two isolated groups of eavesdropping shepherds:

1) Galatea, Teolinda, Florisa 2) Tirsi & Damón.

Elicio is unaware of the presence of either group. Tirsi and Damón are unaware of the presence of the first group. Galatea, Teolinda and Florisa have observed everyone. After Elicio concludes his verses, Tirsi and Damón go out to greet him, and Damón formally introduces Tirsi to Elicio. Tirsi's renown as a poet is evident in Elicio's response, as is the fact that Elicio is much younger than the other two, (v.1, 2: 114-155). (Lope de Vega was twenty-one years old in 1583). Erastro is also present and in the dialogue he presents such a true image of the disinterested lover that the more cynical Damón doubts the veracity of his proclamations. It is clear that Erastro, though not as young as Elicio, is younger than the famous pair. The pairing of the young Lope and Liñán de Riaza and the elder Figueroa and Laynez, signals a continuity in the tradition of lyric poetry as Cervantes would have been able to observe it in the early 1580s. After this initial exchange, the four agree to make their ways back to the village before nightfall. The narrative focus shifts from the female to the male characters here in the late afternoon of the third day.

Each of the four shepherds--Elicio, Erastro, Tirsi, Damón--sings a sonnet characterizing his particular version of love, (v.1, 2: 119-211). Erastro's sonnet reprises the *erotic mysticism* of León Hebreo which had been most evocative in Gálvez de Montalvo's *El pastor de Fílida* (see chapter 2). Galatea's eyes are the supreme sun which gives light to the natural sun and, by way of which, to the earth. She is the *divino entendimiento* of Erastro's world. Like the troubadour he asks only that he be allowed to love her, and if not, that she kill him with a single ray (glance).[682] Elicio's sonnet names love as a "firme pensamiento" (firm thought), also it keeping with the intellectual aspects of León Hebreo and the lexicon of Garcilaso. His sonnet recalls the opening octaves with which he began the novel, as well as Galatea's sonnet of Book 1, by way of the repetition of lists of natural elements and signs of love: "contradicen el cielo, el fuego, el viento,/ la agua, la tierra y la enemiga mía!," (they contradict the heaven, the fire, the wind,/ the water, the earth and my enemy!), (v.1, 2: pp.119); "El alto cielo, amor, el viento, el fuego,/ la agua, la tierra y mi enemiga bella," (The high heaven, love, the wind, the fire,/ the water the earth and my beautiful enemy), (v.1, 2: pp.120); and, "mi bien estorbe, esparza, abrase, y luego/ deshaga mi esperanza," (it upsets my good, scatters, burns, and later/ undoes my hope), (v.1, 2: pp.120). As a lover, he is fully committed and his suffering comes to the firm "pensamiento" with which it began. He is constant. In contrast to Erastro's uninvested adulation, his love remains one of pursuit as he alternates between suffering and hope.

Damón's sonnet sets out with a near direct citation of León Hebreo in the first quatrain:

> cuando imprimí en mi alma la figura
> de la bella Amarilli.
> (when it was imprinted in my soul the figure
> of the beautiful Amarilli.)[683]

In Hebreo's text, Filón tells Sophia,

> la belleza que se ha formado en ti, grabada su imagen en ella [mi mente] y siempre deseada...
> (the beauty which has been formed in you, engraved your image in my mind and it is always desired...)[684]

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[682] The sonnet shares the parlance of Sidney's Astrophil, "Soul's joy, bend not those morning stars from me/...../ Yet since thy love wound is already got, spare not the candor of thy sweet cruel shot/ A kind of grace it is to slay with speed."

[683] (Cervantes, 1961, v.1, 2: pp.120)

[684] (Hebreo, 1993, pp. 326)

Damón's love takes the trajectory of transcendence to "la esfera/ más alta" (the highest sphere) and the fall to "la sepultura" (the grave), (v.1, 2: pp.120). Despite these vicissitudes, as a lover he continues to pay tribute to his lady's face, breast and the earth. Tirsi is the last of the four poet-lovers to sing. He considers himself the most fortunate of all, one whose sole good was born of his beloved, Fili. He compares her to a ruling king who dispels all bad from his kingdom:

> así ante tu hermosísima presencia
> la muerte huye, el daño se retira,
> y deja en su lugar vida y provecho.
> (in this way before your beautiful presence
> death flees, harm retires,
> and in its place is left life and profit.) [685]

As with Erastro, she is a ruler. However, in Tirsi's sonnet, the lady is flesh and blood, "un ser tan raro y estremado" (a being so rare and extreme), governess of his world, rather than maker of it, (v.1, 2: 120). This is a portrait of four poets and friends of Cervantes circulating in his milieu in Alcalá and Madrid in 1582 and 1583, each with their own distinct manner of love expressed in a lyrical style particular to each. Moreover, it is a showcase of the amorous lyric as exemplified by the elder generation and given new life and form in the younger generation. It is as much a philosophical dialectic on love as it is a celebration of the lyric-philosphers who undertake its development. As Cervantes slowly develops Elicio into a heroic lover throughout the course of the novel--a development which reaches its climax towards the end of Book 6--it becomes increasingly clear that Cervantes has found in his protagonist an actionable figuration of ideal *disinterested* love, even as his own pseudonymic counterpart (Lauso) will divest himself of the enterprise. In short, where amorous poetry is concerned, Cervantes cedes to Lope, even as he authors the very renunciation he is in the process of undertaking.

The two sets of male friends (*los dos amigos*) Elicio & Erastro and Tirsi & Damón make their way through the landscape.[686] Their trajectory is shortly interrupted when they come upon a hermitage where they will soon discover Silerio's interpolated tale, yet another iteration of the *dos amigos*. The introduction of Silerio's tale structurally replaces that of Lisandro who departed, as I have said, at the close of Book 1. Tirsi

[685] (Cervantes, 1961, v.1, 2: pp.121)
[686] See: (Avalle-Arce, 1975, pp.153-211)

and Damón cannot, as I have demonstrated, serve as a structural replacement because they have no interpolated tale to relate: they have come to the banks of the Tajo for the wedding of Darinto and Silveria, which will soon occupy the second half of Book 3. While Tirsi and Damón situate and augment the poetry of *erotic mysticism* within the historical tradition of Spanish Renaissance poetry by way of the verses and *pláticas* which they undertake, they are too old to play at the amorous dramatics which involve the younger shepherds. Like the priest, the barber and the canon of *Don Quijote*, they are onlookers and commentators. The trajectory of Tirsi & Damón is not novelistic; they are the key impetus for the explicit philosophical and aesthetic content of the novel.

At the hermitage of Silerio, Erastro explains that a young man has been living there for several days but Erastro has not been able to coax the foreigner's story from him. Erastro's affinity to Silerio balances against Elicio's solidarity with Lisandro in Book 1. Cervantes tends this structural balance by having Erastro approach to wake Silerio from his faint and speak with him after the four have stopped to overhear the hermit's song. Silerio's friendship with Timbrio in his interpolated tale will mirror Erastro's friendship with Elicio: both Silerio and Erastro will suppress their love for Nísida and Galatea, respectively, on behalf of their friend, Timbrio and Elicio, respectively. Again, the structure of Book 2 directly inverts the structure of Book 1:

	first half		second half
Book 1:	Elicio & Erastro--Lisandro		Galatea & Florisa--Teolinda
Book 2:	Galatea & Florisa--Teolinda	Tirsi & Damón	Elicio & Erastro, Tirsi & Damón--Silerio

The introduction of Silerio and his song into the *Galatea* makes another radical addition to the novel: the introduction of the hermit-poet as an alternative to the shepherd-poet as a type of poet-lover, (v.1, 2: pp.122-125). Silerio's hermitage also provides for him a stay against *desesperación;* the character has chosen absolute solitude over suicide. This was in keeping with the growing trend of shepherd-poets who turned to religious verse after being disappointed in love. Among Cervantes' friends Pedro de Padilla and Gálvez de Montalvo were most notable in this trajectory, though it remains uncertain as to how fully Gálvez de Montalvo assumed the new role. Silerio's verses, as in the case with Teolinda, serve as an introduction to

the unknown *forastero* shepherd. Within the novel all the characters come to know one another in two ways: 1) their historical identity by way of narrative, and their 2) interior--emotional, spiritual, intellectual--identity by way of their verse. This highlights an important aspect of the way in which human identity--not only for Cervantes, but also unanimously in the literature of his peers--was conceptualized during the final decades of the sixteenth century. This, again, underscores important nuances and reading clues for the character of Alonso Quijano (don Quijote) and his relationship to his own *ingenio* or lyrical capacities. The similarity of the suffering which Silerio's verses depict resonate with the sonnets just voiced by Elicio, Erastro, Tirsi and Damón. Thus, Silerio who is not a shepherd-poet, but a cosmopolitan Spanish nobleman, is still fluent in the language of the pastoral world. This conceit was readily built into the pastoral novel. At the close of his verses he faints and the narrative description of him is evocative of the Christian hermits, he is painted as a youthful St. Jerome[687]:

> vestido de un tosco buriel con los pies descalzos y una áspera soga ceñida al cuerpo, que de cordón le servía. Estaba con la cabeza inclinada a un lado, y la una mano asida de la parte de la túnica que sobre el corazón caía, y el otro brazo a la otra parte flojamente derribado.
>
> (dressed in a crude sackcloth with naked feet and a rough rope around the body, which served as a belt. He was with his head inclined to one side, and one hand holding onto a part of the tunic which fell over his heart, and the other arm to the other side limply fallen.)[688]

The other shepherds are not alarmed by Silerio's faint. They immediately recognize it as a state into which they too have often fallen as a result of their amorous suffering. If we recall Hebreo's third dialogue on the origin of love, then these mystical affects of amorous medition indicate a withdrawal of the senses and the faculties of the soul into the interior unity of the poet-lover.[689] Erastro wakes the hermit from his faint, and Tirsi is successful in eliciting his tale. The dialogue between Erastro and Silerio is one of Cervantes' earliest glosses on the theme of time and this will reappear throughout the course of the novel, (v.1, 2:126). Silerio is depicted as a practical hermit; he is in need of food stores and agrees to accompany the group to the *aldea*, as it is already late in the evening of the third day. They depart and Silerio begins his tale as they walk.

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[687] I am thinking, for example, of Caravaggio's "St. Jerome" of 1605. Depictions of the saint were a common motif in painting throughout the sixteenth century.

[688] (Cervantes, 1961, v.1, 2: pp.125)

[689] See chapter 1.

Silerio's tale (v.1, 2: 128-156) mirrors two key motifs already in play amongst the shepherds of the Tajo and the Henares:

1) the depths of male friendship

2) the love of two friends for the same woman[690]

It also introduces one of Cervantes' most consistent themes throughout his corpus: the consequences of play and disguise. More importantly the addition of Silerio's tale renders the link between courtly and pastoral love synonymous.[691] Both Silerio and his friend, Timbrio, are Spanish courtiers from Jerez; both of whom fall in love with Nísida at first sight once in Naples. Silerio falls in love with Nísida because Timbrio convinces him to go disguised as a minstrel to her house in order to win her favor on Timbrio's behalf. Silerio's lyrics which he recites from memory in the narration of his tale are conceptually and thematically identical to the amorous lyrics of the pastoral, thus rendering the cosmos of pastoral love universal to idyllic and noble spheres alike. Moreover, when Silerio sings about his love for Nísida in Naples, he uses a fake name--or pseudonym--to identify Nísida and thus conceal her identity and his suffering from his friend, Timbrio. In this way, Cervantes reveals the mechanisms of the pastoral by including characters who must first take up those very mechanisms in order to enter into the world of poetry. This is a microcosmic picture of the general use of pseudonyms in pastoral literature, as well as courtly and urban life contemporary to Cervantes. Silerio then tells how Timbrio overhears Silerio's song and, in spite of the use of pseudonym to conceal Nísida's identity, Timbrio recognizes that the lady is indeed her. This further underscores that the use of the pastoral was one of decorum and not of absolute secrecy, but the polite conceit of secrecy. Upon realizing that Silerio is in love with Nísida, Timbrio plans to *desesperarse* just as Artidoro, the shepherd, had done in Teolinda's interpolated tale. From the banks of the Arcadian Tajo to the noble spheres of Naples, the experience of love remains the same. The amorous cosmology of the text, this *erotic mysticism*, is not limited to the *locos ameonus* of the pastoral world. The entirety of the text--from the banks of the Henares to the streets of Madrid to the far reachers of the Mediterranean--all adheres to the *cosmos of erotic mysticism.* Far

[690] This second motif is one which Cervantes will repeatedly explore in the interpolated tales of the *Quijote.*

[691] See the "Introduction" of chapter 1 of this dissertation for more on this aspect of the pastoral.

from interpolating an urban tale into the landscape of the pastoral, Cervantes uses Silerio to bring to light that this pastoral cosmos pervaded urban and international culture.

Book 2 closes with the interruption of Silerio's tale by the arrival of Daranio and his wedding party (12 shepherd groomsmen). With this the narrative returns from the interpolated tale to the central geography and timeline of the novel. Tirsi, Damón and Elicio are all friends with Daranio. While I have not been able to definitively identify Daranio, it is clear that this marriage early in the 1580s would serve as further literary material for Cervantes throughout his career, most memorably revived in the *Bodas del Camacho*. The group sets out again towards the *aldea*--night is falling-- when they come upon Lenio (López Maldonado). The entrance of Lenio at the close of Book 2 structurally mirrors the entrance of Lenio at the close of Book 1. Lenio also knows Tirsi and Damón by their literary fame: by their "celebrados escriptos" (celebrated writings), (v.1, 1: 162). He is excited to meet them even though he criticizes them all for their servitude to Love. As I have discussed in chapter 5, López Maldonado (Lenio) had by the early 1580s returned from his period as the poet, *Sincero*, amongst the *Academia de los Nocturnos* in Valencia; but his reputation as a mysogynist and disparager of Love was well-formed by the time he appeared as Lenio in the *Galatea*. The somewhat more amorous *Cancionero* of Maldonado did not appear until 1586, presumably following his unrequited love for the lady who appears in the *Galatea* as Gelasia. Lenio sings a song against love. His presence initiates another brief exchange on the merits of Love amongst the shepherds. In other words, Lope de Vega, Liñán de Riaza, Francisco de Figueroa, Pedro Laynez and López Maldonado debate the merits of Love.

The arrival of Galatea, Florisa and Teolinda at the close of Book 2 matches the arrival of Elicio and Erastro at the close of Book 1. Once again all of the characters come together at the close of the book. Teolinda wears a white veil in order to mask her identity from Tirsi and Damón; the veil serves as the material form of the verbal pseudonym. They all head for the *aldea* with the conclusion of Silerio's tale still pending, (just as Teolinda's had been left pending at the close of Book 1). Book 2 closes at the end of the third day:.

	Close of Book 1:	Close of Book 2:
1)	Teolinda's tale interrupted by hunting party	Silerio's tale interrupted by wedding party

2)	Lenio's objects to Love & response	Lenio's objections to Love & response
3)	Teolinda stays the night with Galatea & Florisa	Silerio stays the night with Elicio, Erastro, Tirsi, Damón

The narrative structure of Book 2 remains rigid and strictly organized such that Book 2 repeats the structure of Book 1, with one alteration, it inverts the male first half with the female second half and it introduces Tirsi & Damón and the impending wedding ceremony of Daranio and Silveria.

Book 3:

Poetic Practice in the Pastoral Mode

Because the interpolated tales of the *Galatea* have been the object of much criticism, I want to stress that at the opening of Book 3, all of the visiting shepherds--Teolinda, Tirsi and Damón--except for Silerio, are explicity linked to the community of poets circulating on the banks of the Tajo (Madrid). These are not detached narrative elements, but fully integrated into the world of the text, and, moreover, used to amplify, shape and reflect the central plot. Silerio, in choosing a hermit's life within the pastoral community on the Tajo, has also integrated himself into the world of the text. While he is a noble and urban youth from Jérez, his misfortunes have motivated him to leave his former life for that of the pastoral. This decision anticipates the same made by the character Lauso (Cervantes) who also leaves the life of court and military pursuits, to take up his life in the pastoral world of poets. Because Cervantes shows this pastoral world of the Tajo to be synchronic with the urban cultures of Jérez, Madrid, Alcalá and Naples, he reveals that the pastoral referred to a frame of mind rather than to a fantastical and idyllic other world of allegory.

Book 3 begins with the continuation of Silerio's tale in Elicio's home during the third night, just as Book 2 began with the continuation of Teolinda's tale in Galatea's home during the second night. Like the previous interlopers (Lisandro and Teolinda), Silerio refers to his story as the "tragedia de mi vida", (v.1, 3: pp.168). Silerio's tale of his friendship with Timbrio, that of the *dos amigos*, forms the sophisticated kernel of one of Cervantes' most reprised topographies which he employs to varying effects in the *Curioso Impertinente*, *Rinconete y Cortadillo*, the *Casamiento engañoso*, the *Coloquio de los perros*, the *Amante liberal*, and the story of Cardenio and Fernando. Male (storge) friendship, takes on the same gravity as amorous love.[692] Moreover, like Anselmo of the *Curioso Impertinente*, Carrizales of the *Celoso extremeño*, Carranza of the *Casamiento engañoso*, and Grisóstomo and Alonso Quijano of the *Quijote*, Silerio recognizes himself as the orchestrator of his own demise.

> ¡O fuerza poderosa de verdadera amistad, a cuánto te estiendes y a cuánto me obligaste, pues yo mismo, forzado de tu obligación, afilé con mi industria el cuchillo que había de degollar mis esperanzas, las cuales, muriendo en mi alma...

[692] "Storge...1637. [Gr. στοργη, related to στεργειν to love.] Natural affection; usu., that of parents for their offspring," (Murray, 1955, pp.2031). The term is not necessarily familial, though it often involves empathy. For ease of reference, see C.S. Lewis's study, *The Four Loves* (1960).

(Oh powerful force of true friendship, how far you extend and how much you obligate me, such that I myself, forced by your obligation, sharpened with my industry the knife which would slice the throat of my hopes, which, dying in my soul...)[693]

Just as Silerio's (storge) devotion to Timbrio, mirrors Erastro's (storge) devotion to Elicio, the discretion which Silerio uses to describe Nísida mirrors the discretion for which Galatea is known. In this way, Timbrio, Silerio and Nísida become an urban mirror of Elicio, Erastro and Galatea:

Pero ella andaba tan recatada con él y conmigo, que nunca de todo punto dio entender que de la solicitud mía y amor de Timbrio se contentaba, ni menos se desdeño de suerte que sus sinsabores y desvíos hiciesen a los dos abandonar la empresa,

(But she went about so reserved with him and with me, that never in any certain point did she give to understanding that my solicitations and Timbrio's love pleased her, nor did she any more disdain them in such a manner that her distastes and diversions caused us to abandon the enterprise.)[694]

Unlike Teolinda, who is given no opportunity to right Artidoro's misgivings, Timbrio's pending duel with an enemy from Jerez under the supervision of the Duke of Gravina provides the impetus for Nísida's confession that she does indeed love Timbrio.[695] Just as with Lisandro and Teolinda, Silerio employs the verses of other characters which he has memorized in the narration of his tale. Timbrio's verses to Nísida prior to his duel resonate with don Quijote's prosified letter to Dulcinea in the Sierra Morena.[696]

Still in the midst of recounting his tale, Silerio is interrupted by the voice of an another sorrowful shepherd. This interruption signals a decided change in the structure of Book 3 in comparison with the more rigid structures of Books 1 and 2. The novel community of shepherds situated on the banks of the river Tajo begins to take shape and modulate in a manner more akin to Ariostian weaving. If we compare this with Montemayor's *Diana*, Gálvez de Montalvo's *El pastor de Fílida*, Pedro de Padilla's novelistic *Églogas pastoriles* and to the versified novela of Laynez, *Engaños y desengaños de amores*, the novelistic developments made by Cervantes in the *Galatea* fall into stark relief: that is, all the previous sub-plots are intermingled and brought to bare on the development one another and the central *praxis* of the novel. (This prefigures the use of the Inn in the *Don Quijote.)* In Montemayor, the narrative community is referenced, but aside from the central narratives of the text little is done to draw the main characters in relation to their fictional community.

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[693] (Cervantes, v.1, 3: pp.169)

[694] (Cervantes, v. 1: 3: pp. 169)

[695] The reader also recognizes a parallel between the discretion of Nísida and that of Teolinda in her own tale. This new variation allows this amorous problematic to be diverted. Teolinda is not given the opportunity to refute Artidoro's doubts.

[696] (Cervantes, v.1: 3: pp.170-174, and pp.170 n.), (Cervantes, 1999, I: 25: pp.286-287)

Gálvez de Montalvo does much to develop the fictional world of the novel, but even when secondary characters are present in groups they are quickly drawn by the narrator and then left to the side in order to focus on the central characters. Because both Padilla and Laynez told their pastoral stories strictly in verse, no more than a single character may be present in the narrative plain at any given moment. The introduction of Mireno (Pedro de Padilla) and unfolding of the wedding festivities for Daranio and Silveria occasions an entirely new way of creating a fictional context for the central characters of the *Galatea*.

Mireno is the impoverished and spurned lover of Silveria who has lost her through her betrothal to the rich Daranio at the behest of her parents. His fate recalls the fate of Montemayor's Sireno, who has lost Diana through her marriage to another shepherd. It also anticipates Galatea's unwanted betrothal to a wealthy Portuguese shepherd later in the novel. The triangulation of Mireno, Silveria and Daranio over the theme of economic interest, courtly love and marriage is one which Cervantes will pursue again in the *Bodas de Camacho* in the *Don Quijote*. The marriage of Silveria and Daranio is the occasion which has brought Tirsi and Damón to the banks of the Tajo. Mireno is friends with Elicio and Erastro. But he does not represent a distinct interpolated tale. He is part of the community of the *Galatea* and crucial to the narrative development of a completely synthesized fictional world. Out of earshot, Elicio and Erastro comment on the fate of Mireno and the interest of Silveria's parents in marrying her to the wealthy Daranio. Without alerting Mireno to their presence, they stop to listen to his verses. Mireno's solitude and desperation recalls Silerio's first verses (Book 2).

After eavesdropping on Mireno and the ensuing amorous dialogue over the marriage, Silerio continues with his tale. In this way Cervantes continually shifts back and forth between the world of the pastoral on the Tajo and the worlds of his interpolated characters, consistently diminishing the boundary between contemporary Spanish social spheres and the lyrical world of pastoral poets writing in Madrid. At the conclusion of Silerio's tale he has lost not only the beloved lady, Nísida, whom he cedes to his friend, but also his dearly loved Timbrio. He has searched all of Castile for news of them but without success. His tale, although inconclusive, resolves its development by bringing him to the state of solitude and desperation which he has decided to cultivate as a lone hermit on the banks of the Tajo within the community of the central narrative. He is now fully integrated into the pastoral landscape of the novel. This integration does

much to break the boundaries between fiction and history which previous novels, such as that of Gálvez de Montalvo had erected. By interpolating tales of noble courtiers who come to the pastoral, Cervantes reveals the pastoral as an actual space within the historical context of contemporary Spain. The space is not simply the fictional plane of pseudonyms drawn over courtly histories, it is an alternative form of society in which poets and unfortunate lovers seek solace from their contemporary spheres. It is both a mindset and a choice. He has taken down the mimetic curtain, or rather, through the introduction of Silerio has shown that the boundary between artifice and history is fluid. The dialogue over the virtues of the pastoral as opposed to the courtly in Book 4 will do much to illuminate this confluence.

With the conclusion of Silerio's tale the wedding festivities of Daranio and Silveria begin in the plaza of the *aldea*. The formalities of the rustic banquet remind the reader that even amidst this pastoral community of the *Galatea*, we are still squarely within a Castilian landscape contemporary to the composition of the text. Because the banks of the Tajo were themselves a pseudonym for the streets of Madrid, the transposition again refers to a precise community rather than to the world of fiction. Elicio and Erastro are still concerned for Mireno and seek him out beyond the limits of the *aldea*. When they find him he has fallen into a sorrowful amorous ecstasy ("fuera de sí", outside himself) in keeping with those descriptions found in León Hebeo's third dialogue. In spite of his desperate state, Elicio reasons with Mireno that, in keeping with the laws of Love consonant with *erotic mysticism*, he can continue to worship Silveria even after she is married. In other words, he may take on the role of Sireno in the *Diana* and of Erastro for Galatea. The shepherd is disconsolate and decides that he must leave the banks of the Tajo in order to forget Silveria. He leaves his parting versified epistle which he has written on piece of paper with Elicio and disappears. While the previous verses of the *Galatea* had been recited by shepherds, this moment occasions the entrance of written poetry into the community of the shepherds. Following his departure, Elicio reads the verses from Mireno to Silveria aloud for Erastro, Tirsi and Damón.[697] This is the first appearance of writing in the *Galatea*. All of the previous poems and epistles had either been recited extemporaneously or from memory. With the departure of Mireno (Padilla), authored text enters the landscape of the *Galatea*. In this way Cervantes

[697] In addition to the identifications which I have put forth in the previous chapter, I find it probable that Mireno refers to Pedro de Padilla. If we draw back the pastoral veil of this *roman à clef*, we may observe that Lope de Vega reads aloud one of Padilla's poems to Liñán de Riaza, Figuero and Laynez.

records the consumption of literature by the very community which he encodes in his novel. Moreover, these parting verses anticipate the written verses of Grisóstomo in the *Don Quijote I* which are left behind after his suicide and read aloud over the funeral pyre in which he has asked for them to be burnt; and the verses of Cardenio which don Quijote and Sancho uncover in his abandoned satchel.[xxxii] We may also find in this an anticipation of don Quijote's epistle to Dulcinea in the Sierra Morena, (1999: I: 25, pp.286-287)

The narration returns to the opulence of the well-attended wedding and the arrival of four shepherd-poets who are famous on the banks of the Tajo (Madrid) for their versified competitions over which of them suffers the most in love. Having introduced the consumption of pastoral poetry by readers into the text, Cervantes will continue to forefront this activity amongst the poet-shepherds of this pastoral community. The *triste* Orompo, *celoso* Orfenio, *ausente* Crisio and *desamado* Marsilio have come to compete in an eclogue of their respective loves for the marriage festivities. However, this eclogue is not simply occasioned for the celebrations of the wedding. The shepherds, the narrator tells us, are already famous for their competing eclogues amongst the members of the community, which recalls the many poetic jousts or *certámenes* common to poetic practice in Castile and Cervantes' own milieu. While I have not been able to identify definitively all of these shepherd-poets, the widowed Orompo clearly refered to the widowed Dr. Campuzano whose verses on widowhood appeared in the volumes of several of his friends.[698] Also of the same generation as Elicio and Erastro these shepherd poets are excited to meet Tirsi and Damón whom they know only by way of their fame. Both Laynez and Figueroa were retired from palace life and lyric composition at the time of the *Galatea*, and Laynez would not live to see the *Galatea* in print. Orompo, Orfenio, Marsilio and Crisio correspond to the younger generation of poets writing in Madrid. This moment in the text constitutes another portrait of lyric exchanges among poets and betwixt generations as the new *modernos* worked to develop their lyric art.[699]

Galatea, Florisa and Teolinda (again wearing a veil to conceal her identity), are also present at the marriage festivities. The festivities serve as a foil for uniting all of the characters of the novel in one central

[698] (See: López Maldonado, 1932, fasc. 1586, pp.125r) Cervantes does reuse Campuzano's name in the *Casamiento engañoso* for the "alférez" Campuzano. I have not been able to recover enough biographical data or other historical evidence to say if this refers to the same doctor-poet of the 1580s.
[699] (See note: cdlxii)

location. (Cervantes will use the inn of the *Quijote* to a similar effect.) Both are structurally drawn from Montemayor's use of the place of Felicia in the central book of the *Diana* for the same narrative purpose. Among the festivities, Elicio and Erastro converse about Galatea; their topic is desire and true love, or *apetito y amor*. Their conversation is a means for developing the philosophical aspects of the text which bring Hebreo's treatise to life within the narrative. With Lenio's arrival and verses against love the reunion of all the characters is complete. While Lenio's verses never waver from his own disdain, he does resolve to offer Silveria and Daranio a marriage blessing and appeal to the fortunes of Love--personified as a god--at the close of his poem on their behalf. It is important to underscore that even those characters who are enemies of love have no doubt as to the *cosmos of erotic mysticism*. It is a world where the spiritual is defined in terms of Love, a sensual Neoplatonic cosmos which accords to the natural and spiritual laws of *erotic mysticism*. Nonetheless, Silveria and Daranio are married by a priest. What appears as a contradiction simply makes plain just how pantheistic was the *cosmos* of Cervantes' own literary moment.[700]

The four shepherd-poets, Orompo, Marsilo, Crisio and Orfenio request that Tirsi and Damón act as judges of their eclogue on love and determine which of the four lovers suffers the most. In this way Cervantes transposes the poetry of love into the philosophical (socratic) dialogues of his characters. This eclogue is, aside from the *Canto de Calíope*, the largest section of verse which unfolds in the *Galatea*. Orompo (Dr. Campuzano), who has lost his beloved Listea to an early death, begins the eclogue. He is followed by Marsilo who is desperate from the disdain which his beloved Belisa has shown him. Following their exchange Crisio, who suffers from the absence of his beloved, Claraura, interjects. The three continue to dialogue in verse before the last, the jealous Orfenio, who suffers a "rabia de celos" (fury of jealously) interjects his own suffering verses," (v.1, 3: pp.197). The four continue the exchange before Damón comes to a conclusion as a judge over their suffering: whether it is worse to suffer loss, disdain, absence or jealousy. Here enters another of Cervantes' most pervasive themes: *celos* (jealousy). Damón judges that above all:

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[700] Seemingly contradictory perspectives are easily observed in medical treatises of the day. Velázquez, for example, in the *Libro de melancholía* (1585) of the same year admits while the soul is far more efficient when at work outside of the body, this practice should be reserved for theologians alone. It is easy to see how within the *cosmos* of *erotic mysticism*, Elicio and Artidoro could both implore that their beloved ladies see the presence of their souls accompanying them.

> ninguno fatiga tanto el enamorado pecho como la incurable pestilencia de los celos, y que no se podían igualar a ella
>
> (nothing fatigues the breast of the lover as much as the incurable pestilence of jealousy, and that nothing can equal this) [701]

After addressing the sorrows of the other poet-lovers he proceeds through a lengthy discourse on the theme of *celos* which he defines as nothing less than a *curiosidad impertinente*:

> Y así, es mi parecer que Orfinio es el más penado, pero no el más enamorado, porque no son los celos señales de mucho amor, sino de mucha curiosidad impertinente; y si son los celos señales de amor, es como la calentura en el hombre enfermo, que el tenerla es señal de tener vida, pero vida enferma y mal dispuesta, y así el enamorado celoso tiene amor, mas es amor enfermo y mal acondicionado
>
> (And in this way, it seems to me that Orfinio is the most pained, but not the most loving, because jealously is not a sign of much love, but rather of much *curiosidad impertinente*; and if jealousy is a sign of love, it is like fever in a sick man, that to have it is to have a sign of life, but a sick life and one poorly disposed of, and in this way the jealous lover has love, but it is a sick love and a poorly arranged one.)[702]

Cervantes will later give this theme a full narrative gloss in the novel, the *Curioso impertinente*, which is read aloud at the Inn in *Don Quijote I*. The apparition of this title--jealousy as a "curiosidad impertiente"-- here suggests a consistency in Cervantes' preoccupation with this theme.[703] Moreover, Tirsi's discourse goes on to define the distinction between *celos* and *temor*, distinguishing the true from the false lover and lending a guiding principal to the central characters of the *Galatea*. The narrative then introduces Francenio (Gálvez de Montalvo), Arsindo (López de Hoyos) and Lauso (Cervantes). Later, Lauso's verses on jealously in Books 4 and 5, will serve to further illustrate the discourse which Damón has just given.

The aged Arsindo, gentle Francenio and free (*libre)* Lauso are the last of the characters to arrive at the marriage festivities and also the last of the new characters to be introduced in Book 3. Lauso, who as I have shown in chapter 5 is the pastoral pseudonym which Cervantes used for himself, greets his "antiguo y verdadero amigo" (old and true friend), Damón (Laynez). Their reunion fictionalizes the reunion of

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[701] (Cervantes, 1961, v.1, 3: pp.225)

[702] (Cervantes, 1961, v.1, 3: pp.230)

[703] Quint observes the same narrative interlacing used in the *Galatea* in Cervantes' use of the *Curioso impertinente* in the *Don Quijote*. "As these initial samples suggest, the effect of the interlacing with the "Curioso impertinente" is to demystify the story of Cardenio's betrayed love and abjection, to disclose the levels of self-dramatization and self-deception--and of self-love--in this suffering lover...," (Quint, 2003, pp.29). Lauso also engages explicitly with the experience of jealousy later in Book 5: "le rogó [Damón a Lauso] que, a lo menos, le dijese en qué estado se hallaba, si era de temor o de esperanza, si le fatigaba ingratitud o si le atormentaban celos. A todo lo cual le satisfazo bien Lauso, contándole algunas cosas que con su pastora le habían sucedido, y entre otras, le dijo como hallándose un día celoso y desfavorecido, había llegado a términos de desesperarse o de dar alguna muestra que en da'no de su persona y en el del crédito y honra de su pastora redundase; pero que todo se remedió con haberla él hablado," (Cervantes, 1961, v.2, 5: pp.94).

Cervantes with Laynez following his return from Algiers, Lisbon and Oran. With the arrival of Arsindo, Francenio and Lauso, Cervantes again returns to the mechanisms of composition and consumption of lyric poetry amidst his immediate literary milieu. Francenio and Lauso have agreed to compete in a lyrical gloss.[704] Normatively, glosses were undertaken for a single verse or couplet drawn from the *romanceros* or the works of previous poets. Here the gloss is drawn from a conversation which has occurred within the pastoral landscape on the banks of the Tajo. Arsindo relates the story: In a festivity prior to the marriage of Daranio and Silveria, a shepherd was seated next to the shepherdess whom he considered to be the "tesorera de los secretos de su alma," (treasurer of the secrets of his soul), (v.1, 3: pp.233), and whom the other shepherds considered to be the most discreet and in love. He whispered to her, "Huyendo va la esperanza," (hope is fleeing), (v.1, 3: pp.223). To which the shepherdess replied, "Tenella con el deseo,", (keep [hold onto] it with the desire), (v.1, 3: pp.233). The exchange of the two shepherds had then circulated amongst the others to form a couplet which Francenio and Lauso would now gloss. The exchange of the two shepherds in the story recalls the exchange of *motes* in the Alcázar during the reign of Isabel de Valois during the 1560s (chapter 2). But it also points to the continued currency of such exchanges within the social and literary milieus of Madrid during the 1580s. Damón and Tirsi agree to judge the glosses at Arsindo's request and the glosses commence. This is also the first appearance of disingenuous, or aesthetically-motivated, verses within the landscape of the *Galatea*: verses which have been composed for the sake of composition rather than as inspired declamation. All the other verses which had previously occurred in the text pertained directly to the condition of their speaker. In contrast, the glosses of Francenio and Lauso are inspired by the words of other shepherds and intended to compete in concept and artifice.

Again the poem of each shepherd reveals a particular approach to love. Francenio (Gálvez de Montalvo) despairs. Lauso (Cervantes) takes pride in his disinterested love: "mas por llevar el trofeo/ de amador sin interese, no querría/ aunque pudiese,/ *tenella con el deseo*," (but in order to take for a trophy/ that of lover without interest, I wouldn't want to/ although I could, keep it [hold onto it] with desire), (I: 3: pp.235). Cervantes's (Lauso's) take on love is consistent with those octaves which he had sent to Antonio

[704] See don Quijote's visit and discourse with the *caballero del verde gabán* and his son on poetry and glosses (II: 17-18).

Veneziano from Algiers in 1579, just three to four years prior, (see chapter 4). The concept of disinterested love--amorous devotion devoid of desire or investment--was relatively new to the landscape of the pastoral, but it was the form of love which Alonso Quijano as don Quijote would cultivate for Dulcinea and it is significant that from 1579 onwards it was the form of love which Cervantes most ardently advocated.[705] Ricardo of the *Amante liberal* will learn a similar lession later on in the *Novelas ejemplares*.

The role which the character Lauso plays in relation to and in formation of Alonso Quijano poses an important problem for literary criticism. Lauso was the pseudonym of Cervantes, but he is also the character in the *Galatea* who most directly anticipates the character of Alonso Quijano. When Lauso gives up Silena (Galatea/Elena Osorio) at the close of the novel and agrees to assist Elicio in winning Galatea, this amorous forfeit serves as a backstory for Alonso Quijano who had once loved a girl from a nearby village (Aldonza Lorenzo) but never told her.[706] I am hesitant to suggest a strong correlation between Cervantes's early amorous history in 1580s Madrid and his most infamous aging fictional character, Alonso Quijano. The authorial distance which Cervantes maintains throughout the *Quijote*, suggests that even if he found a ready primer for his how lyric subjectivity in Alonso Quijano, he did not necessarily share the *hidalgo's* lyrical pursuit of life as don Quijote. However, given the synchronic relationship between history and poetry, the confluence of experience and mimesis, prevalent amongst Cervantes' peers and everywhere evident in the *Galatea*, it may be worthwhile to put our modern expectations aside and consider whether the author of the *Quijote* was closer to the discourse of his protagonist than has previously been considered. This of particular interest because the discourse of *disinterested love* is evident already in the 1579 octaves for Veneziano and it became the mythos of all of Cervantes' later fiction. Even in the picaresque novela, *Rinconete y cortadillo*, the earnest search for a *disinterested* life on the part of Cervantes' protagonists is explicitly frustrated by Monipodio's record book. In the *Gitanilla*--a novel in which the gypsies comport themselves like shepherds--

[705] This was in direct contrast to the concept of love as property--which Cervantes satirizes in the epistle for Dulcinea in the episode of the Sierra Morena. While several of Cervantes' female protagonists develop a proto-feminist discourse, it was Cervantes' aversion to the equation of love with property as espoused by male protagonists which sets his perspective apart from most of his contemporares. Compare, for example, this perspective with that Quevedo's sonnet, "Don dinero", which also satirizes a proto-capitalistic discourse on love. Cervantes will fully gloss his own discourse on disinterested love in the *Amante liberal* (1613).

[706] "ella jamás lo supo ni le dio cata dello," (Cervantes, 1999, I:1, pp.44).

the noble Andrés must leave behind his worldly status and take up the life of a gypsy as a *disinterested lover* if he is to win Preciosa. In the *Amante liberal*, Ricardo, too learns the lesson of *disinterested love*. The same could be said of Anselmo of the *Curioso impertinente*, Carrizales of the *Celoso extremeño*, and the trials and fortunes of Persiles and Sigismunda. I will return to the figure of Lauso as the fictional antecedent to Alonso Quijano later in this chapter.

Following the recitation of their glosses by Francenio and Lauso, Tirsi judges that the two glosses are of equal merit and the garland for which the two shepherds are competing should instead be given to the shepherdess who inspired the gloss. I have said that the glosses of Francenio and Lauso represent the first appearance of lyric poems composed out of artifice in the novel. However, the other shepherds offer an alternative reading of their poems. In the mindset of this pastoral world, any and all verse composed pertains directly to the interior state of their author. Our modern distinctions between biographical author and lyrical voice are out of place within the *cosmos* of the text. From Lauso's verses the other shepherds are amazed to discover that he has fallen in love, divining that while his verses are inspired by the speech of another shepherd, the verses themselves are fashioned from his own amorous suffering. Lauso, who is known by the epithet "el libre" is by way of his verses understood to no longer be "free" of love. This is a strong reading clue within the world of the 1580s and it likely indicates Cervantes' drive to create so many levels of narrative distancing between himself and Alonso Quijano when he wrote the *Quijote*. Following Lauso's verse:

> las pastoras y pastores que Lauso conocían se maravillaban de ver la libre condición suya en la red amorosa envuelta, porque luego vieron en la amarillez de su rostro, en el silencio de su lengua y en la contienda que con Francenio había tomado, que no estaba su voluntad tan esenta como solía, y andaban entre sí imaginando quién podría ser la pastora que de su libre corazón triunfando había.
>
> (the shepherds and shepherdesses who knew Lauso marvelled to see his free condition caught in an amorous net, because they saw in the yellow color of his face, in the silence of his tongue and in the match he had taken up with Francenio, that his will was not as free as usual, and they went amongst themselves imagining who could be the shepherdess who had triumphed over his free heart.)[707]

In other words, Lauso's physical condition, comportment and the very verses which he has recited confirm that his amorous verse is evocative, once again, of his interior state. The narrator confirms the suspicions of

[707] (Cervantes, 1961, v.1, 3: pp.235-236)

the shepherds, in contrast to our modern tendency to read a gloss as simple artifice. The narrator also reveals something more of Lauso's character when we are told:

> Y desta duda [la identidad de la pastora de Lauso] tardaron muchos días en certificarse, porque el enamorado pastor apenas de sí mesmo fiaba el secreto de sus amores
>
> (And of this doubt [as to the identity of the shepherdness of Lauso] they were delayed many days in certifying it, because the enamored shepherd barely confided even in himself the secret of his love.)[708]

In other words, Lauso is so secretive that he can barely knows his own heart. This characterization will condition his trajectory in the novel and also anticipates the debilitating shyness which had forestalled Alonso Quijano's pursuit of Aldonza Lorenzo during his youth, which the narrator references at the close of the first chapter of the *Quijote.*[709] The curiosity over Lauso's beloved is left suspended until Book 4. The aged Arsindo sings his own verses which celebrate the wedding as he accompanies all of the shepherds to the house of Daranio for the wedding feast. Teolinda, still wary of being recognized by Tirsi and Damón and sorry not to have encountered Artidoro at the festivities, departs with Galatea and Florisa to Galatea's home. The end of the fourth day concludes with the close of Book 3.

With Book 3 the structure of the novel is completely altered from the formulae employed in Books 1 and 2. The first half of Book 3 is comprised largely of Silerio's tale which is twice punctuated by the intrusion of Mireno's suffering over Silveria.

	first half	second half
Book 1:	Elicio, Erastro, Lisandro	Galatea, Florisa, Teolinda
Book 2:	Galatea, Florisa, Teolinda	Elicio, Erastro, Silerio Tirsi, Damón
Book 3:	Elicio, Erastro, Silerio/Mireno Tirsi, Damón	Wedding Festivities

[708] (Cervantes, 1961, v.1, 3: pp.236)

[709] "Y fue, a lo que se cree, que en un lugar cerca del suyo había una moza labradora de muy buen parecer, de quien él un tiempo anduvo enamorado, aunque según se entiende, ella jamás lo supo ni le dio cata dello. Llamábase Aldonza Lorenzo, y a esta le pareció ser bien darle título de señora de sus pensamientos; y, buscándole nombre que no desdijese mucho del suyo y que tirase y se encaminase al de princesa y gran señora, vino a llamarla «Dulcinea del Toboso»..." (1999, I: 1, pp.44).

Rather than returning to the female narratives during the second half of Book 3, Cervantes instead unites all of the shepherds under the marriage festivities for Daranio and Silveria. The introduction of Mireno, Orompo, Marsilo, Crisio, Orfinio, Arsindo, Francenio and Lauso augments the central narrative of the text within the community of shepherds whose bonds on the Tajo (Madrid) extend to those shepherds of the Henares (Alcalá) and include the interpolated character, Teolinda. Moreover, with the mention of the famous "escriptos" (writings) of Tirsi and Damón and the verse competitions of the Orompo, Marsilo, Crisio, Orfinio, Francenio and Lauso, Cervantes draws a community of modern *ingenios* whose interest extends beyond the articulation of their own interiors to the practice of philosopy and aesthetics. The second half of the Book 3 provides glosses on several discourses on love both in verse and in prose:

1) Elicio and Erastro on *deseo* and the *verdadero amante* (prose). This discourse anticipates the introduction of Lauso and the (verse) concept of *amor disinteresado.*

2) Orompo, Marsilo, Crisio, and Orfinio's eclogue competition over their amorous suffering (verse).

3) Damón's discourse on the *mal de celos* and his contrast of this with *temores*, (prose). This discourse anticipates Lauso's later suffering from jealousy which he will recount to Damón in verse.

It is important to observe that both the *plática* of Elicio and Erastro and the *discorso* of Damón preemptively disambiguate Lauso's future verses at the close of Book 3 as well as in Books 4 and 5. Again, Lauso is the pseudonym which Cervantes employed for himself. It is as if he is using the other characters of the *Galatea* to opine on his own amorous tale.

At the conclusion of Book 3 four days have passed in the narrative.

Book 1: Days 1-2, Night 1

Book 2: Night 1, Day 3

Book 3: Night 3, Day 4

Book 4:

Erotic Mysticism as Discourse

Book 4 further develops the earlier gender divisions but within a less rigid and more woven structure. The first half of Book 4 is organized around the female shepherdesses with some male interlopers. The second half of Book 3 will mostly concern the male shepherds. As in Books 1 and 2 both female shepherds and male shepherds briefly congregate at the center of Book 4 as the narrative transitions from the females to the males. All of the characters will be again brought together at the close of the fourth book.

1st half of Book 4:	Galatea, Florisa, Teolinda	Rosaura, Leonarda (Grisaldo)
2nd half of Book 4:	Elicio, Erastro and male party	Darinto , Timbrio, (Nísida, Blanca)

Within this structure the narratives of both the female shepherds and the male shepherds will become more complex by way of the introduction of other foreign shepherds who pertain directly or tangentially to the interpolated tales which Teolinda and Silerio have already told. Again, this creates the sense of narrative weaving which was drawn from Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* and which David Quint has discussed at length in the *Don Quijote.*[710]

Teolinda's tale✶	Leonarda & Rosaura (who pertains to her own independent interpolated tale)
Silerio's tale✱	Timbrio, Darinto, Nísida & Blanca (Silerio is not present when they enter the novel)

At the opening of Book 4, Galatea, Florisa and Teolinda meet with Rosaura and her *criada*, Leonarda (Teolinda's sister). The introduction of Rosaura and Leonarda signals the fourth interpolated tale: Rosaura's triangular relationship with Grisaldo and Arsindo. But, it also signals the continuation and complication of Teolinda's tale with the arrival of her twin sister, Leonarda. Both Rosaura and Leonarda have come, veiled, from the Henares (Alcalá) to the Tajo (Madrid) in search of Rosaura's beloved, Grisaldo. But the journey is

[710] (Quint, 2003)

also advantageous to Leonarda who is searching for Galercio, Artidoro's twin brother, with whom she has fallen in love since Teolinda's departure from the Henares. She too will recount her tale to her sister. Moreover, the social hierarchies in place again become evident through Rosaura's obvious status difference to the other shepherdesses. Rosaura is a noblewoman and the others are explicit in their willingness to fall into her service. Leonarda is already accompanying as her *criada*, and Galatea and Florisa will likewise put themselves in her service. These social distinctions are, as I have said, strictly observed throughout the novel. For instance, in his pastoral novel of 1582, *El pastor de Fílida*, Gálvez de Montalvo had also been careful to observe the same distinctions.

Book 4 opens on the morning of Day 5 as Teolinda makes ready her departure from Galatea and Florisa in order to search for Artidoro on the banks of the Tajo. The two shepherdesses implore her to remain with them but Teolinda is prepared to either find Artidoro or end in solitude, a resolution which recalls Silerio's own hermitage. Before she can depart they are interrupted by the arrival of another hunting party and two veiled shepherdesses. They hide in order to observe the scene. One of the veiled shepherdesses stops the hunting party and a gentleman dismounts. He enters the woods with the two shepherdesses. Galatea, Florisa, and Teolinda follow in order to pay witness to their conversation. Once in the privacy of the woods the first veiled foreign shepherdess removes her veil and Teolinda recognizes her as Rosaura. Thus we know that Teolinda, Rosaura, Tirsi and Damón are all from the same community on the banks of the Henares (Alcalá). She tells Galatea and Florisa that Rosaura's father, Roselio is "señor de una aldea que a la nuestra está vecina" (lord of a village which neighbors hers), (v.2, 4: pp.10). She also recognizes Grisaldo as the son of the "rico Laurencio, que junto a esta vuestra aldea tiene otras dos suyas,", (rich Laurencio, which next to your [Galatea & Florisa's] village has two of his own), (v.2, 4: pp.10). This is to say that Teolinda recognizes both the noblewoman from her own region (Alcalá) and the nobleman from Galatea's own region (Madrid). Galatea confirms that she too knows Grisaldo, who is of a higher station but from the same area. Grisaldo will later become further intertwined with the tale of Teolinda and Leonarda when the reader learns that Artidoro, Galercio (beloved shepherds of Teolinda and Leonarda) and their sister, Maurisa, are all *criados* of Grisaldo.

The interpolated tale of Rosaura enters the narrative in *medias res* in the same way that Lisandro's tale had in Book 1: those characters native to the Tajo witness the unfolding of the tale before they are privy to its back story. In contrast, the interpolated tales of Teolinda and Silerio (books 2 and 3, respectively) enter the narrative once the character is already isolated and found singing alone on the banks of the Tajo. Rosaura anticipates the character of Luscinda in part one of the *Quijote*, whose indecision between two suitors causes her to loose the one she prefers. Her subsequent abduction by the *aragonés* Artandro in Book 5 prefigures Fernando's abduction of Luscinda. However, in her speech to her beloved, Grisaldo, at the opening of Book 4 is a prototype of the one which Dorotea will deliver to Fernando in the *Quijote* (I: 36). She implores the honor and duty which Grisaldo owes to her and asks that he refuse the marriage which his father has arranged for him with Leopersia. Unlike Dorotea, Rosaura is not a *rica labradora*, but a noblewoman; she and Grisaldo are of equal rank. Her passion, particularly in the mouth of a noblewoman, is altogether innovative in the world of the pastoral:

> Mira que si faltas a la obligación que me tienes, que has de tener en mí una perpetua turbadora de tus gustos en cuanto la vida me durare; y aun después de muerta, si ser pudiere, con continuas sombras espantaré tu fementido espiritu, y con espantosas visiones atormentaré tus engañadores ojos.
>
> (Look that you are defaulting in the obligation which you owe me, that you have in a a perpetual disturbor of your pleasures for as long as I will live; and even once dead, if a being is capable, with continual shadows I will frighten your false spirit, and with horrible visiones I will torment your *engañadores* [deceptive] eyes.) [711]

Her threats to haunt Grisaldo even after death--in the mouth of a discrete noble heroine--are unique to Cervantes' fiction, if not the genre and the literature of the period. Her *furor* prefigures the *furor* of Artandro at the time of her abduction. Grisaldo's reply reveals much of the story which she will relate in fuller detail to Galatea and Florisa. He points out both Rosaura's fickleness and her jealousy. While Grisaldo insists that he cannot break from the marriage which his father has arranged, he offers Rosaura "la hacienda, la vida y la honra,", (estate, life and honor), (v.2, 4: pp.14). To the accusation of fickleness, Rosaura returns that Grisaldo should not have been so easily swayed by a bit of *desdén* (disdain). Unknowingly, she sets his changeability up against the constancy which Elicio tends for Galatea. To the accusations of jealousy, Rosaura retorts that her fears proved to be true as he is now to be married to Leopersia. She then promises to kill herself with the dagger she is carrying. This of course, prefigures the false promises of both Luscinda and Camila to kill

[711] (Cervantes, 1961, v.2, 4: pp.12)

themselves with a dagger (*Don Quijote*, I: 27 and 34). In the case of Rosaura, her *furor* is real and Grisaldo takes the threat seriously. When he attempts to detain her from the act she cries out:

> ¡Déjame, traidor enemigo, acabar de una vez la tragedia de mi vida...
> (Leave me, trecherous enemy, to end at once the tragedy of my life..!)[712]

Where previous characters had used the term "tragedia de mi vida" in retelling their interpolated tales, Rosaura's use of the same term puts it into action within the central timeline of the text. Grisaldo is won over by the extremes of Rosaura's passion or *furor*. Rosaura kneels before him, as Dorotea will do before Fernando. Grisaldo also kneels and they both erupt in amorous tears. At this moment the other veiled shepherdess removes her disguise and Teolinda recognizes Leonarda as her sister.

Galatea, Florisa and Teolinda interupt the scene. Galatea excuses the interruption and offers her services to Grisaldo and Rosaura. Grisaldo acknowledges that he knows and respects Galatea. All are amazed at the likeness of Teolinda and Leonarda. Florisa advises that it is almost noon and they should seek shade. Grisaldo entrusts the care of Rosaura to the four shepherdesses. But before he departs, he marries Rosaura. Galatea and the others serve as witnesses. The marriage accords not to the church but to the *voluntad* of each lover and it is undertaken in secret and contrary to the will of Grisaldo's father, much in the way that marriages took place in the romances of chivalry. This reinforces the amorous *cosmos* of the novel. And Galatea confirms that:

> adonde andan las obras tan verdaderas, no han de tener lugar los demasiados comedimientos.
> (wherever such true works go, too many restraints have no place)[713]

Grisaldo entrusts the care of Rosaura to the shepherdesses while he returns to his home to attend to a few remaining matters. He departs and the shepherdesses begin their exchange of their respective tales. Rosaura recounts her tale to Galatea and Florisa while Leonarda recounts her tale to Teolinda. Rosaura tells the story of her love for Grisaldo, her jealousy of Leopersia and her flirtations with the foreigner, the *aragonés* Artandro, in order to inflame the jealousy of Grisaldo. Her plan backfires and Grisaldo gives into the arranged marriage with Leopersia at his father's behest. When Grisaldo leaves the Henares, Rosaura goes to her aunt and asks that she be allowed to go after him. Her aunt consents on the condition that she

[712] (Cervantes, 1961, v.2, 4: pp.16)
[713] (Cervantes, 1961, v.2, 4: pp. 19)

disguise herself as a shepherdess and take Leonarda with her. Rosaura concludes her tale by calling it the "historia de mi vida", (history of my life), (v.2: 4: pp.23), which markedly differentiates the happy conclusion with her earlier use of "tragedia de mi vida" (tragedy of my life), (v.2, 4: pp.16). In this way, the word history is employed in the aesthetics of storytelling to denote a complete and well-concluded (true) story; this is a telling detail for the various uses of "history" to identify the story of Alonso Quijano as don Quijote. The shepherdesses then turn to Teolinda and Leonarda, who are both in tears. Leonarda has narrated for Teolinda the subsequent developments in what has become their shared plot. Leonarda and the other shepherds believed that Artidoro had abducted Teolinda. Shortly thereafter, Artidoro's twin brother, Galercio, arrived in the town in search of Artidoro. Believing that Galercio was Artidoro, he was arrested for the abduction of Teolinda. Galercio explained that he was not Artidoro and that he was the son of Briseno from the town of Grisaldo. While he was being held, Leonarda fell in love with Galercio and when Rosaura departed for the banks of the Tajo, she was happy to accompany her in search of Galercio. The shepherdesses are then interrupted by the sound of Lauso's song.

The sound of Lauso (Cervantes) signals his second appearance in the novel and the continuation of his character development. He is mysterious, even to the other shepherds. Galatea and Florisa are eager to learn the identity of his secret beloved lady. The shepherdesses watch and listen to Lauso, seated at the foot of a willow tree, without disturbing him. Lauso's tercets recall several thematics which had already occurred in Cervantes' poetry, particularly in the octaves which he had sent to Antonio Veneziano from captivity in Algiers in 1579 (barely four years prior to the competition of the *Galatea).* Lauso's lyric subjectivity also anticipates Cervantes' later prose fiction, most notably the lyric subjectivity of Alonso Quijano. As Cervantes' 1567 sonnet to Isabel de Valois had closed, Lauso's poem opens with the lyric conceits of silence as a form of truth:

> Si yo dijere el bien del pensamiento,
> en mal se vuelva cuanto bien poseo,
> que no es para decirse el bien que siento.
> De mí mesmo se encubra mi deseo,
> enmudezca la lengua en esta parte,
> y en el silencio ponga su trofeo.
> (If I were to speak the Good of [my] thought,

it would turn as bad as the good I possess,
because it is not to be told the good that I feel.
From myself I conceal my desire,
mute the tongue in this part,
and in silence put your trophy.) [714]

Lauso, of all the characters in the novel, is new and unique, not only to the pastoral world and to the lyric community which had been growing in Madrid since the 1560s, but also to the world of fiction. He is a character who finds the very voicing of his own interior, even to himself, indecorous: "de mí mesmo se encubra mi deseo", (conceal my desire from myself), (*Ibid).* His restraint exceeds even that of Galatea's discretion. In other words, he cannot or will not access or give voice to his own interiority. This is a marked contrast to all of the other characters of the novel, who readily recount and sing the vicissitudes of their interiors. Lauso's verses in his second appearance put into poetry what the narrator has already revealed of his character in prose toward the end of Book 3:

porque el enamorado pastor apenas de sí mesmo fiaba el secreto de sus amores
(because the enamored shephered barely confided to himself the secret of his love)[715]

Moreover, the difficulty with which Lauso struggles to know his own interiority foretells Cervantes' much later admission by way of the 'lyric voice' in the *Viaje del Parnaso* that he had never been lucky enough to reach the heights of lyric inspiration:

Y que en la cumbre de la varia rueda
Jamás me pude ver sólo un momento,
Pues cuando subir quiero, se está queda.
(And in the peak of the varied wheel
Never was I able to see even for a moment,
Since l when I want to go up, I remain.) [716]

This is a far subtler problem than any self-deprecating comment on the success of his own poetry. What Cervantes' points to is a lack of transcendent inspiration. He longs to reach the *ecstatic* state of the *divino ingenio* initiated in *erotic mysticism*, but he has never been able to take flight, within or beyond himself. While,

[714] (Cervantes, 1961, v.2, 4: pp.27, brackets mine) Here "Good" is synonymous with the lady. The "Good of my thought", just as "lady of my thought", is also tropologically identical to Alonso Quijano's relationship to Aldonza Lorenzo.
[715] (Cervantes, 1961, v.1, 3, pp.236)
[716] (Cervantes, 1935, pp.16)

ultimately, in the *Viaje del Parnaso* of 1614, the author will, purportedly, journey beyond himself to meet with the muses and Apolo, thirty years earlier in the *Galatea*, the character of Lauso was firmly self-restricted in his suffering. Unlike the other characters who were readily, in keeping with the *cosmos* of León Hebreo, to go *fuera de sí*, Lauso keeps his calm, confidence and sense in Love:

> Basta decir que en sosegada calma
> paso el mar amoroso, confiada
> de honesto triunfo y vencedora palma.
> (It is enough to say in peaceful calm
> I pass the sea of love, confident
> of the honest triumph and winning palm.) [717]

He tends the hope of transcendence, but he has not attained it: "alzarme puede al más subido cielo,", (raise myself up to the highest heaven), (v.2, 4: pp.28). He places all of his faith in the mysterious Silena, but it is a grounded faith, a "sana voluntad" (sane will), (*Ibid)* which devotes to his beloved. In keeping with the *cosmos* of the novel and of pastoral poets, the lady occupies a superior place in Lauso's world, ("sol a mis ojos", sun of my eyes), (*Ibid*); she surpasses all classical exemplars of ideal women. Victor of past, present and future ("la pasada edad, ni la presente tiene agora, ni en la de por venir", the past age, nor the presnt has now, nor [could have] in the future), (v.2, 4: pp.29) in valor, knowledge beauty, and in deserving to be a lady of the world, it seems dubious that she actually is a lady of the world. I do not mean to suggest that Silena is the invention of Lauso, rather, I mean to suggest that she is, like Aldonza Lorenzo, not of a noble class ("del mundo ser señora", to be a lady of the world, (*Ibid*). Lauso's final tercet does not address Silena, his beloved lady, but Amor as the personified deity of Love; this, again, is in keeping with the *cosmos* of the novel.

The shepherdesses do not disturb Lauso, but their discussion of Silena lends further development to the character. In other words, Cervantes develops the character of his own pastoral pseudonym by way of the discussion which ensues between the eavesdropping shepherdesses. This is a subtle and masterful early

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[717] (Cervantes, 1961, v.2, 4: pp.27) Note the pun on the "palm of the hand" with the triumph of winning the "palm leaf "; the term also referred to the nexus of two rivers, a motif which was appropriate to the pastoral: "Palma [I]. Villa del Andalucía, donde se juntan los ríos Genil y Guadalquivir; título de condado....Palma [II]. Lo interior de la mano, del nombre latino PALMA. Proverbio: 'Su alma en su palma'.... Palma [III]. Árbol conocido que lleva los dátiles...3. Palma es insignia de vitoria, y tómase por la vitoria y por el premio...," (Covarrubias, 1995, pp.797).

version of the narrative distancing with which he will maneuver throughout *Don Quijote*. From the narrator we learn also that there are no known shepherdesses by the name of Silena. The shepherdesses first assume that as Lauso had traveled widely--"Lauso había andando por muchas partes de España, y aun de toda la Asia y Europa," Lauso had traveled to many parts of Spain and even to all of Asia and Europe), (v.2, 4: pp.29)--that Silena must represent a foreign shepherdess whom they have never met. This is a reference to Cervantes' period abroad 1569-1580 in the Mediterranean world. But they reconsider. Only a few days prior they had seen the then *libre* Lauso totally free of love, "triunfar de la libertad y hacer burla de los enamorados," (triumph over liberty and making fun of the lovers), (*Ibid*). In other words, he had returned to the banks of the Tajo (Madrid) free and making jokes about lovers and had remained free until only a few days prior to his arrival at the wedding of Daranio and Silveria when he fell in love. From this the shepherdesses conclude that Silena is an invented pseudonym which Lauso has employed in order to conceal the true identity of his beloved shepherdess. This is a revolutionary moment in the text--anticipated by Silerio's lyric pseudonym for Nísida-- in which the literary or artificial pastoral practice of inventing pseudonyms is written into the pastoral use of the *Galatea*. Lauso is a pseudonym for Cervantes, but as a character the fictional Lauso has invented a pseudonym for the fictional shepherdess whom he loves:

> creyeron que con disfrazado nombre celebraba alguna conocida pastora a quien había hecho señora de sus pensamientos
>
> (they believed that with a disguised name he celebrated some known shepherdeses whom he had made the lady of his thoughts)[718]

This is not simply a case of Cervantes drawing back the pastoral veil to expose its artifice; the use of pseudonyms is current with the shepherdesses of the novel. This owes more to the novel's status as a *roman á clef*. As I have said, and as I repeat, when Cervantes encoded the *cosmos of erotic mysticism* current in his own literary milieu, his closest circle of friends and fellow writers, in the *Galatea* he gave life to a cultural mindset which the characters of *Don Quijote* shared. The invention of the *Galatea* is not in the exposure of the pastoral genre, but in the spotlight which it places on its makers. By way of Lauso's use of a pseudonym (Silena) for a shepherdess on the Tajo (whom I will later show to be Galatea), Cervantes brought the aesthetics of pastoral pseudonyms directly into the narrative of the text.

[718] (Cervantes, 1961, v.2, 4: pp.29-30)

The shepherdesses do not stop to converse with Lauso. They continue on and meet with the group of male shepherdess as Book 4 transitions from the female stories to the male stories:

Galatea & Florisa--Teolinda (Rosaura, Leonarda) Elicio & Erastro--Silerio (Timbrio, Nísida, Blanca)

The group of male shepherds has grown since the outset of Book 1 and is now in Book 4 comprised of Elicio, Erastro, Tirsi, Damón, Arsindo, Francenio, Crisio, Orompo, Orfinio, Marsilo, Daranio and other principle shepherds from the *aldea*. The male shepherds are headed to pass the *siesta* of the fifth day at the *Fuente de las Pizarras* and they invite the female shepherds to join them. Once again, Teolinda, Rosaura and Leonarda (the shepherdesses from Alcalá) are veiled in order that they not be recognized by Tirsi and Damón. The female shepherdesses prefer to go on to the *aldea* and Silerio also departs from the male shepherds to return to his hermitage.

Arriving at the *Fuente de las Pizarras*, the male shepherds meet with three foreign gentlemen and two veiled ladies with their *criados* already resting by the spring. The shepherds make ready to find another place to rest but are invited by the principle gentleman to join the group. The ladies remove their disguises and the shepherds are astounded to find that one is more beautiful than anyone they have ever seen, except for Galatea, and the other, if not as refined, is as beautiful as her companion. Darinto, one of the foreign gentleman, begins a discourse on the merits of pastoral life over that of courtly life. Just as the wedding of Daranio and Silveria served as an occasion for discourses on love, the encounter with foreign gentlemen at during the *siesta* occasions the discourses on the pastoral in Book 4. Daranio begins:

> Cuando me paro a considerar, agradables pastores, la ventaja que hace al cortesano y soberbio trato el pastoral y humilde vuestro, no puedo dejar de tener lástima a mí mesmo, y a vosotros una honesta envidia.
>
> (When I stop to consider, agreeable shepherds, the advantage which your humble pastoral life holds over the proud courtly manner, I cannot help but feel sorry for myself, and [to have] of you an honest envy.) [719]

The bonds between pastoral and courtly love, which from the outset of Montemayor's novel had been inseparable, are now placed in opposition to one another. While Antonio de Guevara's *Menosprecio de corte y alabanza de aldea* (1539) has often been cited in relation to Cervantes continual interest in this theme, I think it would be imprudent to overlook the immediate cultural history from the 1560s-1580s which more directly responds to the birth and cultivation of the pastoral as a genre of the court. Moreover, because the lyric

[719] (Cervantes, 1961, v. 2, 4: pp.33)

communities of the 1580s wrote, for the first time, independently of the court, this is one of the more organic developments which takes place in the *Galatea* as it responds to the community which Cervantes joined in 1582 when he returned to and settled in Madrid. Lauso's song which comes into play during the discourse places Cervantes squarely within the this thematic of the text.

Darinto's *plática de siesta* is of the same formal features as the after-dinner speeches which don Quijote will deliver on the Golden Age for the goat-herders and on Arms & Letters for the guests of the Inn.[720] It is very much like the previous discourse which Damón delivered on jealously following the amorous eclogue of the competing shepherds, as well as the debate which Tirsi and Lenio will entertain over the merits of Love during the same *siesta.* However, more than any of Cervantes' other literary creations, Darinto, the well-dressed gentlemen conversing with his gentleman-friend amongst a group of shepherds, expounding his preference for the simplicity of pastoral life corresponds to don Quijote's speech on the Golden Age:

> todo lo cual [de la corte] puedes ver diferente en los que siguen el rústico ejercicio del campo, haciendo experiencia en los que tienes delante, los cuales podría ser, y aun es así, que se hubiesen sustentado y sustenan de manjares simples y en todo contrarios de la vana compostura de los nuestros; y con todo eso, mira el moreno de sus rostros, que promete más entera salud que la blancura quebrada de los nuestros, y cuán bien les está a sus robustos y sueltos miembros un pellico de blanca lana, una carperuza parda y unas antiparas de cualquier color que sean, y con esto a los ojos de sus pastoras deben de parecer más hermosas que los bizarros cortesanos a los de las retiradas damas. ¿Qué te diría, pues, si quisiese, de la sencillez de su vida, de la llaneza de su condición y de la honestidad de sus amores? No te digo más sino que conmigo puede tanto lo que de la vida pastoral conozco, que de buena gana trocaría la mía con ella.
>
> (all of which [of the court] you can see is different from that of those who follow the rustic exercise of the countryside, taking the experience of those you have before you, who could be, and it is even this way, that they have sustained and continue to sustain themselves with simple feasts and in contrast to the vain posture of which we take; and with all of this, look at the tan of their faces, which promises a more full health and the burnt white of ours, and how well their bodies are in their robust and loose sheepskins of white wool, a felt hood and screens of any color, and with this at the eyes of their shepherdesses they must seem more beautiful than the gallant courtiers to the retired ladies. What can I tell you, well, of it is desired, the plainness of your life, of the simplicity of your condition and the honest of your loves? I won't say more to you than with me it has such power the pastoral life I know, that with pleasure I would trade my life with it.)[721]

Now the differences between Darinto's speech and that of don Quijote's are as important as their similarities. Don Quijote contrasts the modern (1591-1599) Castilian landscape with the Golden Age of chivalry. Darinto contrasts the contemporary courtly milieu (1580-1584) to the contemporary pastoral milieu (1580-1584). In the *Galatea* the debate is between two contemporaneous societies. In the *Quijote* the speech is a nostalgic lament for a society which no longer exists. However, I would like to modify this by saying that don

[720] On don Quijote's after-dinner speeches, see: (Santo, 1981) and (Stagg, 1985).
[721] (Cervantes, 1961, v.2, 4: pp.33-34)

Quijote's Golden Age alludes to the pastoral community of the *Galatea*, an allusion which is reinforced by the subsequent funeral for Grisóstomo and appearance of Marcela. What don Quijote, the personified *ingenio* of Alonso Quijano, longs for is the pastoral community of the 1580s.

Appropriately, it is the courtly but poor shepherd, Elicio, who responds to Darinto's discourse, reminding him that there are just as many "resbaladeros y trabajos" (dangers and works) in the pastoral life as are found in that of the court. Daranio agrees that life is "una guerra" (a war), but he insists that in the pastoral, life is more tranquil. Most significantly, however, Darinto's discourse has served to introduce further character development of Lauso, who is not present at the *siesta*. Again, Cervantes develops the character of his own pseudonym by way of the conversation of other shepherds. Damón interrupts the exchange between Darinto and Elicio to explain that Lauso--who has left the court for the pastoral life--is of the same mindset as Darinto:

> Cuán bien se conforma con tu opinión, Darinto...la de un pastor amigo mío que Lauso se llama, el cual, después de haber gastado alguos años en cortesanos ejercicios, y algunos otros en los trabajosos del duro Marte, al fin se ha reducido de la pobreza de nuestra rústica vida, y antes que a ella viniese, mostro desearlo mucho, como parece por una canción que compuso y envió al famoso Larsileo, que en los negocios de la corte tiene larga y ejercitada experiencia.
>
> (How well it conforms with your opinion, Darinto...the [opinion] of a shepherd friend of mine called Lauso, who, after having spent years in courtly exercises, and some others in the works of the hard Mars [military], in the end has reduced himself to the poverty of our rustic life, and before he came to it, he showed much desire, as appears in a song that he composed and sent to the famous Larsileo [Mateo Vazquez], who in the negotiations of the court has a long and well-exercised experience.)[722]

By way of the mouth of Damón (Pedro Laynez) Cervantes glosses his own (Lauso's) biographical trajectory from the court of Isabel de Valois ("cortesanos ejercicios") and Giulio Acquaviva to his military life in the Mediterranean campaigns and subsequent captivity in Algiers ("otros en los trabajosos del duro Marte"), to his rejoining with the lyric communities of pastoral poets in Madrid ("reducido de la pobreza de nuestra rústica vida"). Damón then refers to the "canción" which Lauso sent to the famous Larsileo (Mateo Vazquez), a powerful minister of the court. Schevill and Bonilla have rightly connected this reference to the *Epístola a Mateo Vazquez* which Cervantes had originally sent from Algiers.[723] Damón offers to recite Lauso's "canción", which he has memorized. Darinto is eager to here it. So it is that Cervantes' (altered version) of his *Epístola a Mateo Vazquez* enters the *Galatea* by way of Lauso, but is heard in the mouth of Damón. In

[722] (Cervantes, v.2, 4: pp.34)

[723] For more on Cervantes relationship to Mateo Vázquez and his pseudonymic presence in the *Galatea*, see: (Sánchez-Molero, 2010, pp.185-206 and pp.233-258). pp.185-206)

keeping with Cervantes' narrative practice, the nearer the text moves to his biography the more framing is employed to distance the author from the text. To my knowledge, the "canción de Lauso" is one of the earliest, if not one of the only, anti-war poems to appear in Golden Age Spanish literature at a time when Cervantes himself had turned from the court towards the community of pastoral poets and early playwrights in Madrid. Damón's comment at the conclusion of the "canción" suggests that the poem is somewhat dated as it was celebrated previously by Larsileo and others who "en aquel tiempo la vieron," (who in that time saw it), (v.2, 4: pp.40). The poem is in turn praised by Darinto, as well as the *desamorado* Lenio, who begins another discourse against love.

With Lenio's comment the novel transitions to another *plática* on the merits of Love.[724] The well-trained Tirsi (Figueroa) now enters into a debate with the untrained and rustic Lenio (López Maldonado). Moreover, the issue of experience is further aggravated when Elicio tells Lenio that he can have no true opinion of Love if he has never experienced it. In the narrative topography of the novel, the debate between Tirsi and Lenio also replaces the role of the Wise Felicia in Montemayor's *Diana*. Both the discourse on Love in the *Galatea* and the Palace of the Wise Felicia in the *Diana* serve to educate the unhappy lovers in their conduct; this same topography will recur in the Inn of *Don Quijote I* with the reading of the *Curioso Impertinente*. Before Lenio and Tirsi begin their debate, Aurelio (Galatea's father), Galatea, Florisa, Teolinda (veiled), Leonarda (veiled), Rosaura (veiled) and other shepherds join the group. Cervantes brings all of the characters of the novel (except for Lauso and Silerio) together at the *Fuente de las Pizarras* for the debate on love. Later in the *Persiles* Cervantes will allude to the possible conclusion of the debate on love when Periandro (Persiles) suggest that they attend the Academy of the *Intronati* in Florence, before rejecting the idea.[725] The debate comprises glosses of León Hebreo by both Lenio and Tirsi.[726] The contrast between the discourse of the two shepherds comprises a whole *erotic cosmos* for the text and the historical community of lyric authors which it encodes. Each speaker concludes his discourse with verses in order to put into lyric practice which the philosophy which they have expounded in the prose. Lenio is more than anything else, a

[724] It also loosely glosses Renaissance debates on education & experience
[725] In many ways Cervantes continues this philosophical dialectic on love throughout his fiction, only to leave the matter unresolved in his final novel.
[726] This dialogue has been heavily glossed by López Estrada (1952).

biological moralist. Tirsi, is an *erotic mystic*. This debate is one of the most heavily, and only, glossed aspects of the novel and I will not rehearse the details here.[727] At the conclusion of the debate, all the shepherds, except for Lenio, agree that Tirsi has won; in other words, *erotic mysticism* prevails. Lauso, curiously absent for this section, does not opine. The debate between Lenio and Tirsi is encased by Darinto's discourse on pastoral and courtly life. At the close of Tirsi's poem on Love, Darinto returns to his initial discourse, completing the narrative framing of the debate:

> En este punto acabo de conocer cómo la potencia y sabiduría de amor por todas las partes de la tierra se estiende, y que donde más se afina y apura es en los pastorales pechos, como nos la ha mostrado lo que hemos oído al desamorado Lenio y al discreto Tirsi, cuyas razones y argumentos más parecen de ingenios entre libros y las aulas criados, que no de aquellos que entre pajizas cabañas son crecidos. Pero me maravillaría yo tanto desto si fuese de aquella opinión del que dijo que el saber de nuestras almas era acordarse de lo que ya sabían, prosuponiendo que todas se crían enseñadas; mas cuando veo que debo seguir el otro mejor parecer del que afirmó que nuestra alma era como una tabla rasa, la cual no tenía ninguna cosa pintada, no puedo dejar de admirarme de ver cómo haya sido imposible que en la compañía de las ovejas, en la soledad de los campos, se puedan aprender las ciencias que apenas saben disputarse en las nombradas universidades, si ya no quiero persuadirme a lo que primero dije, que el amor por todo se estiende y a todos se comunica, al caído levanta, al simple avisa y al avisado perfeciona.
>
> (In this point I have come to know that the potentiality and wisdom of love extends to all the parts of the earth, and that where it is most refined and pure is in the pastoral breasts, as has been demonstrated for us by what we have heard from the *desamorado* Lenio and the discrete Tirsi, whose reasons and arguments seem more like those of *ingenios* who have been raised in books and classrooms, and not of those who among the straw huts have been raised. But I would marvel so much of this if it were that opinion of he who said that the knowledge of our souls should accord to what they already knew, presupposing that all are raised with teaching; more when I see that I should follow the other better seeming of he who affirmed that our soul was like a *tabla rasa*, which had no other thing painted on it, I can't desist in admiring to see how it has been imposible in the company of sheep, in the solitude of the countryside, they can learn the sciences that they are hardly capable of debating in the famous universities, if already I don't wish to pursuade myself of what I first said, that love extends everywhere and communicates with everyone, it raises the fallen, it advises the simpleton and it perfects the well-informed.)[728]

Darinto's opinion once again returns to the relationship between the court and the pastoral, uniting the two social spheres under the "potencia y sabiduría" of Love. He also glosses that which Cervantes had already put forth in the prologue to the *Galatea*: "no temeré mucho que alguno condemne haber mezclado razones de filosofía entre algunas amorosas de pastores,", (I will not fear very much that someone condemns me for having mixed philosophical reasoning with the amorous ones of shepherds), (I: pp.8). Finally, Darinto's comment reprises the debate in order to focus on the kernel of the philosophy which formed the *cosmos* of this world: the soul is a blank slate which has nothing painted upon it. For critics who have taken a decided interest in Cervantes' religious inclinations, it is clear that Counter-Reformation doctrine and original sin formed no part of the *cosmos* for the pastoral poets of *erotic mysticism* and the characters of the *Galatea*. Moreover, it is this explicitly spiritual aspect of man which would facilitate the concept of the "divino

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[727] For Hebreo in lyric communites in Madrid, see: chapter 1 and 2 of this dissertation. For León Hebreo in the debate between Tirsi and Lenio, see: (López Estrada, 1952).

[728] (Cervantes, v.2, 4: pp.71-72)

ingenio" and the *aesthetic idealism* which grew out of these practices. Within this *cosmos*, amorous love was the Good which was sought and by way of seeking this Good, the poet's own divine *ingenio* was actionable in deeds and in words. It is ironic that the enemy of love, Lenio, for whom Cervantes reserves a particularly cruel poetic justice, is the character who most readily pacifies our late modern critical perspective. The *Galatea* is not obtuse; it simply raises a problem of perspective. From our post-Cartesian and secular monotheistic perspective, the *cosmos of erotic mysticism* is indecipherable to us. Furthermore, this indicates a critical necessity to realign our discourse with the discourse of *erotic mysticism* in order to arrive at an analysis of the discourse of the *Don Quijote*.

It is important that Cervantes uses the courtly gentleman, Darinto, to frame Tirsi and Lenio's debate on love because it renders the *cosmos* intelligible within the courtly spheres in which this *cosmos* was inspired and from whence it was born. It places the text within the *cosmos* of Madrid in the 1580s, not simply as an artificial alternative within the world of fiction, but as a legitimate discourse and experiential practice among the learned courtiers in Spain. Moreover, as I have noted in previous chapters, these private literary spheres developed their own erudite philosophical investigations independent of the, still largely scholastic, universities. That this history of philosophy has not been written into the intellectual history of the Renaissance, particularly the Spanish Renaissance, has been damaging to the study and interpretation of the literary texts produced by those same communities. An irony which would not have been lost on the courtiers or the shepherds present for the debates at the *fuenta de las Pizarras*. Elicio's response to Darinto further unites the historical milieus of the pastoral with those of the Habsburg court. He refutes that Tirsi is simply a rustic shepherd and that Lenio is without any education and places them squarely within the poetic milieus of the 1580s:

> la crianza del nombrado Tirsi no ha sido entre los árboles y florestas, como tú [Darinto] imaginas, sino en las reales cortes y conocidas escuelas, no te maravillaras de lo que ha dicho, sino de lo que ha dejado de decir. Y aunque el desamorado Lenio, por su humildad, ha confesado que la rusticidad de su vida pocas prendas de ingenio puede prometer, con todo eso, te aseguro que los más floridos años de su edad gastó, no en el ejercicio de guardar las cabras en los montes, sino en las riberas del claro Tormes, en loables estudios y discretas conversaciones.
>
> (of the upbringing of the famous Tirsi, it was not amongs trees and flowers, as you [Darinto] imagine, but in the royal courts and known schools [that of Ambosio Morales, see chapter 1], don't marvel at what he has said, but what he has left unsaid. And although the *desamorado* Lenio, for his humility, has confessed that the rustic style of his life can promise few fruits from his *ingenio*, with all of this, I assure you that the most flowered years of his life he spent, not in the exerise of

guarding goats in the mountains, but on the banks of the clear Tormes [Salamanca], in laudable study and discrete conversation.)[729]

In other words, Tirsi (Francisco de Figueroa) had long pertained to the court and while Lenio (of the younger generation of poets, the generation of the 1580s) was not formally educated, but he had been educated in discourse on the "pastoral" banks of the river Tormes (Valencia and the *Academia de los Nocturnos*). Here again the link between the *lego* Lenio and the *licenciado vidriera* becomes apparent. Elicio then goes on to laud the other shepherd poets of the Tajo (Madrid):

> Cuanto más, que hallarás pastores en estas nuestras riberas, que no te causarán menos admiración, si los oyes, que los que ahora has oído, porque en ellas apacientan sus ganados los famosos y conocidos Eranio, Siralvo, Filardo, Silvano, Lisardo y los dos Matuntos, padre e hijo, uno en la lira y otro en la poesía sobre todo estremo estremados. Y para remate de todo, vuelve los ojos y conoce al conocido Damón, que presente tienes, donde puede parar tu deseo, si desea conocer el estremo de discreción y sabiduría.
>
> (How much more, will you find shepherds on these riverbanks, who will not cause in you less admiration, if you listen to them, than those to whom you just now have listened, because on these [banks] they graze their flocks the famous and known Eranio, Siralvo [Gálvez de Montalvo], Filardo, Silvano, Lisardo and the two Mantuntos, father and son, one in the lyre and the other in the poetry above all extreme esteemed. And to conclude all of this, turn your eyes and know the renown Damón, who you have present, in whom can end your desire, if you desire to know the extreme of discretion and wisdom.)[730]

In other words, Elicio names other members of the younger generation of the 1580s as well as the respected poet of the previous generation, Laynez (Damón). With this the discourse on the pastoral and the court comes to a close.

One of the ladies refers to her companion as Nísida, whose name Elicio recognizes from Silerio's interpolated tale. The shepherds shortly discover that one of the traveling gentleman and the two ladies are in fact Timbrio, Nísida and Blanca over whose loss Silerio has taken up the solitary life of a hermit. With this the novel returns to the theme of the *dos amigos*. Within the world of the pastoral the bonds of friendship become another form of spiritual love. Erastro tells Timbrio of Silerio's whereabouts and Timbrio asserts that Silerio is indeed, "mi verdadero amigo, el que es la mitad de mi alma, el que yo deseo ver más que otra cosa que me pueda pedir el deseo,", (my true friend, he who is half of my soul, he whom I desire to see more than any other thing than I can ask of desire), (v.2, 4: 75). Timbrio, Nísida, and especially Blanca are overjoyed to hear that Silerio is alive and nearby. But the gentleman, Daranio, suddenly departs from the group. It is clear that he has been stung either by the friendship of Timbrio and Silerio or by the joy which

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[729] (Cervantes, 1961, v.2, 4: pp.73). López Maldonado, in fact, was born in Toledo and spent his early years in the *Academia de los Nocturnos* in Valencia. Cervantes' use of the river Tormes to describe his informal education seems as dubious as that of the Tajo to describe Madrid.

[730] (Cervantes, 1961, v.2, 4: pp.73)

one of the ladies has shown at finding him. His reaction is in keeping with the *cosmos* of love which has just been articulated and framed within the rubic of León Hebreo:

> se puso tal, que los labios no movía: antes, con un estraño silencio, se levantó, y mandando a un su criado que le trujese el caballo en que allí había venido, sin despedirse de ninguno, subió en él, y volviendo las riendas, a paso tirado se desvió de todos.
>
> (he became such that his lips did not move: rather, with a strange silence, he got up, and ordering a servant to bring him the horse on which he had come, without saying goodbye to anyone, he mounted, and turning the reins, left at a quick pace.)[731]

We will learn later that Darinto had fallen in love with Blanca, who in turn had already fallen in love with Silerio.

However, before the narrative proceeds with these additions to the interpolated tale of Silerio, the shepherds are interrupted with further additions to the interpolated tale of Teolinda. A young shepherdess suddenly appears calling for help, asking--in a moment of perfect dramatic irony--, "hay entre vosotros, señores, quien de los estraños efectos y casos de amor tenga alguna noticia,", (if there are among you, sirs, anyone who knows something of the strange effects and cases of love), (I: 4: pp.77). The shepherds follow her to a grove in the trees where a *desesperado* shepherd stands before a shepherdess dressed as a hunting nymph. He has a rope around his neck and a dagger at his heart by which he threatens to kill himself if the cruel Gelasia will not yield to his suffering. Gelasia runs into the forest and he calls after her invoking the "tragedia de mi vida" (tragedy of my life) theme which has run as a current throughout the interpolated tales. The scene unfolds like a prototype of the Marcela & Grisóstomo episode of *Don Quijote I*, particularly evocative for the topography of both novels since Darinto has just concluded with his version of the speech on the Golden Age of pastoral life. The shepherds use of the rope, in particular, prefigures Grisóstomo's death. The knife recalls Rosaura's threat to Grisaldo and prefigures Luscinda and Camila of the *Quijote*. The *desamorado* Lenio and the aged Arsindo follow after Gelasia but she entreats them that her sole purpose is to be a mortal enemy of love and all lovers, as she had since her youth dedicated herself to following Diana (goddess, not Montemayor's Diana), just as Marecla will later dedicate herself to contemplating Nature and the Stars. The *desamorado* Lenio, of course, admires the *desamorada* Gelasia's firmness as an enemy of love, and declares to her that he is the greatest enemy of love and lovers that there is. He proposes that they keep

[731] (Cervantes, 1961, v.2, 4: 77)

one another company since they share the same condition. She agrees that he may accompany her to her village, a distance of "dos leguas" (two leagues). Lenio asks that Arsindo relay his "saludos" to the group and Lenio goes off with Gelasia. This will be his amorous undoing and it will serve as a final judgment or poetic justice for the discourse against love which he had just undertaken.

In the meantime, Teolinda and Leonarda, both masked, have fainted because the *desesperado* shepherd who is weeping over Gelasia is no other than Artidoro or Galercio; both shepherdesses believe him to be the shepherd whom they love. Rosaura consults with the young shepherdess who has called them all to the scene, Maurisa. Maurisa is the sister of the twin brothers and she confirms that the shepherd is in fact Galercio who has been tending to the flocks of Rosaura's beloved Grisaldo, whom Maurisa, Galercio and Artidoro serve as *criados*. She tells them that Artidoro has sought solitude in more distant mountains (not wanting to be around anyone). His solitude recalls the solitude of Silerio in his hermitage. Maurisa is carrying a message from Grisaldo for Galatea and Rosaura. In two days Grisaldo will arrive with two friends to take Rosaura to his aunt's house where they will be married in secret. His plans recall the plan which Lisandro (in his interpolated tale of Book 1) had hatched to marry his beloved Leonida in secret in the home of his relatives in order to escape from the obstacles of their feuding families, and it foreshadows the abduction of Rosaura in Book 5, as well as Elicio's plans to liberate Galatea, by force if necessary, at the close of Book 6. The interpolated tales of Teolinda and Rosaura are thus further woven together by way of social hierarchies. This also brings the world of the Tajo (Madrid) and the world of the Henares (Alcalá) further together on the banks of the Tajo:

noblemen:	Rosaura (Alcalá)	loves	Grisaldo (Madrid)
criados:	Teolinda	loves	Artidoro
	Leonarda	loves	Galercio
			Maurisa (sister to A & Ga)

I want to underscore that the stories of both Rosaura and Teolinda are typically discussed as interpolated tales distinct from the pastoral world of Galatea, Elicio, and the other shepherds on the Tajo (Madrid). This type of reading violently excises them from the delicate way in which they are woven into the central narrative and timeline of the text. All of these characters pertain to the same time, region and *cosmos* and

their complex narrative trajectories are contingent upon their interaction with the other characters of the novel.

The fifth night is approaching and the shepherds begin to disperse. Maurisa and the disconsolate Galercio return to Grisaldo. Teolinda and Leonarda, insistent on pursuing Artidoro and Galercio, take their leave from Galatea, Florisa and Rosaura. They promise to keep the shepherdesses informed of their successes. They follow after Maurisa and Galercio towards the villages of Grisaldo. The aged Arsindo is also seen following after those heading in the direction of Grisaldo, but his reasons are unknown. Tirsi, Damón, Orompo, Crisio, Marsilo and Orfinio lead Timbrio, Nísida and Blanca in the direction of Silerio's hermit. Aurelio escorts Galatea, Florisa and Rosaura home. He will join at Silerio's hermitage later. Elicio and Erastro also insist on accompanying Galatea, the "señora de sus pensamientos," (lady of their thoughts), (I: 4:86) to the *aldea*. They too will return to Silerio's hermitage with Aurelio. On the way to the *aldea* Elicio and Erastro sing an exchange of verses to the sound of Florisa's flute. Their verses reprise and celebrate the *cosmos of erotic mysticism* which Tirsi has just triumphantly defended against Lenio's objections.

The scattering of characters at the close of Book 4 is topographically similar to the scattering of characters after Felicia's Palace at the close of Book 4 in Montemayor's *Diana*. Cervantes will, as I have said, later use the Inn in *Don Quijote I* to this effect, as well as the Palace of the Duke and Duchess (for a much lengthier duration) in *Don Quijote II*. With the *cosmos* of the novel in full formation, the remaining books will pursue the various narrative threads which have been dispersed as Cervantes continues weaving them throughout the duration of the last two books. There are five groups of characters at the close of book 4 who have been scattered over the landscape of the Tajo (Madrid).

1	2	3	4	5
Lenio & Gelasia	Lauso	Grisaldo	Silerio	Galatea
		Artidoro, Galercio, Maurisa	Tirsi, Damón	Florisa, Rosaura
		Teolinda, Leonarda	Orompo, Crisio	Aurelio
		Arsindo	Marsilo, Orfinio	Elicio & Erastro
			Timbrio, Nísida, Blanca	

Book 5:

Erotic Mysticism as Practice

Book five opens on the fifth night with the group (group 4 in the chart above) headed toward Silerio's hermitage. But the tale of Silerio and Timbrio is quickly forestalled when the narrative turns again to Lauso, whose song they overhear through the trees. While aloof, Lauso is famous among the shepherds and they are all curious to discover the mysterious particularities of his private life, particularly his friend Damón. (Remember that Damón/Laynez and Lauso/Cervantes are old friends):

> por ser el pastor [Lauso] el que, al son de un pequeño rabel, unos versos decía; y por ser el pastor tan conocido, y saber ya todos la mudanza que de su libre voluntad había hecho, de común parecer recogieron el paso
>
> (because the shepherd he who, at the sound of a small *rabel*, sang some verses; and because the shepherd was so well known, and in order to know the change that had occurred in his free will, all in agreement stopped on the path) [732]

It is important to understand Lauso's character development consistently occurs by way of his epithets, his verses and the interest which the other shepherds of his community take in him because this is a highly sophisticated form of narrative distancing which Cervantes will continue to develop in his later works. He has previously been known to the other shepherds as the *libre* Lauso. While not an enemy of love like the *desamorado* Lenio, Lauso has lived independently of Love's grasp. Following his appearance at the wedding festivities at the close of Book 3, the shepherds have been surprised to discover this *free* character in the throws of Love; because of the nature of *erotic mysticism* this explicitly subjugated his will which both reinforces the concept of free will (*libre albedrío*) and its vulnerability in Love. By way of the conversation which Galatea, Florisa and the other shepherdesses have about Lauso's verses in Book 4, we know that Lauso has fallen in love since his return from foreign travels and that it has only been a matter of days since this amorous change has occurred. In contrast to his identity as the *libre* Lauso, his poem makes it clear that he has been subjugated by Love and the object of his affection. This is not only in keeping with the *cosmos of erotic mysticism* in the *Galatea* and literary milieu of Madrid in the 1580s, Lauso's poem is a direct reprise of the *cosmos* which Cervantes delineated in his amorous octaves sent to Antonio Veneziano in Algiers in November, 1579 (see chapter 4). In those octaves Cervantes contrasted the vicissitudes of the suffering and frantic lover, to the virtue and peace of the courtly genuflection before the beloved lady as supreme ruler and

[732] (Cervantes, 1961, v.2: 5, pp.91)

deity, governess of the poet-lover, his world and his will. Lauso's poem reiterates this position with remarkable clarity and synthesis.[733] The first stanza serves to position his previous emotional freedom in relation to his amorous subjugation:

> ¿Quién mi libre pensamiento
> me le vino a sujetar?
> ¿Quién pudo en flaco cimiento
> sin ventura fabricar
> tan altas torres de viento?
> ¿Quién rindió mi libertad,
> estando en seguridad
> de mi vida satisfecho?
> ¿Quién abrió y rompió mi pecho,
> y robó mi voluntad?
>
> (Who my free thought/came to me to subjugate?/ Who in thin foundation/ without fortune to fabricate/ the high towers of wind?/ Who conquered my liberty,/ being in security/ of my life satisfied?/ Who opened and broke my breast,/ and robbed my will?)[734]

The lady in question has won Lauso's thought, his freedom and his will. In the following stanza she overtakes his *fantasía*, *alma*, and *corazón*, that is his fantasy, his soul and his heart. Together the two stanzas subjugate Lauso's material (thought, freedom, will) and metaphysical (fantasy, soul, heart) potencies to the lady. In the second stanza, Lauso also performs a sophisticated grammar which renders the experience of *erotic mysticism* intelligible within the timeline of Lauso's experience:

> Mas yo todo, ¿dónde estoy,
> dónde vengo, o adónde voy?
> A dicha, ¿sé yo de mí?
> ¿Soy, por ventura, el que fui,
> o nunca he sido el que soy?
> (But I all, where am I?/ [from] where do I come, or where am I going?/ I say, do I know of myself?/ Am I, by chance, he who went,/ or have I never been who I am?)[735]

[733] See chapter 4 of this dissertation for my disscussion of the 1579 octaves.
[734] (Cervantes, 1961, v.2, 5: pp.92, emphasis mine)
[735] (Cervantes, 1961, v.2, 5, pp.92)

This *grammar of becoming*[736] recalls Francisco de Figueroa's sonnet of the 1560s (see chapter 1) in which the poet writes:

> Perdido ando, señora, entre la gente
> sin vos, sin mí, sin ser, sin Dios, sin vida;
> sin vos, porque no sois de mí servida,
> sin mí, porque no estoy con vos presente;
> sin ser, porque de vos estando ausente,
> no hay cosa que del ser no me despida,
> sin Dios, porque mi alma a Dios olvida
> por contemplar en vos continuamente.
>
> (Lost I go, lady, among the people/ without you, without myself, without being, without God, without life;/ without you, because I do not serve you,/ without me, because I am not present with you;/ without being, because being absent from you,/ there is nothing which from being does not bid me goodbye,/ without God, because my soul forgets God/ in order to contemplate you continually.)[737]

Both poets, as *erotic mystics*, experience love as a change or disruption of being. Lauso's absence from himself (fuera de sí) and his changing experience of presence confounds him.[738] He does not know where he is. He

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[736] By "grammar of becoming" I mean that language, specifically verb conjugations, are employed in such a way as to examine the experience of being and becoming as regards lyric subjectivity. Specifically, Lauso employs the verbs "ser", "ir" and "estar" to explore the disruption of his own lyric subjectivity by way of the experience of *erotic mysticism*. This is a discourse which explicitly intends to articulate the metaphysics of "a Being in love". This is a discourse which goes beyond the categories of identity to examine what Hegel will later term "immediacy" and Heidegger "Dasein". This *conceptista* interest in a "grammar of becoming" is later explored by Quevedo in various sonnets. We may recall, his verse in "Ah de la vida": "soy un fue, y un será, y un es cansado".

[737] (Figueroa, 1989, pp.132, emphasis mine). For further contextualization and discussion of this poem, see chapter 1 of this dissertation.

[738] Recalling Hebreo's discussion of the "indivisible unity" at man's center, we must understand that within the discourse of *erotic mysticism*, the experience of love was understood to destabalize Being. To put this esoteric discourse into modern philosphical terms, we may liken this to Hegel's "unity of being and nothing": "Becoming is in this way doubly determined. In one determination, nothing is the immediate, that is, the determination beings with nothing and this refers to being; that is to say, it passes over into it. In the other determination, being is the immediate, that is, the determination begins with being and this passes over into nothing--*coming-to-be* and *ceasing-to-be*. Both are the same, becoming, and even as directions that are so different they interpenetrate and paralyze each other. The one is *ceasing-to-be*; being passes over into nothing, but nothing is just as much the opposite of itself, the passing-oer into being, coming-to-be. This coming-to-be is the other direction; nothing goes over into being, but being equally sublates itself and is rather the passing-over into nothing; it is ceasing-to-be. They do not sublate themselves reciprocally--the one sublating the other externally--but each rather sublates itself in itself and is within it the opposite of itself," (Hegel, 2015, pp.80-81, emphasis mine). As with my analogies to Heidegger, the reader may dismiss this analogy with Hegel if it is cause for further confusion. I offer these references here as a way of clarifying or making-familiar, a Pre-Cartesian philosohical discourse which may not be readily intelligible to the reader. While my research has led me to an expressed interest in recovering this Pre-Cartesian metaphysics and resituating it within the philosophical discourse of modernity, I leave this project to a later date.

does not know from where he is coming. He does not know where he is going. He no longer belongs to or pertains to himself. He is no longer the self he once was (*libre*) and he has never before been ("nunca he sido") the person he now is: *enamorado.* Figueroa likewise is without *himself* ("sin mí") and, perhaps more importantly, without *being* ("sin ser") when he is without his lady. Both poets pertain to their beloved lady as a religious mystic pertains to their god. This versification of the discourse of *erotic mysticism* also reprises both the comments of Elicio and Artidoro in Book 1 to Galatea and Teolinda, respectively. That is, his soul accompanies her because it belongs to the beloved. Again, this is one of the ways in which the *Galatea* as a novel brings the *cosmos of erotic mysticism* to life within a narrative landscape. In the following stanza Lauso goes on to reiterate this theme when he asserts: "aquello que en mí se halla,/ es sombra de lo que he sido,", (that which in me is found,/ is shadow of what I have been), (v.2, 5: pp.92). The influence of Garcilaso on Cervantes, which has been discussed elsewhere[739], becomes readily apparent in lines such as, "cierta está mi perdición,/ y no pienso de perderme,", (certain is my perdition,/ and I am not thinking of losing myself," (*Ibid*) which echoes Garcilaso's "según por do anduve perdido,/ que a mayor mal pudiera haber llegado;" (in accordance with where I went lost,/ that to a greater *mal* I could have arrived,") of his famous sonnet, "Cuando me paro".[740] Lauso continues to play with the grammar of time as he goes on:

> ...adoro el tiempo presente,
> y lloro por el pasado.
> Véome <u>en éste morir,</u>
> <u>y en el pasado, vivir</u>;
> y en éste adoro mi muerte,
> y en el pasado, la suerte,
> que ya no puede venir.
> (I adore the present tense,/ I weep for the past./ I see myeslf in this dying,/ and in the past living;/ and in this I adore my death,/ and in the past, the fortune,/ which already I cannot live.)[741]

However, in spite of his suffering, the "half death" of his *erotic mysticism* (to take a term from Hebreo), Lauso does not appeal to *desesperación* or *locura.* He levels the metaphysics of love found in his *grammar of becoming* with the material simplicity of devoted tears: "aborrezco el agua fría/ que si no es la de mis ojos...no quiero ni

[739] (See: Canavaggio, 1992)
[740] (Garcilaso, 2007, pp.82)
[741] (Cervantes, 1961, v.2, 5: pp.92, emphasis mine)

busco otro agua/ ni otro alivio a mis enojos,", (I abhore the cold water/ which if it is not of my eyes...I don't want nor do I seek another water/ nor another alleviation of my troubles), (v.2, 5: pp.93). Just as in the 1579 octaves sent to Veneziano (as well as in the 1567 sonnet to Isabel de Valois), Lauso averts suffering at the close of his poem by way of the genuflection before the divine lady. The close adherence to Cervantes earlier octaves of 1579 and Lauso's use of the pseudonym, Silena, to conceal his beloved raise some curiosity. Antonio Veneziano's beloved was called Celia, a pastoral pseudonym in its own right which Veneziano used throughout his *cancionero* composed for and named after her. He wrote most of the nearly three hundred poems of the *Celia* while captive in Algiers, where he became friends with Cervantes. In the octaves which Cervantes sent to Veneziano about Celia, he advised Veneziano to cast off the vicissitudes of amorous suffering for the certainty of devoted and courtly worship of the lady. In the octaves Cervantes ventriloquized Veneziano's voice by closing the series of octaves with a soliloquy to Celia, (see chapter 4). In the *Galatea*, Lauso's final verse to Silena is a reprise of the final lines directed toward Celia in the 1579 poem:

> Todo mi bien comenzare,
> todo mi mal feneciera,
> si mi ventura ordenara
> que de ser mi fe sincera
> Silena se asegurara.
> Sospiros, aseguralda;
> ojos míos, enteralda,
> llorando en esta verdad;
> pluma, lengua, voluntad;
> en tal razón confirmalda.
>
> (All of my Good will comence,/ all of my bad will expire,/ if my fortune ordains/ that for being my faith sincere/ Silena is assured./ Sighs, assure her;/ my eyes, entreat her,/ weeping this truth;/ pen, tongue, will; in this reason confirm it.)[742]

Lauso employs his quill (pluma), tongue (lengua) and will (voluntad) in the exhibition of the truth of his faith in Silena. (We must think here of Alonso Quijanos use of his body, tongue and will in the dedication of his quest to Dulcinea.) In other words, he chooses letters, speech and intellect over arms in the pursuit of his lady. The central placement of "razón" in the last line further emphasizes the "cordura" which Lauso emphasizes in his *erotic mysticism*. Cervantes favored the placement of the predominant concept or word at

[742] (Cervantes, 1961, v.2, 5: pp.93, emphasis mine)

the center of the line as can be seen earlier with the contrast of "bien" and "mal" in the stanza. This is prevalent throughout his early lyrics.[743]

At the conclusion of Lauso's song he overhears the group and goes out to greet them. He is particularly happy to meet with Damón (Laynez), his "verdadero amigo" whom, with the exception of the wedding festivities on the previous day, he has not seen since his time abroad. The meeting and conversation of Damón and Lauso again reveals several historical aspects of the novel (the relationship between Laynez and Cervantes). The narrator tells us:

> el cual [Damón] se acompaño todo el camino que desde allí a la ermita había, razonando en diversos y varios acaecimientos que a los dos habían sucedido después que dejaron de verse, que fue desde el tiempo que el valeroso y nombrado pastor Astraliano había dejado los cisalpinos pastos por ir a reducir aquellos que del famoso hermano y de la verdadera religión se habían rebelado, y al cabo vinieron a reducir su razonamiento a tratar de los amores de Lauso...que le dijese quién era la pastora que con tanta facilidade la libre voluntad le había rendido.
>
> (who [Damón] accompanied him [Lauso] the entire walk which from there to the hermitage remained, reasoning in diverse and various events which to both of them had occured after they last saw one another, which had been since that time when the valerous and famous shepherd Astralian had left the cisalpine fields [Milan] in order to reduce those that against his famous brother and the true religion had rebelled, and after coming to reduce their discussion to treat of the love of Lauso...[Damón wanted] that Lauso tell him who was the shepherdess who with such ease had conquered his will.)[744]

The biographical aspects of this passage have been heavily commented by Schevill and Bonilla, as well as Avalle-Arce.[745] In the passage, Australiano refers to Don Juan de Austria, the favorite patron of this generation of poets to whom so many dedicated verses and full-length works.[746] Pedro Laynez (Damón) had served Don Juan at the Battle of Lepanto (1571) where Cervantes had also fought. Presumably Laynez and Cervantes had been together, in and out, of the service of Don Juan throughout the subsequent Mediterranean campaigns. Cervantes' Mediterranean military career lasted from 1571-1575, and he received several special payments from both Don Juan and the Duke of Sessa over the course of this period of service, in addition to letters of commendation upon his failed return to the court in Madrid.[747] The reference in the *Galatea* to Australiano's departure for the "cisalpinos" refers to Don Juan's transfer from the Milan to the wars in the Spanish Netherlands in 1576, just months after Cervantes' capture by Arnaut Mami. Don Juan died in the northern campaigns at the age of thirty-one in 1578. The tenor of the conversation of Damón and

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[743] See: (Arata, 1992)
[744] (Cervantes,1961, v.2, 5: pp.93-94)
[745] See: chapter 5.
[746] A study of Don Juan's role as a literary patron is badly needed for the time.
[747] (Astrana Marín, 1949, v.2)

Lauso in the *Galatea* ("razonando en diversos y varios acaecimientos") reminds the reader that both characters (Laynez and Cervantes) were experienced in the theatres of both the court and of war. Cervantes could simply have said that Damón and Lauso had not seen one another since Lauso had gone abroad, but Cervantes uses the name of Australiano to more carefully root the chronology of the text in relation to a major historical figure, Don Juan.

Their conversation turns to Lauso's new beloved lady. While Lauso refuses to reveal Silena's true identity even to Damón, he does appease Damón's inquiry as to whether he has suffered any fear (temor), hope (esperanza), rejection (ingratitud) or jealousy (celos). Lauso admits that in the past he had become jealous and, thinking himself out of favor with Silena, he had arrived "a términos de desesperarse", (to the ends of desperation, i.e. suicide), (v.2, 5: pp.94). But Lauso explains that by having a conversation with Silena, he was able to resolve his false suspicion and remedy his jealousy. Silena had given Lauso a ring which returned him to his sanity ("volver a mejor discurso su entendimiento", to return to better discourse his comprehension). To commemorate the occasion Lauso had composed a sonnet which some other shepherds had thought was quite good. Damón, of course, entreats Lauso to recite this earlier sonnet. It is important to understand that while Lauso is a shepherd native to the community on the banks of the Tajo (Madrid), his story unfolds more like those of the foreign interpolated characters (Lisandro, Teolinda, Silerio, Rosaura). In some ways, having been gone from his community for so long, Lauso is still a *forastero* and he preserves the secrecy which surrounds both himself and his concealed beloved lady. In recounting the past vicissitudes of his love for Silena to Damón his own history is "interpolated" into the present timeline and topography of the text. The recitation of a past sonnet, like those of Lisandro, Teolinda and Silerio, reveals past interior states in the character's "interpolated" history. The sonnet squarely within the *cosmos of erotic mysticism*, asserts that Lauso's soul goes with her: "verán cómo por ti sin alma vivo," (they will see how for you without a soul I live), (v.2, 5: pp.95). In Lauso's case, the lady gives him life rather than causing his death. Damón admires the sonnet and asks that Lauso share more of his poetry ("⌈que⌋ <u>había escripto</u>", that he <u>had written</u>, *Ibid*). Lauso's response reveals yet another historical aspect of their friendship:

> Eso será..., Damón, por haberme sido tú maestro en ellos ⌈sus poesías⌋

(This will be...Damón, for your having been my master in these [poems])[748]

The reader understands that prior to their parting in the Mediterranean campaigns, Laynez had served as a mentor to Cervantes' earliest forays in lyric verse. The influence which Laynez exerted on Cervantes writing has been observed by Astrana Marín in Cervantes use of Laynez's poem to Don Carlos as a model for his 1567 sonnet to Isabel de Valois.[749] Moreover, Laynez's own versified book, *Engaños y desengaños de amor*, which Cervantes attempted to edit in Esquivias in order to see it into print in 1584 shows several similarities to the *Galatea*, including the presence of the shepherdess, Galatea, as a central character. While Cervantes would not undertake to edit and print this work until after Laynez death--and the completion of the *Galatea*--he would undoubtedly have already seen versions of the lengthy eclogue in manuscript circulation.

Lauso agrees to recite another poem which he composed during his period of jealousy for Silena. This is the third poem of his to enter the text during the opening of Book 5. Each poem recovers a distinct interior state which the character has experienced. The poem which opened the episode accorded to his present interior state concurrent with the timeline of the text. The second poem (sonnet) returned to his interior state following the resolution of his jealousy with Silena. This third poem returns to an even earlier interior state during the period in which he was suffering from jealousy. His story reveals itself in reverse. This earliest state of jealousy and madness contrasts with Lauso's later state of reason, sanity and devotion. In the third (earliest) poem his jealousy takes him to the extremes of madness and suffering, and approaches death. Nonetheless, even in the third sonnet Lauso resists a fall into madness and jealous *furor*. He elects a sane death over an insane rage:

> ...ya que haya de morir,
> que muera sufrido y cuerdo.
> (...already it is time to die,
> that I die suffering and sane.)[750]

Instead he chooses to follow the will and desire of Silena, regardless of the suffering it causes him:

> Goces, pastora, mil años
> el bien de tu pensamiento,

[748] (Cervantes, 1961, v.2, 5: pp.95)
[749] (Astrana Marín, 1949, v.2, pp.169)
[750] (Cervantes, 1961, v.2, 5: pp.96)

que yo no quiero contento

granjeado con tus daños.

(Take pleasure, shepherdess [for] a thousand years/ the Good of your thought,/ that I don't want contentment/ reaped with your harm.) [751]

This again betrays the courtly genuflection which is the bedrock of Lauso's personality as a lover within the varied types of lovers all adherent to the *cosmos of erotic mysticism;* again, it is consistent with the concept of love which Cervantes had advocated in his 1579 octaves to Veneziano (see chapter 4). The poems allow for a sophisticated form of character development. While the interior state of Lauso fluctuates within the vicissitudes of his amorous narrative, his character remains constant on in this aspect. It is through this combination of fluctuating and inmovable characteristics whereby the novelistic character is drawn. The poem continues to reinforce this constancy:

Conozco claro que voy

tras quien ha de condemnarme,

y cuando pienso apartarme,

más quedo y más firme estoy.

(I know clearly that I am going/ after she who will condemn me,/ and when I think to separate myself,/ the more I remain and the more firm I am.)[752]

Nonetheless, the poem alternates between constancy and desperation in a masterful depiction of jealousy which unsettles even the most constant lover. By the close of the poem Lauso stands on the brink of *desesperación* and on the verge of *becoming* mad (*furor*), once again:

No más, Silena, que toco

en puntos de tal porfía,

que el menor dellos podría

dejarme sin vida o loco.

No pase de aquí mi pluma,

pues tú la haces sentir

que no puede reducir

tanto mal a breve suma.

(No more, Silena, that I touch/ upon points of such endeavor,/ that the least of them could/ leave me wihtout life or mad./ It doesn't pass from here my pen,/ well you make it feel/ that it cannot reduce/ so much Bad to a brief account.)[753]

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[751] (Cervantes, 1961, v.2, 5: pp.96)

[752] (Cervantes, 1961, v.2, 5: pp.96)

[753] (Cervantes, v.2, 5: pp.97). Here and elsewhere, I have used the terms "Good" and "Bad" in order to preserve the Platonic dialect and avoid slippage into religious conceptions of Good and Evil.

The poem is a convincing portrayal of deep suffering and interior tumult, but only because Cervantes has gone to the work of drawing a character whose personality contrasts with the tumultuous state of his interior in this instance. The effects of jealousy as a force show because they are markedly different from the character development accorded to Lauso in the previous books, as well as in the two poems of Book 5 which precede this recitation. In keeping with this contrast, after the conclusion of this third poem (which recalls his previous experiences of jealousy), Lauso returns to laud the beauty, discretion, grace, honesty and valor of Silena, thus recovering his status as a constant and true lover who continually genuflects to the virtues of his beloved lady. Lauso's "interpolated" verse interlude with Damón comes to a close as the group reaches the hermitage of Silerio and the narrative returns to the conclusion of Silerio's interpolated tale which now, woven into the central timeline, unfolds within the development of the novel. Lauso departs from the group.

It is important to remember that both Lauso's story and the conclusion of Silerio's tale take place under the shade of darkness during the fifth night of the novel, which is to say in the most secretive and intimate fashion. The deeper the revelation of both character and author, the more shade afforded to the scene. The similarities between Lauso, Silerio and Cervantes' own biography also merit further mention. The love which Silerio and Timbrio harbor for Nísida reprises Cervantes' verses for Veneziano's Celia, alludes to Cervantes' own time in Naples, and mirrors the love which Lauso suffers for the mysterious shepherd behind the pseudonym, Silena. The connection is a loose one.[754] While no biographical data directly aligns Cervantes to Silerio's tale, the tale, at the very least, resonates with his previous historical circumstances abroad. As a motif, it lends further complexity to the historical aspects of the text, even if the correlation is not directly or explicitly biographical. It recovers an historical reality which Cervantes, several of his peers, and many Spanish travelers and captives knew well. Moreover, as I have said, the tale of Silerio and Timbrio prefigures the *Amante liberal*, and in a looser fashion, elements of the "Captive's Tale" in *Don Quijote I*.

Timbrio, Nísida and Blanca are careful not to alarm Silerio. The group first eavesdrops on the sonnet which Silerio sings under an olive tree in the moonlight. Nísida then sings a response to Silerio's

[754] The correlation between Cervantes and Lauso is clear and well-observed in criticism. See: chapter 5.

sonnet in order to slowly awaken him to his visitors. Curiously, Nísida's song echoes the previous song of Lauso with which Book 5 began, rather than directly responding to the sonnet which Silerio has just sung.[xxxiii] Moreover, her song is a gloss of male friendship, between Silerio and Timbrio, as she does not in fact love Silerio, but Timbrio. At the sound of Nísida's voice, Silerio nearly goes out of himself, "comenzó a alborotar, y a suspender y enajenar de sí mesmo," (he began to become unsettled, and to suspend and alienate from himself), (v.2, 5: pp.100). Timbrio approaches and speaks to Silerio and Silerio's response recalls Lauso's first poem of Book 5: "con la memoria del bien pasado, sino con las sombras del presente,", (with the memory of the good past, but with the shadows of the present), (v.2, 5: pp.101). Tirsi interjects with a sonnet on the changing nature of Time and its ability to correct old troubles; his sonnet most directly responds to the one which Silerio has just sung. Timbrio then begins to sing. Silerio has heard him but has not yet seen or recognized him. The sonnet with which Timbrio begins is one which Silerio recognizes from their time in Naples. The two are reunited. The reunion of Silerio and Timbrio reinforces the integration of male friendship (*los dos amigos*) as a form of amicatory love which adheres to the *cosmos of erotic mysticism.* Using the same "grammar of being" which other poets (such as Cervantes and Figueroa) employed for amorous love, Timbrio tells Silerio:

> Ni tu ventura te burla, ni tus ojos te engañan, dulce amigo mío..., que yo soy el que sin ti no era, y el que no lo fuera jamás si el cielo no permitiera que te hallara.
>
> (Nor does your fortune jest with you, nor do your eyes deceive you, my sweet friend..., that I am he who without you was not, and he would never be if the heaven did not permit that I find you.) [755]

The entire group sits down to hear the conclusion of the interpolated tale which Timbrio will now tell. Timbrio recounts his preparations for his journey back to Spain from Naples while under the false belief that Nísida was dead. On the boat he met with Nísida and Blanca who had run away from their parents' home in Naples, dressed as pilgrims, in order to seek him out. The happy reunion of the three was then frustrated by a sea storm which led to their capture by Barbary corsairs. This again resonates with Cervantes' biography; he too was captured by corsairs on his return to Spain from Naples after the ships were scattered in a sea storm.[756] It also anticipates the fiction of the *Amante liberal.* The same Arnaut Mami responsible for Cervantes' capture is also behind the capture of Timbrio, Nísida and Blanca in the *Galatea.*

[755] (Cervantes, 1961, v.2, 5: 104)
[756] (Astrana Marín, 1949, v.2)

This historical figure will again appear in the *Amante liberal* and the "Captives Tale". In contrast to Cervantes' unhappy history, the Timbrio, Nísida and Blanca were saved when another sea storm sent the corsair ships into the Valencian coastline. There they met with Darinto, the gentleman who had introduced the discourse on courtly and the pastoral life at the *Fuente de las Pizarras* in Book 4. Darinto garnered supplies in Barcelona while Timbrio still healed from the sea battle, and they made their way towards Toledo. This serves as another indication that the shepherds of the Tajo (Madrid) are not actually in Toledo. Timbrio concludes his tale by calling it the "suceso de mi vida" (event of my life); the replacement of "tragedia" with "suceso" is identical to the one which Rosaura makes following the happy resolution of her love for Grisaldo. Darinto's story is also fleshed out among the group of shepherds. Darinto had fallen in love with Blanca. However, Blanca was still in love with the missing Silerio. Darinto had tended the hope of winning her in Silerio's absence. His mysterious departure from the *Fuente de las Pizarras* is demystified as his loss of any hope for success with Blanca now that Silerio has been found.

It is now dawn on the sixth day of the novel. The narrative of Timbrio concluded, Lauso is again overheard singing verses of amorous genuflection to Silena. He rejoins the group.[757] At this moment, Aurelio also arrives to join the group without Elicio and Erastro. He explains that on their walk to the hermitage they came across Darinto who had passed out in an amorous fit on the mountainside:

> Hallámosele Elicio, Erastro y yo, habrá dos horas, en medio de aquel monte que a esta mano derecha descubre, el caballo arredado a un pino, y él en el suelo boca abajo tendido, dando tiernos y dolorosos sospiros, y de cuando en cuando decía algunas palabras que a maldecir su ventura se encaminaban...
>
> (We found him, Elicio, Erastro and I, about two hours ago, in the middle of that hill which sits to the right of this one, the horse tied to a pine tree, and he face down in the dirt, giving tender and painful sighs, and every now and then he said a few words which were to curse his fortune...)[758]

Aurelio explains that Elicio and Erastro have stayed behind in the mountain in order to care for and comfort Darinto. In a loose way, Darinto prefigures Cardenio of the *Quijote* who will likewise lose himself in the *Sierra Morena* in grief over Luscinda. However, Cardenio is a wild man and Darinto is a suffering man. Timbrio goes to seek out Darinto and the other shepherds, except for Silerio Nísida and Blanca, accompany him. Arriving in the mountain, they are unable to locate Darinto, and instead come upon Elicio, who has

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[757] There is no time to treat of this further in this chapter, however, it is curious that Lauso is never present for the Silerio and Timbrio episodes, which in some way touch too closely upon the biography of the author whom Lauso represents

[758] (Cervantes, 1961, v.2, 5: pp.125-126)

fainted, and Erastro, who is weeping profusely, on the ground. Erastro attempts to leave but the others detain him. Elicio wakes but says that he cannot recall why he had fainted. Elicio goes off alone with Damón who agrees to meet Tirsi back in the *aldea* later on and in order to prepare their departure for Henares (Alcalá).

The narrative returns to the central plot of the text: the love which Elicio courts in Galatea. Once alone, Elicio tells Damón that he is a true lover who has loved Galatea for years:

> la buena suerte quiso, como todo el cielo y todas estas riberas saben, que yo amase, ¿qué digo amase?, que adorase a la sin par Galatea, con tan limpio y verdadero amor, cual a su merecimiento se debe; juntamente te confieso, amigo, que en todo el tiempo que ha que ella tiene noticia de mi cabal deseo, no ha correspondido a él con otras muestras que las generales que suele y debe dar a un casto y agradecido pecho; y así, ha algunos años que, sustentada mi esperanza con una honesta correspondencia amorosa, he vivido alegre y satisfecho de mis pensamientos...
>
> (the good luck wanted, as all the heaven and all these riverbanks know, that I love her. And what am I saying loved? That I adored the peerless Galatea, with such clean [pure] and true love, to which her worth is owed; all together I confess, friend, that in all this time that she has notice of my honest desire, she has not corresponded to it with other demonstrations than the general ones which are customed and which should be given to a chaste and grateful breast; and in this way, it has been some years that, my hope sustained with the honest loving correspondence, I have lived happy and satisified with my thoughts...)[759]

Again, Elicio's love for Galatea, his emphasis on fate ("buena suerte"), the elements of courtly admiration and discretion, the lengthy duration of their love, and their pertinence to social orders whilst not being themselves *hidalgos*, all correspond to the early years of the love affair between Lope de Vega and Elena Orsorio (ca. 1579-1584). Elicio reveals to Damón that Auerlio has promised Galatea in marriage to a Portuguese ("lusitano") shepherd from the banks of the river Lima. When Lope recounts this early love affair in the *Dorotea* (1532) it is an *Indiano* from Lima, Peru--rather than Portugal--who interferes with Fernando's (Lope's) love for Dorotea (Osorio). In the *Galatea*, it is Galatea's father, Aurelio, who arranges the unwanted match.[760] In the *Dorotea*, it is Dorotea's mother, Teodora who pushes the match with the *Indiano* by way of the insistence of her friend, Gerarda. Nonetheless, the amorous topography of the two texts adhere closely to one another. In many ways the *Dorotea* serves as a continuation of the *Galatea*: Lope's novel picks up at the moment when the *Indiano* begins to intercede between the love of Dorotea and Fernando. Cervantes' novel narrates their courtship up through the end of 1583. Through Damón's guidance Elicio decides to confer with Galatea in order to determine if the match is in keeping with her *voluntad* or if she simply feels obliged to adhere to the *voluntad* of her father. They come to a crossroads (the landscape is a

[759] (Cervantes, 1961, v.2, 5: pp.129-130)
[760] This is also the case in Montemayor's *Diana*.

metaphor for the relationship of Elicio and Galatea) where they observe eight masked shepherds heading for the *aldea*. They take a different road which leads them to a small fountain where they find Galatea singing in the company of Florisa, Rosaura and Silveria. The possibilities for Galatea's fate are represented in the three shepherdesses who keep her company. She may 1) feel no love, as in the case of Florisa, 2) love more greatly than she is willing to reveal, as in the earlier story of Rosaura, or 3) concede to an unhappy marriage at her parents' insistence, as in the case of Silveria.

For the first time, the narrative penetrates Galatea's interior to reveal her true feelings, which had only been hinted at in her previous sonnet of Book 1. It is important to underscore that Galatea does not lack character development. Her character is distinguished by the extremes of her discretion which builds to this revelatory moment in the text during which her interior is revealed. Moreover, the contrast between the passion exhibited in her verses and the quiet discretion of her narrative personality complicates and lends depth to her character. For five books the *curioso lector*, like Elicio and the other shepherds, have been waiting for Galatea to voice her own lyric subjectivity. More importantly, Galatea wishes for her discretion to be broken and for her interior state to be revealed to Elicio. She sees Elicio and Damón approaching, but rather than revert to secrecy by desisting in her song, she continues:

> Y puesto que Galatea vio venir a los pastores, no por eso quiso dejar su comenzado canto: antes pareció dar muestras de que recibía contento en que los pastores la escuchasen
>
> (And given that Galatea saw the shepherds coming, not for this did she desist from the song she had begun: rather she seemed to give a show that she received contentment from the shepherds listening to her.)[761]

Her song leaves no room for ambiguity. She considers her betrothal an exile ("destierro") and a death ("mi muerte la sentencia"). Her *desesperación* resonates with the *desesperación* which Dorotea will suffer in Act IV of Lope's *Dorotea* (1632) once her marriage to the *Indiano* has been finalized and Fernando has departed for Seville.[762] Galatea's poem underscores the subjugation of her will by her father:

> Gocé de mi libertad
> en mi tempranza sazón;
> pero ya la subjeción
> anda tras mi voluntad.

[761] (Cervantes, 1961, v.2, 5: pp.133)

[762] "Oy, Felipa, ni pienso llorar, ni reñir; que, aunque los estremos del placer suelen ser los principios del pesar, haré agravio a mi alma si con la memoria de tanto bien estoi triste en mi vida," (Lope de Vega, 1958, IV: 6, pp.367).

....

¡Oh fastidioso gobierno,

que a los respectos humanos

tengo de cruzar las manos

y abajar el cuello tierno!

....

Severo padre, ¿qué haces?

Mira que es cosa sabida

que a mí me quitas la vida

con lo que a ti satisfaces.

(I enjoyed my liberty/ in my early [years];/ but already the subjegation/ goes against my will./.../ Oh fastidious governor,/ which of the human respects/ I have to cross my hands/ and lower my tender neck!/.../ Severe father, what are you doing?/ Look that it is a known thing/ that you are taking my life from me/ with what satisfies you.)[763]

Galatea begins to weep so profusely that she can no longer continue her song; she is in a state of *desesperación* and intent on death. Elicio is so moved that he would give his life to remedy that of Galatea. It is difficult to imagine that Cervantes is mocking either pastoral or courtly love. The scene cultivates a *pathos* on par with that of the starving Numantino mother and her child who make their way onto the stage in *La Numancia* (composed either in Algiers or in Madrid in the 1580s). Damón and Elicio arrive to speak with Galatea. Damón assures her that her father is at Silerio's hermitage; she may speak freely. In the happy conclusion of Timbrio and Nísida, Galatea harbors hope that Time may also change her circumstances for the better. Then she becomes disconsolate again. Galatea's character development is deepened by way of her discussion with Damón. The fame of her intelligence and discretion parallels closely with the reputation which Elena Osorio held amongst Cervantes' circle in Madrid. Damón affirms:

No sé yo, Galatea...cómo en tus verdes años puede caber tanta experiencia de los males, si no es que queires que entendamos que tu mucha discreción se estiende a hablar por ciencia de las cosas; que, por otra manera, ninguna noticias dellas tienes.

(I don't know, Galatea...how in your green years you have gained so much experience of bad things, if it is not that you want us to understand that your great discretion extends to speak on the science of things; of which, by any other manner, you would have no notice.)[764]

At this point Elicio dares to enter the conversation. He delivers a *limpio* [pure] speech of service to Galatea. Elicio's speech again alludes to Galatea's status as a muse among the shepherds of the Tajo (Madrid):

[763] (Cervantes, 1961, v.2, 5: pp.133-134, brackets mine)

[764] (Cervantes, 1961, v.2, 5: pp.136)

desconfío de mi ventura, y así la habré de poner en las manos de la razón y en las de todos los pastores que por estas riberas de Tajo [Madrid] apacientan sus ganados, los cuales no querrán consentir que se les arrebate y quite delante de sus ojos el sol que alumbra y la discreción que los admira, y la belleza que los incita y anima a mil honrosas competencias [poéticas].

(I distrust my fortune, and in this way I will have to put it in the hands of reason and that of all the shepherds which by these riverbanks of the Tajo [Madrid] graze their flocks, who do not want to consent that they are rocked and quited before their eyes, the sun that illuminates and the discretion that they admire, and the beauty that incites and animates them to a thousand honored competitions.) [765]

The scene reaches its climax when Elicio entreats Galatea to finally reveal her *voluntad* to him once and for all. Recall that, the courtship has been building for years and now, only by way of the impending marriage, are the characters motivated to action. It is clear that Elicio is asking whether or not Galatea loves him:

Ansí que, hermosa Galatea, en fe de la razón que he dicho y de la que tengo de adorarte, te hago este ofrecimiento, el cual te ha de obligar a que tu voluntad me descubras, para que yo no caiga en error de ir contra ella en cosa alguna; pero, considerando que la bondad y honestidad incomparable tuya te ha de mover a que correspondas antes al querer de tu padre al tuyo, no quiero, pastora, que me le declares, sino tomar a mi cargo hacer lo que me pareciere, con presupuesto de mirar por tu honra con el cuidado que tú mesma has mirado siempre por ella.

(So it is, beautiful Galatea, in faith of the reason which I have said and of that which I adore, I make this offer to you, which obligates you to discover to me your will, in oder that I not fall into error by going against it in an way; but, considering your unmatchable goodness and honesty it should move you to correspond to rather than desire what your father wants, I don't want, shepherdess, that you declare it to me, but rather to take in my charge to do what it seems to me, with the proposition to look to your honor with the care that you have always taken with it.)[766]

Galatea is about to respond to Elicio but the climax of the courtship is suspended at the moment of revelation. The scene is interrupted by the eight masked shepherds whom Elicio and Damón had seen at the crossroads. Six of the foreigners take hold of Elicio and Erastro. Another shepherd removes his disguise to reveal that he is Artandro, the spurned *aragonés* gentleman of Rosaura's interpolated tale. He and another shepherd take hold of Rosaura and put her on the horse he has been riding. Rosaura faints. He declares the recapture of his honor: "no pudo sufrir ser burlado della," (I couldn't suffer being mocked by her), (v.2, 5: pp.138). Elicio and Damón pursue the shepherds, first removing their daggers and then taking out their slingshots. They are detained by Galatea and Florisa for their own protection. Galatea then briefly retells Rosaura's story to Elicio and Damón. Florisa insists that they head to the *aldea* in order to send a message to Grisaldo. On the path they encounter Erastro who sings a sonnet about his sorrow over Galatea's betrothal. The influence of Garcilaso's "Cuando me paro" is evident: "Por áspero caminos voy siguiendo/ el fin dudoso de mi fantasía," (For rough paths I go following/ the doubtful end of my fantasy), (v.2, 5: pp.142).[767] His

[765] (Cervantes, 1961, v.2, 5: pp.137, emphasis and brackets mine)

[766] (Cervantes, 1961, v.2, 5: pp.137)

[767] Compare to the verses: "y a ver los pasos por do m'han traído,/ hallo, según por do anduve perdido," (Garcilaso, 2007, pp.82).

subsequent speech to Nature again underscores Galatea's status as muse amidst the shepherds of the Tajo (Madrid):

> no consientas, señor, que al claro Tajo se le quite la prenda que le enriquece y por quien él tiene más fama que no por las arenas de oro que en su seno cría; no quites a los pastores destos prados la luz de sus ojos, la gloria de sus pensamientos y el honroso estímulo que a mil honrosas y virtuosas empresas les incitaba
>
> (don't consent, sir, that the clear Tajo is quited of the possession which enriches it and for whom it has greatest fame which not even the sands of gold at its temple [have earned]; don't quit of these shepherds of these meadows the light of their eyes, the glory of their thoughts and the honored esteem which to a thousand honorable and virtuous endeavors incites them.)[768]

Erastro weeps. Galatea and the others are moved to tears. He meets with them. Galatea insists on making her way to the *aldea*, when they are surprised by all the other shepherds coming from Silerio's hermitage. In this way, Cervantes brings back together the majority of characters pertaining to the community of shepherds which had dispersed at the close of Book 4. No longer a hermit, and now engaged to Blanca, Silerio has changed his attire. The entire group sets out for the *aldea*. Tirsi requests that Timbrio finish the sonnet which he had earlier begun as they walk. Silerio follows up Timbrio's sonnet with a sonnet of his own. Both characters employ the metaphor of the sea for trials in love and friendship; the conceit is fitting to their narrative. Nísida then joins with a sonnet on life, fortune and happy love. Blanca is the fourth to sing a sonnet which also glosses the change from unhappy trials to a happy conclusion.

The group is interrupted once again by the sight of Lauso hurriedly running through the landscape. Tirsi is amazed because the previous night upon arriving to Silerio's hermitage, Lauso had told him that he had to go take care of some business with another shepherd which would bring a close to his misery and the beginning of his happiness. Damón calls after Lauso, but Lauso is in such a hurry that he does not hear. Damón calls again and Lauso arrives in a great mood to the consternation of all. Lauso declares that the event which has brought others to "desesperación y muerte" (desperation [suicide] and death) has served him with "esperanza y vida" (hope and life) which he names as "desdén y desengaño," (disdain and disillusionment), (v.2: 5: pp.149). It is important to understand this thinly glossed reference to Galatea's unwanted betrothal which has caused "desesperación y muerte" in Elicio and Erastro whilst serving as Lauso's liberation to "esperanza y vida". More importantly, Lauso is the first of Cervantes' many famous characters to undergo a transformation by way of *desengaño* (disillusionment). As Lauso rightly points out, at

[768] (Cervantes, 1961, v.2, 5: pp.143)

least in the fictional worlds of Cervantes, *desengaño* typically concludes with the death of the character. This is true in the case of Grisóstomo, Anselmo and Alonso Quijano in the *Quijote*, as well as with Tomás Rodaja of the *Licenciado vidriera* and Carrizales of the *Celoso extremeño*. It is significant that this first instance of *desengaño* arrives by way Cervantes' only explicit fictionalization of his own autobiography. In other words, the character who served as his own pastoral pseudonym represents the prototype for all the other narratives of *desengaño* which will characterize Cervantes' novelistic work. This is the author's story of *desengaño* and unlike the characters of his later fictions, he survives it and rejoices in it. In keeping with the *grammar of being*, which Lauso had previously employed in his poetry, and in accordance with the *cosmos of erotic mysticism*, Lauso is restored to his former self by way of *desengaño*: "me ha restituido a mi ser primero,", (I have been restored to my first Being [primordial state]), (v.2, 5: pp.149). Significantly, it is in Lauso's speech that Cervantes first draws the picture of the human interior (centered on the *ingenio*) which he will later use to describe Alonso Quijano's madness in chapter 1 of the *Quijote*:

Lauso:

> ya se han deshecho en mi sentido las encumbradas máquinas de pensamientos que desvanecido me traían; ya tornaré a la perdida conversación de mis amigos;
>
> (They have already been undone from my sense the concealed machines of thought which had me fainting; already I have returned to the lost conversation of my friends;)[769]

Alonso Quijano:

> y asentándole de tal modo en la imaginación que era verdad toda aquella máquina de aquellas soñadas invenciones que leía, que para él no había otra historia más cierta en el mundo.
>
> (and taking a seat in such a way in his imagination that it became true the whole machine of those dreamed inventions that he read, which for him there was no other history truer in the world.)[770]

Damón doubts Lauso's newfound freedom and suggests that freedom begot with disdain evaporates like smoke faster than it is won. He considers Lauso's change to be a miracle, ("milagro en los deseos amorosos," miracle in the amorous desires, (v.2: 5: pp.150). Damón insists that in order to believe the veracity of Lauso's change he must remain free for at least six days. He asks that Lauso commemorate the occasion with a song.

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[769] (Cervantes, 1961, v.2, 5: pp.149)

[770] (Cervantes, 1999, I:1, pp.39); "Yo tengo juicio ya libre y claro, sin las sombras caliginosas de la ignorancia que sobre él me pusieron mi amarga y continua leyenda de los detestables libros de caballería. Ya conozco sus disparates y sus embelecos, y no me pesa sino que este desengaño ha llegado tan tarde," (*Ibid*, II:74, pp.1217)

Lauso sings a song to "desdén" in laud of its virtues. "Desdén" replaces the divinity of Silena and the god of Love, as a new spiritual sovereign. In the same amorous language, "desdén" becomes the savior of Lauso:

> por ti torno a gozar de los despojos
> que de mi voluntad y de mi vida
> ...
> por ti la noche de mi error en día
> de sereno discurso
> se ha vuelto, y la razón, que antes estaba
> en posesión de esclava,
> ...
> siendo agora señora, me conduce
> do el bien eterno más se muestra y luce.
> Mostrásteme, desdén, cuán engañosas
> cuán falsas y fingidas habían sido
> las señales de amor que me mostraban,
> ...mas tú, dulce desdén, curaste el daño.
> Derribas y acabas mi locura
> al ingenio, desdén, que se levante
> y sacuda de sí el pesado sueño
> ...
> soy reducido a nueva vida y trato:
> que ahora entiendo que yo soy quien puedo
> temer con tasa, y esperar sin miedo
>
> (for you [disdain] I return to take pleasure in the spoils/ which of my will and of my life/.../ for you [disdain] the night of my error into day/of serene discourse/ has returned. and the reason, which before was/ in possession a slave/being now you lady [disdain], you conduct me/ to where the eternal Good shows and shines brightest/ Show me, disdain, how deceptive/ how false and artificial have been/ the signs of love they showed me/ but you, sweet disdain, cured the wound./ You take down and finish my madness/ to the *ingenio*, disdain, that you raise it up/ and take out of itself the heavy dream./ I am reduced to a new life and dress:/ and now I understand that I am he who can/ fear with moderation, and hope without fear)[771]

This poem not only represents the definitive turn in Lauso's character, but the completion of Lauso's character arc also signals a definitive break with the poetry of *erotic mysticism* (ca.1567-1583) in Cervantes' own lyric subjectivity. The publication of the *Galatea*, as well as the conclusion of the affair with Anna Francisca de Rojas (ca.1584), Cervantes' marriage to Doña Catalina de Palacios Salazar in Esquivias on December 12th, 1584 all occur after the break which Lauso makes here in Book 5 of the *Galatea*. Only ventriloquized by way of his prosaic characters will the author continue to write love poetry. Curiously, if

[771] (Cervantes, 1961, v.2, 5: pp.151-152)

not ironically, the amorous vicissitudes of *amor* and *desengaño* will remain the central tenet of his work. When Cervantes later, in the *Viaje del Parnaso*, laments his failure as a poet, it should be understood that he did not think himself a bad poet, but an unrealized ingenio. Cervantes never published a *Cancionero* on par with those of Boscán, Garcilaso Montemayor, Veneziano, Herrera, Padilla, Maldonado, Lope, Góngora, and even Laynez own which he had attempted to be instrumental in seeing to print. To have been a poet, Cervantes would have had to pursue amorous poetry for a divine beloved lady in the language of *erotic mysticism* long enough to have produced a significant work or works. He did not. It is unfortunate that the terms which constituted this 'self-declaimed failure' have been misinterpreted by critics of later generations, cultures and literary movements to mean a lack of ability in versified lyrics. His failure was one of quantity, not of quality. As the poetry of the *Galatea* clearly demonstrates, the author was a master of the art of *mystical erotic verse* and he understood the order of this *cosmos* fully enough to bring its entire world to life within the pages of the *Galatea*, a fact which critics since the Counter-Reformation have either misunderstood or ignored. In microcosm, the tale of Lauso retells Cervantes'--not too early (he was about thirty-six)--liberation from his beloved lady and muse. However, Silena could not have been either Anna Francisca de Rojas nor Catalina de Palacios Salazar because both women entered the author's life in 1584 after the *Galatea* had been completed late in 1583 or in January of 1584 and submitted for review. I will return to the identity of Silena and its relevance to Cervantes' biography in my discussion of Book 6.

Following Lauso's verses a *plática* over love and freedom ensues between Tirsi and Lauso. This discourse reveals Cervantes' own grappling with and oscillation between the *cosmos* of his early writings (that is *erotic mysticism*)---including the previous generation (Francisco de Figueroa, Pedro Laynez, Gálvez de Montalvo)---and a new form of authorial ambition which both he and Lope--as well as Góngora-- will exemplify in their exploration of *aesthetic idealism*.[772] It is crucial to the aesthetics developed in the *Galatea* that Lauso commends himself to disdain, rather than to a spiritual practice following his moment of *desengaño*: this is the primary meaning of the *libre* Lauso. His liberty is absolute and this independence of spirit makes way for the *aesthetic idealism* to come. It must be observed, however, that at the close of the

[772] We may consider the first as an exploration of lyric subjectivity under the existential sovereignty of the beloved lady and the latter as an exploration of lyric subjectivity in the world through the project of authorship.

Galatea the six days of Lauso's freedom remain incomplete. The doubts and uncertainties of Tirsi and Damón are left pending. This pivotal transition from the devotion of *erotic mysticism* to the freedom of *aesthetic idealism* is left unresolved. The *Quijote*, contingent on the *cosmos of erotic mysticism*, reunites these two themes left pending in the character of Lauso in the *Galatea*.

The *plática* between Tirsi and Lauso is interrupted by the arrival of Maurisa, followed closely by the aged Arsindo. Maurisa arrives to Galatea and Florisa with news from Grisaldo. Lauso and the other shepherds are disturbed to see that the aged Arsindo has been following after the young Maurisa. However, before they can settle on the possibility of his lechery, he distracts them with news of Lenio. I have said that the *plática* over freedom and love which has just taken place between Tirsi and Lauso is one of the major unresolved elements of the *Galatea*. The debate between Tirsi and Lenio over the merits of Love, however is twice resolved through the action of the text. The first resolution occurs immediately after the debate when all of the other shepherds agree that Tirsi is the victor. The second resolution occurs here at the close of Book 5 as Arsindo relates Lenio's fate: Lenio has fallen into helpless and unrequited love with Gelasia. This poetic justice renders the judgment of both author and characters irrefutable. The *desamorado* Lenio has fallen madly in love with the *desamorada* Gelasia:

> Digo, en fin, pastores, que Lenio el desamorado muere por la endurecida Gelasia, y por ella llena el aire de sospiros, y la tierra de lágrimas; y lo que hay más malo en esto, es que me parece que el amor ha querido vengarse del rebelde corazón de Lenio, rindiéndole a la más dura y esquiva pastora que se ha visto, y conociéndolo él, procura agora en cuanto dice y hace reconciliarse con el amor, y por los mesmos términos que antes le vituperaba, ahora le ensalza y honra...le hallamos en la fuente de las Pizarras, tendido en el suelo, cubierto el rostro de un sudor frío y anhelando el pecho con una estraña priesa. Lleguéme a él y conocíle, y con el agua de la fuente le rocié el rostro, con que cobró los perdidos espíritus,
>
> (I say, in the end, shepherds, that Lenio the *desamorado* dies for the hardened Gelasia, and for her he fills the air with sighs, and the earth with tears; and what is worse in this, is that it seems to me that love wanted to take its vengence in the rebellious heart of Lenio, conquering him with the most hard and elusive shepherdess who has ever been seen, and knowing him, he now procures in all that he says and does to reconcile with love, and by the same means which he previously condemned love, he now extols and honors it... we find him at the *fuente de las Pizarras*, down in the earth, his face covered in a cold sweat and his chest frozen in a strange rush. I arrived to him and recognized him, and with water from the spring I sprinkled his face, with which he recovered his lost spirits.[773]

While Lenio has at times been connected to Liñán de Riaza, his trajectory more closely mirrors that of Gabriel López Maldonado who had been known for the misogynistic tenor of his verses in the *Academia de los Nocturnos* in Valencia, but whose change is clearly evident in his 1586 *Cancionero* of love poetry, (see chapter 5). Lauso marvels at the two miracles which Love has enacted in such a short time: 1) freeing Lauso and 2)

[773] (Cervantes, 1961, v.2, 5: pp.156-157)

subjugating Lenio. Again the question of love and freedom is brought back into focus when Orompo questions Lauso's reasoning, denying that love is the force behind his liberty. The conversation returns to the *plática* and Lauso gives a further clarification on the force of Love:

> el amor que reinaba y reina en el pecho de aquella a quien yo tan en estremo quería, como se encamina a diferente intento que el mío, puesto que todo es amor, el efecto que en mí ha hecho es ponerme en libertad, y a Lenio en servidumbre
>
> (the love which conquered me and reigned in my breast of that one to whom I wanted to such an extreme, as she takes up a path to an intent other than my own, given that everything is love, the effect which it has had in me is to put me in liberty, and Lenio in servitude.)[774]

In other words, Lauso understands Love to be the Good (in the Platonic sense) which has freed him only because his beloved is driven by another fate or destiny than his own; in other words, Galatea is bound to accept the marriage which has been arranged for her. Love has freed Lauso, and has subjugated Lenio. Lauso also observes, but does not voice, the "third miracle" of Love which has caused the aged Arsindo to pursue the young Maurisa.

Maurisa interrupts the philosophical discourse underway in order to continue with the interpolated tales of Rosaura and Teolinda. Galatea relates Rosaura's abduction and inquires on the outcomes of Teolinda and Leonarda. The tale of the twin sisters (and their twin beloveds) has been complicated further. Leonarda has tricked Artidoro into marrying her by pretending to be Teolinda. Galercio continues hopelesslyto pursue Gelasia. Teolinda is on the brink of either *desesperación* or *locura*, and has taken to pursuing Galercio hopelessly. Maurisa returns to Grisaldo with the message of Rosaura's abduction. We are told that Arsindo conceals his desire to follower her and remains with the others. As Book 5 nears the end, Cervantes has either resolved much of the action of the interpolated tales and secondary characters or moved them to the margins of the narrative. The group which remains consists of Galatea & Florisa, Elicio & Erastro, Tirsi & Damón, Lauso & Arsindo, the four shepherds of the eclogue (Orompo, Crisio, Marsilo, Orfinio), and Timbrio, Silerio, Nísida and Blanca (present but resolved). While the narratives of Rosaura, Artandro, and Grisaldo, Teolinda, Leonarda, Galercio, and Artidoro, and Lenio and Gelasia continue to move forward, they do so on the periphery of the central action of the text--the love which Elicio holds for Galatea--which increasingly becomes the focus.

[774] (Cervantes, 1961, v.2, 5: pp.158)

At this stage in the narrative--and presumably in preparation for the second part--Cervantes introduces three new characters to the community of shepherds on the banks of the Tajo (Madrid).[775] A horn is heard and three elderly shepherds--one of whom is a priest, Telesio--approach the group. Telesio announces the exequies for the death of the Meliso, (I: 5: pp.161). Meliso has long been identified with Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza. This identificaiton of Hurtado de Mendoza with the funeral exequies which the shepherds perform in Book 6 poses a troubling problem for the timeline of the novel as a *roman à clef.* Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza was exiled from court in 1568 and died in Granada in 1575, within months of Cervantes' capture by Arnaut Mami. However, Hurtado de Mendoza retained a strong presence in the minds of the lyric poets of Madrid long after his exile and death. At the time of his death, Hurtado de Mendoza donated his extensive library to Phililp II which was included in the catalog which Lucas Gracián Dantisco undertook for the library of El Escorial. It is possible that manuscript of Hurtado de Mendoza's last posthumous work, *Guerra de Granada*, (Madrid, 1610), arrived to El Escorial at that time, a text which would no doubt have crossed the hands of Gracián Dantisco. In 1582, Gracián Dantisco had, authored a loose translation or adaptation of Giovanni della Casa's *Il Galateo*, the *Galateo Español* (Madrid). In 1584 he authored the *privilegio* for Cervantes' *Galatea.* His friendship with Cervantes and his extensive knowledge of the library of El Escorial may well account for some of Cervantes' prescient familiarity with works alluded to in the *Canto de Calíope* which would not appear for several more years. For example, in 1591 Enrique Garcés, listed in the section dedicated to poets in the New World, published three translations (of Camoens, Petrarch, and Patricio) following his return to Madrid; in the *Canto de Calíope* Cervantes demonstrates knowledge, at least, of the Petrarch translation.[xxxiv] It is reasonable to believe that for the lyric community which the *Galatea* encodes, the death of Hurtado de Mendoza was topically relevant. Hurtado de Mendoza, who had participated in every major lyric community of the court (Garcilaso of the 1530s, Montemayor of the 1550s, and Figuero and Laynez of the 1560s) was the ideal poet of the century and the thread which connected the entire tradition of *erotic mysticism* into which the generation of the 1580s wrote. More imporantly, upon closer inspection of the text, it is clear that the shepherds are not celebrating the funeral exequies of the

[775] The technique of narrative interlacing would have necessitated the introduction of new and unresolved plots. Montemayor does the same in the final book of the *Diana.*

newly deceased, they are celebrating the memory of Meliso in the same fashion that a religious practioner may have had a mass said on the anniversary of a family member or loved one long dead. Telesio's description of Meliso further suggests that the nobleman is behind the funeral exeqies of the *Galatea:*

> Mas, por satisfacer al deseo que tenéis de saber lo que quiero, quiéroos traer a la memoria la que debéis tener perpetuamente del valor y fama del famoso y aventajado pastor Meliso, cuyas dolorosas obsequias se renuevan y se irán renovando del año en año tal día como mañana, en tanto que en nuestras riberas hubiere pastores, y en nuestras almas no faltare el conocimiento de lo que se debe a la bondad y valor de Meliso.
>
> (But in ordder to satisfy the desire that you have to know what I want, I want to bring to the memory that which you should have perpetually of the valour and fame and excellent shepherd Meliso, whose painful exequies are renewed and will continue to be renewed from year to year each day as tomorrow, as long as there are shepherds on our riverbanks, and in our souls there is no lack of knowledge of what is owed to the goodness and valour of Meliso.)[776]

Telesio's speach makes clear that the ceremonies of the following book are a ritual practice which is repeated annually. The *obsequias* which refer to the elegiac celebration of the deceased rather than to a funeral or burial do not refer to the death of Hurtado de Mendoza, but to his celebration among the poets of the *Galatea* in later years, such as in 1582 and 1583 once Cervantes had rejoined this community in Madrid. This detail is underscored again by Telesio's speech following the *Canto de Calíope* in Book 6 when he announces that the appearance of the muse, Calíope, is a good omen which affirms the bennediction of their practice. (He uses the term "cielo" in a pantheistic sense; again, the *Galatea* accords to an alternative *cosmos*):

> Lo que esta pasada noche en este mesmo lugar y por vuestros mesmos ojos habéis visto, discretos y gallardos pastores y hermosas pastoras, os habrá dado a entender cuán acepta es al cielo la loable costumbre que tenemos de hacer estos anales sacrificios y honrosas obsequias por las felices almas de los cuerpos que por decreto vuestro en este famoso valle tener sepultura merecieron. Dígoos esto, amigos míos, porque de aquí adelante con más fervor y diligencia acuadáis a poner en efecto tan sancta y famosa obra, pues ya veis de cuán raros y altos espíritus nos ha dado noticia la bella Calíope.
>
> (What in this past night in this same place and by your same eyes you have seen, discrete and gallant shepherds and beautiful shepherdesses, should have given to understanding how accepted it is by the heaven the laudable custom that we have to make these annual sacrifices and honored exequies for the happy souls of the bodies that by your decree in this famous valley have the tomb they deserve. I say this to you, my friends, because from here forward with more fervor and diligence you accord to put in effect such a sacred and famous work, well you already see how rare and high spirits have given us notice of the beautiful Calíope.) [777]

This second speech underscores that this is an annual ritual which occurred much later than 1575. Moreover, the "sancta y famosa obra" does not refer to a Catholic reading, but rather to the *cosmos of erotic mysticism* and the growing *aesthetic idealism* encoded by the text: the saintly and famous act refers to poetry not to religious practice. I will return to the significance of the relationship between the world of *erotic mysticism* and the world of *poetry* in my discussion of book 6.

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[776] (Cervantes, 1961, v.2, 5: pp.161)

[777] (Cervantes, 1961, v.2, 6: pp.225-226)

At the close of day 5 and Book 5, Telesio asks all the shepherds to join in the Valley of the Cypresses at dawn the following morning (Day 6). Timbrio, Nísida, Silerio and Blanca, the noble traveling youths, will also attend, anticipating that there will be several "célebres pastores" (famous shepherds), (v.2: 5: pp.162) in attendance. This detail again blends together the courtly world with the world of pastoral poets encoded in the *Galatea*. The group is interrupted by the arrival a "triste y pensativo" (sad and pensive), (v.2: 5: pp.162) Lenio who is so lost in amorous meditation that he passes by without noticing them. They watch as he falls at the foot of a Willow tree, tears the collar from his sheepskin jacket, sets down his bag and begins to play his *rabel* or lute. He then begins to sing his own verses of repentance in amorous suffering. Lenio's verses draw to a close the remaining doubts over the power of Love in the *cosmos* of the novel.[xxxv] Lenio begins to weep and seeing the other shepherds, he approaches Tirsi and decries him the victor of their earlier debate, bemoaning:

> tan notoria simpleza como era no tener al amor por universal señor del mundo.
> (such notorious simplicity it was not to have Love for universal Sir of the world.)[778]

Tirsi reiterates the *cosmos* of the novel yet again and assures Lenio that Love will bring him a happy conclusion.[779] The other shepherds join in comforting Lenio and in disdaining the cruel Gelasia not only for the suffering of Lenio but also for that of Galercio. As I have said, she is a prototype for Marcela in the *Quijote*. The fifth day comes to a close and the shepherds head for the village. The structure of Book 5, unlike the more rigid cast of Books 1 and 2, and varied cast of Books 3 and 4, is comprised of intricate weaving. The influence of Ariosto on this narrative technique will be underscored in Calíope's speech on Ancient and Renaissance authors which she makes as an introduction to her *Canto*. Having built the components of the narratives in the previous four books, Cervantes masters the art of narrative interlacing in Book 5 to a degree which he will only again match in his last novel, the *Persiles y Sigismunda*.

[778] (Cervantes, 1961,v.2, 5: pp.165).
[779] "Lenio, confiesas el error en que has estado, y conoces agora las poderosas fuerzas del amor, y entiendes dél que es señor universal de nuestros corazones," (Cervantes, 1961, v.2, 5: pp.165).

Book 6:

Divine Subjectivities and the Discourse of Poetry

Book 6 opens with the congregation of nearly thirty shepherds in the Valley of the Cypresses. In addition to the central characters present at the close of Book 5, Cervantes introduces the shepherdess, Belisa, over whose disdain Marsilo has sung in the earlier eclogue at the wedding of Daranio and Silveria. In the Valley of the Cypresses the rites are performed in ritualistic fashion, including the use of incense by Telesio. Timbrio's rehersal of his knowledge of other rivers--Betis, Ebro, Pisguera, Tiber, Po, Sebeto--curiously extends his knowledge beyond Naples, and in doing so refers to the various lyrical communities who partook in pastoral practices and the poetry of *erotic mysticism* throughout Italy (see chapter 3).[780]

That the novel is mimetic of an alternative *cosmos* is again underscored by Elicio in his speech to Timbrio on the world of the Tajo (Madrid):

> Aquí se ve en cualquier sazón del año andar la risueña primavera con la hermosa Venus en hábito subcinto y amoroso, y Céfiro que la acompaña, con la madre Flora delante, esparciendo a manos llenas varias y odíferas flores. Y la industria de sus moradores ha hecho tanto, que la naturaleza, encorporada con el arte, es hecha artífice y connatural del arte, y de entrambas a dos se ha hecho una tercia naturaleza, a la cual no sabré dar nombre.
>
> (Here you see in any season of the year smiling spring with the beautiful Venus going about in succinct and amorous habit, and the West Wind which accompanies them, with the mother Flora in front, dispersing from their full hands various and odiferous flowers. And the industry of its inhabitants have done so much, that Nature, incorporated with Art, is made artifice and innate of the Art, and of both two is made a *tercia realidad*, of which I don't know how to name.)[781]

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[780] This is another indication that Cervantes was familiar with the Italian continent upon his return to Madrid in 1580. This same knowledge has been observed in the *Licenciado vidriera* and the *Persiles y Sigismunda*.

[781] (Cervantes, 1961, v.2, 6: pp.170). In the *Galatea* Cervantes creates an alternative *cosmos* for the shepherds of the Tajo (poets of Madrid). In doing so he creates a world which is amenable to the *ingenios* who accorded to a *cosmos of erotic mysticism*: he gives them a time and a place, an alternate reality in which their vision becomes intelligable. In the *Quijote*, Cervantes submerges the vision of *erotic mysticism* in the isolated and peripatetic *ingenio* (don Quijote) of Alonso Quijano. Rather than recreate the *cosmos* of the romance of chivalry--an alternative and kindred version of courtly love to that of the pastoral--Cervantes thrusts this alternative *cosmos* into the *cosmos* of Counter-Reformation Spain. It is important that he does this within the landscape of Castile, as don Quijote's visit to the palace of the Duke and Duchess will show. If Alonso Quijano were a courtier of sixteenth century Spain--such as Garcilaso de la Vega, Jorge de Montemayor, Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Pedro Laynez--or an number of poet-*hidalgos*, his *cosmos* would have been more readily intelligable to his time and place. Only be chosing the character of a rural lower *hidalgo* without a community literate in courtly love--*erotic mysticism*--could he develop the extremes of an isolated and fanatical form of the same *cosmos* which he, his peers and his predecessors had cultivated for much of the sixteenth-century.

This conception of art and nature was explicitly tied to the aesthetics current amongst the pastoral communities of poets in Madrid and Alcalá. Already in 1580, in his treatise, *El arte poética en romance castellano*, Sánchez de Lima had written:

> y sabiendo (como de cierto lo se) que ay ingenios en España, que si tuuiessen vna luz de las reglas que son menester guardarse en las composturas, harian muchas y muy buenas cosas, las quales dexan de hazer, por carescer de preceptos, que es el arte, cuyo effecto es suplir la falta de naturaleza: porque puesto que lo natural se auentaje ta⁀n⁀to a lo artificial, como se aue⁀n⁀taja lo viuo alo pintado, y que lo vno juntamente con lo otro, seria muy perfecto, no dexaria tambien (aunque no con tanta perfecion) de ser Poeta el que de qualquiera destas fuere adornado: porque (como digo) arte no es otra cosa, sino vn suplemento con que con artificio se adquiere, lo que la naturaleza falto, para la perfecion del arte
>
> (and knowing (as I certainly know) that there are *ingenios* in Spain, who if they had the light of the rules that are needed in order to retain in the compositions, they would make many and many good things, those which leave undone, because they lack precepts, which is Art, whose effect is to supplement the lack of nature: because given that the natural excels over the artificial, as the living excels over the painted, and that the one together with the other, would be very perfect, I wouldn't reject also (although not with as much perfection) being the Poet he who of either of these was adorned: because (as I say) Art is not another thing, but a supplement with which with artifice it is aquired, that which Nature lacks, for the perfection of Art.)[782]

In Sánchez de Lima's formulation the Poet acted as the mediator between the conjoining worlds of Nature and of Art in order to arrive at a more perfect thing; this is a formulation which Cervantes takes seriously in the creation of the *Galatea*. Moreover, it is a formulation explicitly linked to the *aesthetic idealism* of the Poet (*ingenio*) which developed out of the poetry of *erotic mysticism*. Cervantes designation of a "tercia realidad" by way of Elicio explicitly rehearses Sánchez de Lima's conception of a more perfect creation fashioned out of the combination of Art and Nature.[783] In this forumlation the Poet (*ingenio*) fully embodies the position of the "divino ingenio" or creator of this more perfect world: the very *aesthetic idealism* which will motivate Alonso Quijano's authorial quest as don Quijote de la Mancha.

Elicio elicits the pantheistic (Spring, Venus, West Wind, Flora) world of the classical pastoral for this alternative landscape of the Tajo which exists as far as it develops the mindset of an actual urban community (Madrid), but which extends beyond the geographical and biological facts to encase the *cosmos of erotic mysticism* of the *Galatea* in an amenable space: a *locus ameonus*, or more appropriately, a *logos ameonus*: that is, an amenable place of discourse. The pantheistic tenor of the celebration of Meliso has often befuddled critics attempting to reconcile the "sagrado valle", the religious language and the ritualistic (Catholic) tenor of the celebrations with the classical and pagan (pantheistic) aspects of this portion of the text. When the text is read on its own terms, however, these seeming contradictions fall aside. In fact, there is no dissonance

[782] (Sánchez de Lima, 1944, pp.12)
[783] See: (Rhodes, 1990).

between the mention of Venus and the term "sagrado". Within the the *cosmos of erotic mysticism* and the creative spirituality of *aesthetic idealism*, Venus, as well as the valley, and the poets are "sagrado": the gods of love, the *ingenious* poets, divine beloveds and the Natural world all possess metaphysical or spiritual capacities within this *cosmos*.

As in the vision of Marsilio Ficino in fifteenth-century Florence, *Amor* is the supreme deity of this pantheistic world view. And poetry, as with the *Orphic Hymns*, is a "sagrado" art.[784] When the shepherds say "Amén, amén" three times at the close of the ceremony, Cervantes is not Catholicizing the pastoral. Rather, he encodes the *cosmos of erotic mysticism* within familiar linguistic rites, just as Pedro Laynez had adapted the poetry of the divine beloved for Virgin Mary (see chapters 1 and 2). As for the pantheistic ceremony as cultural practice in Cervantes' day, there was ready precedent. For the duration of the sixteenth century, literary academies in Italy had been known to perform these same sacred rituals to the god of their *cosmos*, Love or Venus.[785] This heterdox and, perhaps heretical, transposition to a *tercia naturaleza* went undetected by Inquisatorial censorship. This had not been true in the case of Montemayor's *Diana*. His *poemas de devoción* (charged with *Iluminismo* practices) were prohibited and the portions of the *Diana* which take place in

[784] "In the Orphic Hymns Ficino found perfect vehicles for what he termed natural magic, a process of bringing the human soul into alignment with the harmonies of the heavens.... In the preface to his commentary on Plato's *Symposium*, Ficino tells his beloved Giovanni Cavalcanti: 'A long time ago, dear Giovanni, I learned from Orpheus that love existed, and that it held the keys to the whole world...'. It was the key of Love that unlocked, for Ficino, the gates to unity;.... In this way Ficino saw Orpheus in his hyms addressing the gods as multi-faceted, multi-layered cosmic principles....Or as Pico put it, 'He who understands profoundly and deeply how the unity of Venus is unfolded in the trinity of the Graces, the unity of Destiny in the trinity of the Fates, and the unity of Saturn in the trinity of Jupiter, Neptune and Pluto, knows the proper way of proceeding in Orphic theology. Thus 'to proceed Orphically' meant adopting a poetic vision, a vision rich in mythology, symbol, allegory, metaphor," (Vos, 2002, pp.232 and 236).

[785] By way of example, we may refer to the *Comedia del Sacrificio de gli Intronati da Siena* (Venice: 1565), which was in circulation during Cervantes period in Rome and which recalls pagan rituals undertaken by literary academies, specifically in worship of Venus and in pursuit of the divine inspiration necessary for the *ingenious* creation of poetry. In this play each poet-lover (member of the academy) sacrifices a gift from his lover in order to symbolically celebrate his pursuit of philosophy. This in many ways anticipates the gradual transition from *erotic mysticism* to *aesthetic idealism* in Madrid during the 1580s. (The work was likely written in 1532, and printed as early as 1537; it was still widely popular in the 1560s and 1570s.) See: (Newbigin, 1984).

the Palace of the *Sabia Felicia* were expurgated in the Index of Prohibited Books.[786] However, Montemayor's works had drawn attention on account of his heterdox practices of Portuguese *Illuminismo*, often overtly pursued in his poetry. Valdés had expressed frustration over the Princess Juana's, and perhaps even Philip II's, sympathies with this heterdox religious sect. Much, if not all, of the inquisitorial attention which Montemayor drew to his works came from the religious and political tensions surrounding Valdés in the court. Valdés was also behind the downfall of Bartolomé Carranaza, Archbishop of Toledo.[787]

But imaginative literature, in general, did not draw inquisitorial interest or censorship. Perhaps it is the all-encompassing *cosmos* of the *Galatea* which allowed this truly heterdox landscape to circulate relatively free of censure; it has been well enough disguised by its completness as to evade the critical eye for centuries.[788] While the *Diana* of Montemayor and *El pastor de Fílida* of Gálvez de Montalvo oscilated between amorous tales of courtly life and the courtly love of the pastoral world, Cervantes so fully integrates the two within an overarching and complete 'cosmic structure'[789] that the break from the *cosmos* of the Counter-Reformation blended into the totality of the picture which he has drawn. Moreover, the description of this *tercia realidad* is spoken by Elicio to Timbrio, which is to say from a shepherd to a visiting courtier; the dialogue is a simulacrum of the integration of courtly reader into the *cosmos* of the pastoral text.

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[786] Montemayor's religious poetry, unlike the *poesía a lo divino*, is of a personal nature inspired by the Portuguese *illuminismo*. These individualistic forays into spirituality were seen as a marked threat by the Inquisition. His *Poesía de devoción* was banned outright and this may have inspired rigorous censorship of the *Diana* for passages that otherwise would have gone undetected by the Inquisition. In general, the Inquisition did not bother with imaginative books, such as the romances of chivalry. See Avalle-Arce's introduction in (Montemayor, 1996).

[787] These events are already well studied. See: (Kagan, 2011) and (Kinder, 1994) for a review of Valdés's role in the inquisition and the Carranza affair.

[788] While not in all respects, my observations here resonate with Maravall's thesis on the *Quijote*, namely: "I still believe that the entire development of the first great modern novel is based on this interplay of a double utopian construction," (Maravall, 1991, pp.18). I agree with Maravall's intution, but his overemphasis on political discourse obscures the discourse of pastoral and lyric literary milieu (that is *erotic mysticism* and *aesthetic idealism*) from his depiction of the *Quijote*. This, I believe, was responsible for Bataillon's objection that Maravall's thesis was too simplistic. Nonetheless, I found my study of this period to open and expand upon many of Maravall's conjectures.

[789] That is a mimetic object which pertains to its own cosmos, a worldview which accounts for metaphysics.

I want to underscore that the ceremony accorded to the deceased shepherd, Meliso, rather than introducing Catholic funeral rites into a pastoral novel, is a religious celebration of poetry, specifically of the poet, Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza. Meliso's funeral occasions both the four-part elegiac eclogue by Tirsi, Damón, Elicio and Lauso (v.2: 6: 177-183), as well as the appearance of the muse, Calliope, and the one-hundred and eleven octaves which she dedicates to the poets of Spain in her *Canto* (v.2: 6: pp.190-225). It is significant that Lauso, rather than Elicio's friend, Erastro, forms the fourth part of the elegiac eclogue sung for Meliso (Hurtado de Mendoza). That is, Fernando de Figueroa, Pedro Laynez, Lope de Vega and Cervantes sing an elegiac eclogue for the deceased Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza. This reveals the true intention of the text, which is no less than a history and treatise on the poets of Spain in the early years of the 1580s, writ large within the history of poetry and the *cosmos of aesthetic idealism.* It assumes the conceit of the pastoral novel--to encode the amorous histories of the court in a language of poetry--and writes it within a larger conceit--a history of poetry fully integrated within the creative processes of its making. The homage to Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (Meliso) is an homage to the history of poetry in Spain. Hurtado de Mendoza--courtier, humanist, soldier, and exile--represented the finest and last of a generation which had rapidly disappeared from the Spanish court in Madrid during the last half of the 1570s. As the two, younger, survivors of this generation, Book 6 of the *Galatea* places Pedro Laynez and Francisco de Figueroa, "tan conocidos amigos y familiares" (such well known friends and family of his), (v.2: 6: pp.175) of Meliso, at the head of the living-*ingenios* of Spain. Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza had participated in every lyric community of poets to have developed the history of amorous pastoral lyrics in Spain, from its inception through the generation of the 1560s under the reign of Isabel de Valios. In 1535 he fought alongside Garcilaso de la Vega at the seige of Tunis, where Garcilaso was wounded.[790] Hurtado de Mendoza's pertinence to Garcilaso and Boscán places him at the very genesis of pastoral poetry in Spain.[xxxvi] His education in the universities of Italy and his pertinence to his father's humanist household from his very

[790] "He served not only in the preparation and administration of the campaign, but he also fought in the group of young Castilian nobles surrounding the person of the Emperor, especially in the famous battle when only twelve of them charged on horseback in a squadron of 'eighty proud Moorish cavalry' (on this occasion the famous poet Garcilaso de la Vega was wounded)," (Spivakovsky, 1970, pp.55).

youth developed in him an intellectual personality which was only truly intelligible within the patheistic world of the *cosmos of erotic mysticism.* In Book 6 Cervantes renders him an exemplar of *aesthetic idealism.*

In addition to his publications contemporary to Jorge de Montemayor and Feliciano de Silva during the decade of the 1550s[791], Hurtado de Mendoza was one of, if not the most prominent poet, in the Spanish court during the decade of the 1560s alongside Figueroa, Laynez, and the young Gálvez de Montalvo and Cervantes himself. Since the 1520s he had maintained a close and affable friendship with perhaps the most important patron, himself a poet, in Spain: the Great Duke of Alba, Don Fernando Álvarez de Toledo (1507-1582). The two had shared a number of amorous episodes--no doubt of the pastoral ilk--as young courtiers during the *Cortes* in Toledo in the 1520s. Decades later, in 1549, Don Diego would reminisce to Don Fernando in a letter, "...vieramonos en Toledo tan jovenes..."(Oh that we were still so young as in Toledo!)[792]. The Great Duke had died just a few years after Hurtado de Mendoza, suceeded by the death of his son the following year, also a poet and patron, Don Fadrique on December 11th, 1583. The 3rd Duke of Sessa, Don Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba (1520-1578), Don Juan de Austria (1547-1578), Princess Juana de Austria (1535-1573), Queen Anna of Austria (1549-1580), along with the 3rd and 4th Duke of Alba and Don Diego, were the significant patrons and cultivators of poetry within the Habsburg court--many of whom to which Cervantes held ties--and they had all died within roughly five years of one another, leaving a vast vacancy in the cultivation of poetic arts in Madrid. This sudden and near complete elimination of the major purveyors and supporters of cultural practices in the court, along with the increasing seclusion of humanist activities within the library of El Escorial, lead directly to the formentation of an independent group of urbanite poets in Madrid, during the 1580s, the same group of poets encoded in the *Galatea* (see chapter 5). However, it is important to understand that this independence was not a longed-for liberation. Rather,

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[791] "that August [1553] his 'Fábula de Adonis y de Hippómanes' was published not only anonymously but (as it has lately become clear) even against his will. A Venetian publisher appended this poem to a new edition of the works by Boscán and Garcilaso de la Vega by Alonso de Ulloa. Though Mendoza must have learned about this publication, he never mentioned it or let on that he was the author of the 'Fábula', his 'most ambitious poetic work" despite the fact that this work was stolen from him by Ulloa who at one time served him in the Venetian embassy.... About the same time, he must have placed the *Lazarillo de Tormes* with a printer for anonymous publication in Antwerp," (Spivakovsky, 1970, pp.330-331).

[792] (Spivakovsky, 1970, pp.28, translation hers)

orphaned from the courts, these poets found themselves in desperate need of the cultural climate and centralized "magnificent fountain" of patronage which they sorely lacked.[793]

The *Galatea* did something to recover the cultural climate which had been openly practiced during the years of Isabel de Valois's reign (1560-1568), the decade which gave birth to Cervantes' own lyric identity. In this way Meliso (Hurtado de Mendoza) is held up within the *Galatea* as the model poet within a novel which is very much, and very explicitly, about how poetry is made.[794] The virtues which Telisio concedes to Meliso become emblematic of a certain ideal for the urban-poet in this new aesthetic idealism:

> [Telesio] con maravillosa elocuencia comenzó a alabar las virtudes de Meliso, la integridad de su inculpable vida, la alteza de su ingenio, la entereza de su ánimo, la graciosa gravedad de su plática y la excelencia de su poesía, y sobre todo, la solicitud de su pecho en guardar y cumplir la sancta religión que profesado había
>
> ([Telesio] with marvelous eloquence began to laud the virtues of Meliso, the integrity of his faultless life, the heights of his *ingenio*, the strength of his spirit, the gracious gravity of his discourse and the excellence of his poetry, and above all, the devotion of his breast to guard and fulfill the sacred religion which he had professed) [795]

For the sake of clarity, I will underscore again that within the *cosmos* of the *Galatea*, the "sancta religión", is not Counter-Reformation Catholicism, but rather the sacred religion of poetry. Hurtado de Mendoza would certainly have supported this spiritual view of the art of poetry, an alternative cosmos; as he wrote to the Bishop of Arras from his ambassadorial mission in Rome in 1548, "Y esto hablo como philosopho y como moro de Granada, o como marrano," (And this I say as philopher and as Moor of Granada, or as a Marrano)[796]. This transposition Catholic faith to an alternative *cosmos of erotic mysticism* and again to a *cosmos of aesthetic idealism* is underscored by Lauso (Cervantes) in the elegiac eclogue in homage to Meliso (Hurtado de Mendoza):

> A lágrimas movió el doliente caso
> al gran competidor del niño ciego,
> que entonces de dar luz se mostró escaso.
>
> (The painful case moves to tears/ the great competitor of the blind child [Cupid],/ who in order to give birth showed himself lacking.)[797]

[793] (Sieber, 1998)
[794] (Gaylord Randel, 1982)
[795] (Cervantes, v.2, 6: pp.175)
[796] (Spivakovsky, 1970, pp.3, translation hers)
[797] (Cervantes, v.2, 6: pp.180)

It also replicates the conceptual trajectory of Alonso Quijano's transformation into don Quijote. The eclogue reinforces Meliso's position as a model for all the poets of the *Galatea*, even Tirsi and Damón, who were nearly thirty years younger than Hurtado de Mendoza. This element of aesthetic exemplarity[798]is reinforced by Tirsi at the close of the eclogue:

> En tu [Meliso] sabiduría se enseñaban
> los rústicos pastores, y en un punto,
> con nuevo ingenio y discreción quedaban.
>
> (In you [Meliso] wisdom is taught/ to the rustic shepherds, and in a point,/ a new *ingenio* and discretion remain.) [799]

With the closing of the eclogue, the ceremony, which has consumed the entirety of the sixth day, concludes and the shepherds prepare to sleep in the open air of the valley. Suddenly the clouds darken, the wind rises and those of the shepherds who are trained in astrology anticipate a great storm. However, just as suddenly the winds die down and the shepherds, with the exception of a few who keep guard through the night, go to sleep in the "parada y serena" (quiet and serene) night.

The text suggests a transposition of biblical mythography into the pastoral world of poetry: the appearance of the muse, Calíope, is suggestive of Moses and the burning bush. As I have said, the *cosmos* of the *Galatea* is, in a way, recasts the theology of poetry text, and the *Canto de Calíope*, though not a book of rules (as in the case of the Ten Commandments), is an exemplary account of lyric practice. Upon closer inspection of the text, this parallel becomes readily apparent:

> de la mesma sepultura de Meliso se levantó un grande y maravilloso fuego, tan luciente y claro que en un momento todo el escuro valle quedó con tanta claridad como si el mesmo sol le alumbrara; por la cual improvisa maravilla, los pastores que despiertos junto a la sepultura estaban, cayeron atónitos en el suelo, deslumbrados y ciegos con la luz del transparente fuego, el cual hizo contrario efecto en los demás que durmiendo estaban, porque, heridos de sus rayos, huyó dellos el pesado sueño, y aunque con dificultad alguna, abrieron los dormidos ojos, y viendo la estrañeza de la luz que se les mostraba, confusos y admirados quedaron.
>
> (from the same tomb of Meliso arose a great and marvelous fire, so light and clear that in a moment all of the obscured valley remained with such clarity as if the same sun illuminated it; for this impromptu marvel, the shepherds who were awake together at the tomb, fell astonished to the earth, dazzled and blinded with the light of the transparent fire, which made a contrary effect in the others who were asleep, because, wounded by its rays, it escaped from them the heavy dream, and although with some difficulty, they opened their sleeping eyes, and seeing the strangeness of the light that was shown to them, confused and in admiration they remained.)[800]

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[798] Harry Sieber has observed Cervantes' focus on aesthetics in his exemplary novels. (Cervantes, 2001, v.1, pp.15).

[799] (Cervantes, v.2, 6: pp.183)

[800] (Cervantes, v. 2, 6: pp.185)

Of all Cervantes' works of prose fiction, the appearance of Calíope remains the only strictly fantastical element. Even the episode of the Cave of Montesinos in *Don Quijote II*, is subject to the perspective of the imaginative knight.[801] However, when the appearance of Calíope is compared to the inspired journey to Parnasus, it finds a ready place within the *cosmos* of Cervantes' texts, with particular regard to the religion of poetry and *aesthetic idealism*. Throughout his literary career, the Cervantes retained a gentle superstition for the metaphysical world of divine poetic inspiration. When his works betray a sensitivity to mysticism, as in the *erotic mysticism* of the *Galatea*, it is always by way of the world of aesthetics.[802] Even the Cave of Montesinos plays the role of aesthetic development in the novel; don Quijote upon entering the Cave enters the field of divine creative inspiration, a vision gone terribly wrong, but an aesthetic vision nonetheless. The vision of Calíope is further integrated into the *cosmos of erotic mysticism* by appropriating the language of *religious mysticism*, such as Teresa's *Las Moradas*, but this time for the religion of poetry, or *aesthetic idealism*, into the pantheistic world of the text. Moreover, this is done through the mouth of the muse, Calíope, just as Cervantes will voice Apollo in the *Adjunta al Parnaso*[803]:

> Por los efectos que mi improvisa vista ha causado en vuestros corazones, discreta y agradable compañía, podéis considerar que no en virtud de malignos espíritus ha sido formada esta figura mía que aquí se representa, porque una de las razones por do se conoce ser una visión buena o mala, es por los efectos que hace en el ánimo de quien la mira; porque la buena, aunque cause en él admiración y sobresalto, el tal sobresalto y admiración viene mezclado con un gustoso alboroto, que a poco rato le sosiega y satisface; al revés de lo que causa la visión perversa, la cual sobresalta, descontenta, atemoriza y jamás asegura.
>
> (For the effects that my impromptu visit has caused in your hearts, discrete and agreeable company, you can consider that not in virtue of malicious spirits it has been formed this of my figure that is here represented, because one of the reasons given to recognizing a good or bad vision, is by the effects which it makes in the spirit of who sees it; because the Good, although it causes admiration and shock, such shock and admiration come mixed with a pleasurable commotion, which after a small time pacifies and satisfies; the reverse of what is caused in a perverse vision, which causes shock, discontent, terrifies and never assures.) [804]

In other words, the muse, as a mystical creature, is self-conscious of the novelty of her presence within the world of the shepherds.

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[801] (Sieber, 1971)

[802] As Harry Sieber has written in his prologue to the *Novelas ejemplares*, "La ejemplaridad de las *Novelas ejemplares* también tiene su origen y su ser en el mismo estilo, en lo nuevo y extraño, en estas vidas que están al margen de la sociedad. Ejemplar en este sentido es lección literaria (o «estética», si se quiere) más bien que lección moral," (Cervantes, 2001, v.1, pp.15, emphasis mine).

[803] "Apolo Délfico/ A Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra/ Salud/," (Cervantes, 1935, pp.118).

[804] (Cervantes, v.2, 6: pp.186-187)

Calíope's visit to the shepherds is not limited to her *Canto*. She makes a lengthy speech which defines the aesthetic contours of the religion of poetry both for the shepherds of the *Galatea*, as well as for the generation of the 1580s writing in Madrid. This portion of the text renders the divine faculty of the *ingenio* as explicitly in the possession of the poet as Cervantes understood it to be. Calíope explains that her task is to assist the "divinos espíritus" (divine spirits) in the "loable ejercicio...ciencia de poesía," (laudable exercise...science of poetry), (v.2: 6: pp.187). This was in direct consonance with Huarte de San Juan's understanding of the divine properties of the *ingenio* as they related to the poet.[805] She then goes on to delineate a history (or canon) of poetry beginning with Homer. Her list is selective and, perhaps more than any other text, clearly delineates what Cervantes considered to be his own literary canon: Homer, Virgil, Catulus, Horace, Propertius, Petrarch, Dante, Ariosto, Boscán, Garcilaso de la Vega, Castillejo, Torres Naharo, Aldana and Acuña. Cervantes did not have Calíope include Montemayor in this list. In my opinion, the *Diana* bares considerable structural influence on the architecture of the *Galatea* and it may be that this influence was as yet too close to the author.[806] However, in the structure of the *Galatea*, Cervantes, as I have said, does depart from the *Diana* towards a more sophisticated form of narrative weaving inspired by Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, and in developing the *erotic mysticism* of the 1560s focuses on an *aesthetic idealism* native to the generation of 1580.[807] Here the language which Calíope employs is significant. Among the "conocido Petrarca", "famoso Dante", "agudo Boscán", "famoso Garcilaso", "docto y sabio Castillejo", "artificioso Torres Naharro", "celebrado Aldana" and Acuña, Calíope reserves the epithet of "divino" for Arisoto alone:

> soy la que ayudó a tejer el divino Ariosto la variada y hermosa tela que compuso
> (I am she who helped the divine Ariosto to weave the varied and beautiful tapestry which he composed) [808]

With Calíope as a mouthpiece of Mount Parnasus, Cervantes elevates Ariosto amongst the canon of foreign aesthetic exemplars to the status of "divino" and demonstrates a clear understanding of what that aesthetic

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[805] See: Introduction.
[806] It may also be that Cervantes objected to the moralistic take on love which, in spite of the Castle of the Wise Felicia, permeates Montemayor's novel. At the close of the *Galatea* the shepherds gather to prevent rather than accept the arranged marriage of Galatea. Moreover, *aesthetic idealism* is not to be found in Montemayor's works.
[807] (Carreño, 1979, pp.25-26)
[808] (Cervantes, 1961, v.2, 6: pp.188)

model entailed: narrative weaving, the very practice undertaken and developed in the *Galatea.*[809] Calíope then goes on to commend the shepherds for their practice of lauding the deceased Meliso, referring to Hurtado de Mendoza as "mi querido y amado" (my wanted and loved one). She promises to guide the generation of the 1580s:

> favoreceré ansimesmo siempre vuestros consejos, y guiaré vuestros entendimientos,
>
> (I myself will favor your councils and guide your *entendimientos*) [810]

The same words which Cervantes will later use to define his own lyric personality in the *Viaje del Parnaso*, are used by Calíope to define the contours of the ideal poetry in Spain. There is a distance of some thirty years between these two works, demonstrating a remarkable consistency in Cervantes' formulation of aesthetic theory:

Viaje del Parnaso:

> Cisne en las canas, y en la voz un ronco
>
> Y negro cuervo, sin que el tiempo pueda
>
> Desbastar de mi ingenio el duro tronco;
>
> (Swan in the white hair, and in the voice a hoarse/ and black crow, but that Time can/ smooth down my *ingenio* the hard trunk;)[811]

Calíope:

> porque no será bien que, de honra tan particular y señalada, y que sólo es merecida de los blancos y canoros cisnes, la vengan a gozar los negros y roncos cuervos.
>
> (because it would not be good that, of such a particular and signaled honor, and which only is deserved by the white and melodious swans, they come to take pleasure in it the black and hoarse crows)[812]

Calíope sets her *Canto* up as a form of pastoral entertainment in which she entreats the shepherds (or *curiosos lectores*) to make their own judgments on the merits of the poets lauded in her *Canto.*[813] In fact, Calíope does employ an order or grouping of poets in her *Canto*, but she does so by means of the pastoral conceit of the

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[809] As I have stated elsewhere, David Quint has made a strong case for this reading of the *Don Quijote.* (Quint, 2003).

[810] (Cervantes, 1961, v.2, 6: pp.188)

[811] (Cervantes, 1935, pp.16)

[812] (Cervantes, 1961, v.2, 6: pp.188-189)

[813] "os quiero advertir que no entendáis que los primeros que nombrare son dignos de más honra que los postreros, porque en esto no pienso guardar orden alguna: ...quiero dejar esta declaración en duda, porque vuestros ingenios en entender la diferencia de los suyos gengan en qué ejercitarse, de los cuales darán testimonio sus obras," (Cervantes, v.2, 6: pp.189).

rivers of Spain and the Americas. The continuation of this practice closely ties the *Canto de Calíope* to the *Canto de Orfeo* in Montemayor's *Diana* and the *Canto de Erion* in Gálvez de Montalvo's *El pastor de Fílida*, both of which also organize their *cantos* by way of the rivers of Iberia.[814] This also underscores the significant change which Cervantes makes to this literary topology. In previous pastoral novels, these lengthy *cantos* were used to laud the noble ladies of Spain, that is, the divine beloveds of *erotic mysticism* who inspired the very works which memorialized them. By lauding poets rather than ladies, Cervantes explicitly underscores the role of the *divine ingenio* within the developing *cosmos of aesthetic idealism*. Founded in the philosophy of León Hebreo, this is a radical departure from traditional Christian readings of Neoplatonism. The conjunction of a *divine ingenio* and a *divine beloved* materialized the "Good" of Neoplatonism within the material world of poet and beloved in a closed structure, bookended by the mirror in a mirror of two gazes.[815] By liberating the *ingenio*--Lauso--Cervantes affords greater agency to *aesthetic idealism* within this pantheistic cosmos.

In this way, Cervantes became the most efficacious reader of the poetry of his close friend, the poet and pastoral novelist, Gálvez de Montalvo. Let me return to a stanza of Gálvez de Montalvo's poetry which I discussed in chapter 2, Gálvez de Montalvo (as Siralvo) writes of his beloved Fílida:

> Al revolver de vuestra luz serena
> se alegran monte y valle, llano y cumbre.
> La triste noche de tinieblas llena
> halla su día en vuestra clara lumbre.
> Sois, ojos, vida y muerte, gloria y pena;
> el bien es natural, el mal costumbre.
> No más, ojos, no más, que es agraviaros.
> Sola el alma os alabe con amores.
>
> (To revolve around your serene light/ they become happy the hill and valley, plain and peak./ The said night full of shadows/ finds its day in your clear light./ You are, eyes, life and death, glory and pain;/ the Good is natural, the Bad habit./ No more, eyes, no more, that it is to aggrevate you./ Only the soul lauds you with love.)[816]

To paraphrase a much lengthier reading which I develop alongside the work of León Hebreo in chapters 1 and 2, the eyes of the *divine beloved* become the *divino entendimiento* or sovereign diety of the poet's world and

[814] See chapter 2 for more on Gálvez de Montalvo's use of rivers as pseudonyms.
[815] See chapters 1 and 2.
[816] (Gálvez de Montalvo, 2006, pp.185)

the aesthetic practice of the poet-- itself a *divine activity* inspired by the sensory experience of his eyes)--turns ultimately to the *erotic mysticism* of his soul or Being. Cervantes makes explicit what Gálvez de Montalvo had implicitly already understood: it is by way of the participation of the *divine ingenio* of the poet with the *divine beloved* that the pastoral world draws its form. In the *Galatea*, Cervantes extends the mutually affirming gaze of lover and beloved (as articulated in the poetry of Gálvez de Montalvo) to encompass an entire *tercia naturaleza* which while mystical in its Neoplatonism did not accord to a Christian Neoplatonism of vertical ascent, but rather to a mutually unfolding sensual Neoplatonism of *erotic mysticism.* Within this pantheistic cosmos, Cervantes was able to further develop his own vision of poetry as a form of *aesthetic idealism*, the same *aesthetic idealism* which would drive Alonso Quijano mad.[817]

Cervantes places the emphasis of this *cosmos of erotic mysticism* on the divine faculties of the poet and makes poetry a mystical and divine enterprise on par with Marsilio Ficino's Orphic Hymns.[818] Within this framework Cervantes makes explicit the use of the word *ingenio* as a the sole term for the poet. In fact, nowhere in the one-hundred and eleven stanzas of the *Canto de Calíope* does the word "poeta" appear; instead, the word *ingenio* is used sixty-two times as a noun to represent the poet. Moreover, throughout the series of encomiastic sonnets which Cervantes wrote for fellow authors throughout the following decades--beginning with the ones authored for Bartholomeo di Chiambery in Algiers (chapter 4)-- he continued to use the word *ingenio* to refer to the author. This is consistent with his use of the term at the outset of his career in his 1567 sonnet to Isabel de Valois in which he refers back to himself, the poet, as an *ingenio.* I make a point of this because there is no other way to read or translate the *ingenioso caballero de la Mancha* as anything other than the *poetic gentleman of la Mancha.* I am firm in the argument that any other reading or translation would be anachronistic to the text.[819] Within the *Canto de Calíope* the *ingenio* at times is mentioned as a characteristic

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[817] I would like to underscore here that it is Alonso Quijano's decision to compose his vision with deeds rather than with words which is at the root of his trouble.

[818] (Voss, 1984)

[819] Further comments on poetry may be found in Cervantes' *Novelas ejemplares* (1613). For example, in the *Gitanilla*: "A serlo [poeta] forzosamente había de ser por ventura. Pero has de saber, Preciosa, que ese nombre de poeta muy pocos le merecen, y así yo no lo soy, sino un aficionado a la poesía....Hase de usar la poesía como una joya preciosísima, cuyo dueño no la trae cada día, ni la muestra a todas gentes, ni a cada paso, sino cuando convenga y sea razón que la muestre. La poesía es una bellísima doncella, casta, honesta, discreta, aguda, retirada, y que se contiene en los límites de la discreción más alta. Es amiga de la soledad. Las fuentes la entretienen, los prados la consuelan, los árboles la desenojan, las

or capacity of the poet, usually amongst others, for example, "ingenio y virtud rara" or "presencia, valor, virtud, ingenio". But more normatively, it is a noun which replaces the word "poeta", which is not used. The adjective "ingenioso" is also used to describe the divine summit of poetry:

> póngala en esto solo, y dará al punto
> en el más ingenioso y alto punto.
> (put it in this alone, and it will give to the point/ in the most ingenious and high point)[820]

In other words, "the most poetic and elevated point" is accorded to those authors in full charge of their *divine ingenio*. This complicates the nuances of perspectivism in the *Quijote* and lends further ambiguity as to what precisely the satire intends to satirize.

The organization of the *Canto de Calíope* also provides other reading clues for the text of the *Galatea*.[821] Critics have long commented on the seeminly irregular arrangment of poets within the *canto*. Many of the poets accorded to a given river were not necessarily native to the town to which that river accorded. This is significant because the *Galatea* itself is set on the banks of the river Tajo. In the *Canto de Calíope* twenty-eight poets are placed on the banks of the Tajo.[822] Almost none of these was from Toledo, or

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flores la alegran, y, finalmente, deleita y enseña a cuantos con ella comunican," (Cervantes, 2001, v.2, pp.90-91). More to the point are the comments made by Tomás Rodaja once he has transformed into the *Licenciado vidriera*: "Respondió que del infinto número de poetas que había, eran tan pocos los buenos, que casi no hacían número. Y así, como si no hubiese p;oetas, no los estimaba; pero que admiraba y reverenciaba la ciencia de la poesía porque encerraba en sí todas las demás ciencias: porque de todas se sirve, de todas se adorna, y pule y saca a luz sus maravillosas obras, con que llena el mundo de provecho, de deleite y de maravilla./ Añadió más: --Yo bien sé en lo que se debe estimar un buen poeta, porque se me acuerda de aquellos versos de Ovidio que dicen: *Cum ducum fuerant olim Regnumquè poeta: Premiaquè antiqui magna tulere chori./ Sanctaquè maiestas, et erat venerabile nomen/ Vatibus; et largè sapè debantur opes./* Y menos se me olvida a la alta calidad de los poetas, pues los llama Platón intérpretes de los dioses, y dellos dice Ovidio: *Est Deus in nobis, agitante calesciumus illo.* Y también dice: *At sacri vates, et Divum cura vocamus.* Esto se dice de los buenos poetas; que de los malos, de los churrulleros, "¿qué se ha de decir sino la idiotez y la arrogancia del mundo? ...," (Cervantes, 2001, v.2, pp.58-59).

[820] (Cervantes, v.2, 6: pp.205, emphasis mine)

[821] I discuss this at greater length in chapter 5.

[822] The twenty-eight poets on the Tajo are: Dr. Francisco de Campuçano; Dr. Suarez de Sosa; Doctor Baca; the *licenciado* Dionisio Daça; the *maestro* Garay; the *maestro* Juan de Córdoba; Dr. Francisco Díaz; Luxan; the *licenciado* Juan de Vergara; the *licenciado* Alonso de Morales; the *licenciado* Hernando Maldonado; Marco Antonio de la Vega; Diego de Mendoça; Diego Durán; Gabriel López Maldonado; Luis Gálvez de Montalvo; Pedro Liñán de Riaza; Alonso de Baldes; Pedro de Padilla; Gaspar Alfonso; Christobal de Mesa; Pedro de Ribera; Benito Caldera; Francisco de Guzman; the *capitan* Juan de Salzedo; Thomas de Gracián [Dantisco]; Juan Baptista de Bivar; Baltasar de Toledo; Lope de Vega. Schevill and

anywhere near Toledo or the Tajo in the early 1580s. In fact, most of the twenty-eight poets on the Tajo were the closest of Cervantes' friends who were writing at his side in Madrid. These include Gabriel López Maldonado, Pedro de Padilla, the Dr. Campuzano, Diego Durán, Pedro Liñán de Riaza, and none other than Lope de Vega. Calíope's apostrophe to the shepherds of the novel (on the Tajo) in the stanza devoted to Gálvez de Montalvo--"¿Quién pudiera loaros, mis pastores,/ un pastor vuestro amado y conocido," (Who could laud them, my shepherds, one of your shepherds loved and known), (v.2: 6: pp.198)--further reinforces that the poets on the Tajo in the *Canto de Calíope* correspond to the shepherds of the Tajo encoded in the *Galatea*. In other words, this section is the *clef* to the novel as *roman à clef*. The banks of the river Tajo do not in fact refer to Toledo or any other town on the river Tajo, it is simply a veil, drawn from the topology of the pastoral novels, and used to encode the orphaned "urbanite pastoral" poets of Madrid: the generation of the 1580s which included Gálvez de Montalvo and the others whom Calíope places on the Tajo. The showcase of Lope de Vega (who would not go to Toledo until several years later, following the libel suit with Elena Osorio) at the close of the section on the poets of the Tajo (Madrid) further underscores his central presence in the novel. Calíope will likewise conclude the entire *Canto* by showcasing Figueroa (Tirsi) and Laynez (Damón).

> Muestra en un ingenio la experiencia
> que en años verdes y en edad temprana
> hace su habitación ansí la ciencia,
> como en la edad madura, antigua y cana.
> No entraré con alguno en competencia
> que contradiga una verdad tan llana,
> y más si acaso a sus oídos llega
> que lo digo por vos, Lope de Vega.
>
> (It shows in an *ingenio* the experience/ that in green years and early age/ even then science makes a home,/ as if in a mature age/ ancient and white haired./ I won't enter with anyone in competition which contradicts such a plain truth,/ and more if by chance it should arrive to his ears/ that I say it for you, Lope de Vega.)[823]

Following the conclusion of her *canto*, Calíope disappears and Telesio again addresses the shepherds, echoing Cervantes' lament of the prologue over the lack of esteem for poetry in Spain. Remember, that

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Bonilla also provide extensive notes on these authors in their edition of the *Galatea*, (Cervantes, 1914, v.2, pp.307-326).

[823] (Cervantes, v.2, 6: pp.205-206)

Cervantes composed this novel soon after the years which he had spent in Italy and Algiers. It is reasonable to believe that he was disappointed by the orphaned state of poetry in Madrid following his tenure abroad. Telesio states:

> Y no penséis que es pequeño el gusto que he recibido en saber por tan verdader relación cuán grande es el número de los divinos ingenios que en nuestra España hoy viven, porque siempre ha estado y está en opinión de todas las naciones estranjeras que no son muchos, sino pocos, los espíritus que en la ciencia de la poesía en ella muestran que le tienen levantado,... los insignes y claros ingenios que en ella se aventaja, con la poca estimación que dellos los príncipes y el vulgo hacen, con sus entendimientos comunican sus altos y estraños conceptos, sin osar publicarlos al mundo, y tengo para mí que el cielo debe de ordenarlo desta manera , porque no merece el mundo ni el mal considerado siglo nuestro, gozar de manjares al alma tan gustosos.
>
> (And don't think that it is a small pleasure that I have received in knowing by such a true report how great is the number of divine *ingenios* that in our Spain live today, because I have always been and am of the opinion of all the foreign nations that they are not many, rather few, the spirits who in the science of poetry in her they show that they have raised...the famous and clear *ingenios* that in her excel, with the small estimation that of the princes and the vulgate they make, with their *entendimientos* communicate their high and stange concepts, rather to dare to publish to the world, I have for myself that the heaven should ordain in this manner, because the world does not deserve nor our poorly considered century, to take pleasure of the feast of the soul so tasteful)[824]

With this the purpose of the novel is explicitly drawn around the estimation--and patronage--of the divine science of poetry in Spain. Implicitly the act of publication--which had prior been considered indecorous---is advocated in order to make the *ingenios* of Spain, of their century, known. It is now near dawn and the sixth night is drawing to a close. The central characters of the *Galatea* head for the *arroyo de las Palmas* where they intend to pass the *siesta* of the seventh day.

Galatea's father, Aurelio, asks that the shepherds sing verses for their entertainment as they walk. With this Cervantes returns to the poetry of *erotic mysticism*, the aesthetics and estimation of which he has just delineated through the exequies of Meliso and the discourse of Calíope. The series of verses which follow form another discourse, or dialogue, amongst the shepherds through the continual modification of a single refrain which they all gloss. Elicio begins his lyric on his love for Galatea by employing the refrain, "mayor fe en lo más dudoso" (greater faith in the most dubious), (v.2: 6: pp.228-230), at the close of each stanza.[825] By way of Belisa's presence at the funeral exequies, the role of Marsilio (one of the four shepherds of the eclogue of Book 3) begins to develop as another plotline threaded into the novel. He sings next, modifying Elicio's refrain for his own gloss of the same theme: "sola la fe permanece," (only faith remains),

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[824] (Cervantes, v.2, 6: pp.226-227, emphasis mine)

[825] "Faith" here is nearly synonymous with "love". "Fe. *Latine* FIDES. Tiene diversas acepciones. Algunas veces vale promesa, como: Yo doy mi fe y mi palabra; 2. otras fidelidad, 3. como: Tengo fe con fulano, que vale...", (Covarrubias, pp.539). The use here refers to the lover's faith in the relationship to the beloved. See following note as well.

(v.2: 6: pp.230-231).[826] Erastro sings next, again modifying the refrain within the common theme: "fe viva, esperanza muerte," (faith lives, hope dies), (pp.231-232). Crisio--"no es fe la fe que no dura" (it isn't faith the faith which doesn't last), (v.2: 6: pp.232-233)--and Damón--"sola es fe la fe que os tengo" (it is only faith the faith which I have), (v.2: 6: pp.233-234)--follow suit. This emphasis on the concept of faith without the *cosmos of erotic mysticism* further underscores this culture as descendent from the Neoplatonism of Marsilio Ficino. Moreover, it is important to understand that each shepherd's modification on the theme of amorous faith accords to the development of his own storyline and character. Elicio maintains his faith in a positivie outcome with Galatea in spite of her impending marriage to the Portuguese shepherd. Marsilo, who is disdained by Belisa, has not received the slightest favor from his beloved: he subsists on faith alone. Erastro, who never had much hope of Galatea over Elicio's pursuit, no longer holds out any hope even though he remains devoted to his faith. Crisio, who suffers from the absence of his beloved, reffirms the efficacy of faith in periods of difficulty. Damón, the model of a courtly shepherd, underscores the purity of amorous faith within the *cosmos* which he well-understood, aesthetically and philosophically.

At this point Tirsi and Damón convince the "libre y desdeñoso" Lauso to join in. Lauso's song breaks with the refrain which had been developed across the lyrics of the previous shepherds. His song echos the earlier disdain of the *desamorado Lenio* in phrasing such as "falso amor," (false love), (v.2: 6: pp.235). But the conceptual structure of Lauso's song is modeled directly upon his previous verses to Silena. He substitutes the divine beloved with a laud of "desdén" itself. The purpose of Lauso's song is not simply to showcase the poetry of the author. Remember, Lauso is the pseudonym which Cervantes employed for himself. Lauso's song lends significant development to the character of Lauso, Galatea and the plot itself.[827] Lauso's lyric criticises the discretion of the carefully concealed shepherdess behind the name Silena:

¡Oh cuánto más se estimara
de Silena la hermosura,
si el proceder y cordura
a su belleza igualara!

[826] The concept of "faith" frequently arises in the discourse of *erotic mysticism.* I have chosen to adhere to a strict translation because the discussion of "faith"--that is faith in love--was discussed as distinct from Love itself, a diety.
[827] The similarities between Lauso's verses for the disguised Silena and those verses which he sent to Antonio Veneziano in 1579 merrit further commentary.

No le falta discreción;
mas empléala tan mal,
que le sirve de dogal
que ahoga su presumpción.
Y no hablo de corrido,
pues sería apasionado;
pero hablo de engañado
y sin razón ofendido.
Ni me ciega la pasión,
ni el deseo de su mengua:
que siempre siguió mi lengua
los términos de razón.
Sus muchos antojos varios,
su mudable pensamiento,
le vuelven cada momento
los amigos en contrarios.

(Oh how much more would she be esteemed/ the beautiful Silena/ if her behaviour and sanity/ equaled her beauty!/ She does not lack in discretion;/ but she employs it so poorly,/ that it serves as a noose/ which strangles every presumption./ And I am not speaking wrecklessly,/ although it be impassioned;/ but I speak as one deceived/ and without reason offended./ Nor does passion blind me,/ nor the desire of her decrease:/ that I always followed my tongue/ to the ends of reason./ Her many whims,/ her changeable thought,/ turn each moment/ friends into contraries.)[828]

Lauso's song raises several questions about the disguised shepherdess, Silena, which are at once consonant with the other characters of the text, and which also place this veiled love within the central plot of the text. Formally, the lyric departs from those sung by Elicio, Marsilo, Erastro, Crisio and Damón because Lauso does not take part in the modification of a refrain which comments on "fe" or faith in the beloved. This underscores Lauso's liberation from the *mysticism* of his erotic entanglement. Lauso replaces the divine beloved with "desdén as the divine governess of his world. But in a subtler fashion, Lauso's lyric ties the story of Silena to the other stories of the text. When he comments on her destructive use of "discreción" he ties the undisclosed shepherdess to the problem of discretion already manifest in the stories of Teolinda, Rosaura, and most importantly, Galatea, the last of whom is defined by the extremes of her discretion. Lauso's assertion that Silena's poor use of discretion causes conflicts among friends engages the discourse of the *dos amigos*--Elicio & Erastro, Tirsi & Damón, Silerio & Timbrio--who have played out their friendships free of conflict throughout the course of the novel. The assertion is all the more curious because both Lauso

[828] (Cervantes, 1961, v.2, 6: 236)

and his mysterious shepherdess have not become entangled with the other characters in the text. Moreso even than the characters of the interpolated tales, there has been very little narrative weaving of Lauso's plot. The narrative which follows Lauso's song strongly suggests that the lady encoded under the name Silena is, in fact, present amongst the shepherds in the group, or at least known to them.

> Acabó Lauso su canto, y aunque él creyó que ninguno le entendía, por ignorar el disfrazado nombre de Silena, mas de tres de los que allí la conocieron, y aun se maravillaron que la modestia de Lauso a ofender alguno se estendiese; principalmente a la disfrazada pastora, de quien tan enamorado le habían visto.
>
> (Lauso finished his song, and although he believed that no one understood it, being ignorant of the disguised name of Silena, more than three of those there recognized her, and they even marveled that the modesty of Lauso would extend to offend someone; principally the disguised shepherdess, of whom they had seen him so in love.)[829]

This narrative recovers Lauso's detached and mysterious story and fully integrates (weaves) it into the plot of the novel. At least three of the shepherds have determined the identity of Silena. Moreover, they are amazed to see Lauso speak so offensively of one whom he has been so in love. This suggests that not only is the real identity of Silena known to the others, but that she is present among them. In other words, Silena must represent Galatea, Florisa, Nísida or Blanca. The last two may be easily ruled out. Florisa plays no amorous role in the novel, which leaves only Galatea who is defined by the very ambiguity of her discretion. From the outset of the novel it has been clear that Galatea has inspired the love not only of Elicio and Erastro but of many of the shepherds living and writing on the Tajo (Madrid). As the narrator tells us at the very opening of the novel in Book 1:

> Por los infinitos y ricos dones con que el cielo a Galatea había adornado fue querida, y con entrañable ahínco amada, de muchos pastores y ganaderos que por las riberas de Tajo su ganado apacentaban;
>
> (By the infinite and rich gifts with which the heaven to Galatea had adorned she was desired and with close heart and soul loved, by many shepherds and ranchers who by the banks of the Tajo grazed their flocks;) [830]

In other words, Elicio and Erastro are not the only shepherds on the Tajo (Madrid) who love Galatea.

Lauso, as we have learned in Book 4, has after years in courtly and military service, abandoned the court for the pastoral life. He has arrived to and been known amongst the pastoral community as the "libre Lauso", uniquely (with the exception of the *desamorado* Lenio) free of any amorous entanglements. Less than a few days prior to the opening of the novel he has fallen in love with a shepherdess of the banks of the Tajo (Madrid) whose identity he has concealed under the pseudonym Silena. Not a few days after that, he has

[829] (Cervantes, 1961, v.2, 6: pp.237)
[830] (Cervantes, 1961, v.1, 1: pp.17)

liberated himself from this love by way of "desdén" which he now lauds as his redemptor. Lauso's liberation coincides with the news that Galatea will be married to a Portuguese shepherdess. All the narrative clues surrounding Lauso's amorous tale lead to an identification of the disguised shepherdess of Silena, with the discrete Galatea. His reference to the trouble she has caused amidst friends glosses the aloof behavior of Lauso in relation to the other shepherds. Moreover, Damón's private knowledge of the events of Lauso and Silena (Galatea), lends to this reading of the use of the pseudonym, Silena. Moreover, it raises several questions for the autobiographical nature of this amorous tale as *roman à clef*, as much as it answers our questions surrounding the impetus for the novel. Damón's comprehension of the situation clearly indicates that Pedro Laynez was privy to the intimate details of Cervantes' life which he has twice dressed in pseudonyms (Elena Osorio → Galatea → Silena):

> Pero en la opinión de Damón, su amigo, quedó bien disculpado, porque conocía el término de Silena y sabía el que con Lauso había usado, y de lo que no dijo se maravillaba.
>
> (But in the opinion of Damón, [Lauso's] friend, [Lauso] was well excused, because he knew the background [or backstory] of Silena and he knew that she had used Lauso, and of what he hadn't said he marveled.) [831]

In other words, within the novel Lauso's derisive verses are offensive, but within the "true history" of the amorous entanglement, Damón judges Lauso's verses as just, and even admires his restraint. This is a curious interjection in a novel which intends to reveal and resolve amorous strife. There is little narrative motivation for the mysterious and cryptic course of Lauso's amorous tale, and the deferences to concealment in a novel whose very structure is meant to protect frank revelations bares the marks of autobiography.

That the pseudonym Silena has in fact been employed by Lauso to conceal the name of Galatea is further underscored by the sonnet which Galatea sings in direct response to Lauso's verses. An honorable defense against the sway of amorous inclinations, Galatea's final tercets directly oppose Lauso's assertions in her own defense:

> Segura está, quien nunca fue querida
> ni supo querer bien, de aquella lengua
> que en su deshonra se adelgaza y lima;
> mas si el querer y el no querer da mengua,
> ¿en qué ejercicios pasará la vida
> la que más que al vivir la honra estima?

[831] (Cervantes, 1961, v.2, 6: pp.237)

(Surely it is, that he never was loved/ nor knew how to love well, of that tongue/ which in its dishonor grows slim and filed-down;/ but if the to love and not to love give reduction;/ in what exercises will I pass the life/ she who more than to live esteems the honor.)[832]

Rather than refute the accusation of a "mudable pensamiento", Galatea justifies the changeability of "querer y no querer" (to love and not to love) as one of the pleasureful pastimes of life, the very making of the pastoral, as has already been observed in the court of Isabel de Valois (chapters 1 and 2). And, she defends discretion as the maintenance of honor amidst these pastoral exercises of "querer y no querer". In other words, she defends the very discretion and changeability which Lauso has attacked, refutes the ill he speaks of her, and claims the virture of honor won, not by abstinence from amorous entanglements, but by way of discretion. If this were not convincing enough, the narrator repeats the correlation and explicity tells the reader that Galatea's sonnet is in fact a discrete reply to Lauso:

Bien se echó de ver en el canto de Galatea que respondía al malicioso de Lauso, y que no estaba mal con las voluntades libres, sino con las lenguas maliciosas y los ánimos dañados, que, en no alcanzando lo que quieren, convierten el amor que un tiempo mostraron en un odio malicioso y detestable, como ella en Lauso imaginaba; pero quizá saliera deste engaño, si la buena condición de Lauso conociera, y la mala de Silena no ignorara.

(It was well given to see in the song of Galatea that she responded to the maliciousness of Lauso, and that she was not bad with free wills, rather with malicious tongues and damaged spirits, which, in not getting what they wanted, converted the love which at one time they demonstrated into a malicious and detestable hate, as she in Lauso imagined; but perhaps she would have gone out of this self-deception, if she knew the good condition of Lauso, and the bad condition of Silena which she ignored.)[833]

Again, the narrator underscores that the two shepherds (Lauso and Galatea) are debating with one another by way of their verses, a form of discretion amongst the other shepherds. Second, Galatea judges Lauso by way of the other characters in the novel, calling him "malicioso" and criticizing the tendency of those disappointed in love to turn their affections towards the disparagment of the love object. But the narrator undercuts this statement by reaffirming that were Galatea to know the "good condition" of Lauso she would think otherwise, rather than ignoring the poor comportment of Silena (Galatea). While the "true" facts are withheld from the reader, for even the least curious of *lectores* it should be clear that Lauso's Silena is in fact Galatea, that he is motivated to cast her with a pseudonym in order to respect the discretion by which she has defined herself. Moreover, it is also clear that Cervantes, obligated to respect the discretion of this lady, refuses to reveal, even by way of the objective and omnicient third-person narrator, the "true history" of the details which have unfolded between Lauso and his beloved. Not even a double pastoral disguise has been

[832] (Cervantes, v.2, 6: pp.237)

[833] (Cervantes, v.2, 6: pp.237-238)

sufficient to break the code of discretion which Cervantes, notorously, upholds in all of his fiction. Unlike Montemayor and Gálvez de Montalvo, he will not reveal his intimate history even within the veiled space of pastoral fiction, the veiled illusion is sufficient. This reinforces a curious tendency on the part of the author, already observed elsewhere, to employ increasing frames of narrative distance as the fictional text moves closer and closer to the "true history" of the author. As contradictory to our literary sensibilities as it may seem, it says something of the many narrators which Cervantes will later place between himself and don Quijote, don Quijote himself serving as an additional plane of distancing between Cervantes and the fictional personality of Alonso Quijano. By way of these layers, Cervantes opens an accordian space between history and poetry, continually broadining the divide between himself and his closest fictional subjects. No such distancing is required, for example, with the characters of the Duke and Duchess in *Don Quijote II*, Don Diego and Don Juan of the *Ilustre fregona* or with Isabela of the *Española inglesa*. These curious deviations into ambigious and circumlocutious narration are reserved for those characters who come nearest to the author's own history.[834]

With the passing comments by the narrator, the story of Lauso and Silena (Galatea) comes to a close and the narrative proceeds towards the final episode of Book 6. Nísida sings a lyric in celebration of her happy fate. Belisa, the beloved of the unrequited Marsilo, sings a lyric in defense of her "libre albedrío" (free will), a precursor (less forceful than Gelasia) to the defense which Marsela will raise in the *Quijote*.[xxxvii] The shepherds arrive at the *arroyo de las Palmas* and Aurelio, tired of the amorous content of the verses, suggests a game of versified riddles. The game proceeds for some pages when the shepherds are interrupted by the continuation of the amorous episodes which Aurelio had attempted to quiet. Two shepherds are seen running through the landscape. The others follow them to the river where they find two shepherdesses attempting to rescue a shepherd intent on drowing himself. The two shepherds arrive in time to assist the shepherdesses in retrieving the *desesperado* shepherd from the river. The desperate shepherd turns out to be Galercio who, as in his last appearance, is attempting to end his life over the rejection of Gelasia. Galercio will appear in the *Quijote* as Grisóstomo, ultimately, and effectively, hanging himself. (The shepherdesses are

[834] (El Saffar, 1975)

Maurisa and Teolinda and the other two shepherds are already familiar with Galatea's Portuguese fiancé: a further example of narrative interlacing.)

With this incident the interpolated stories woven into the landscape of the Tajo pick up where they left off before Meliso's funeral. Teolinda recounts to Galatea how her sister, Leonarda, has tricked Artidoro into marriage by posing as Teolinda. Galatea's unwanted betrothal takes on a more immediate threat when the visiting shepherds announce that the groom will arrive to the *aldea* in two days time to celebrate the marriage festivities. Just as one of Grisóstomo's verses will be rescued from the funeral pyre and read, Tirsi rescues the soaking wet verses of Galercio from his pocket as the shepherds hurry to change him into dry clothes. Gelasia appears above them on a large boulder on the other side of the river. She sings a song of contempt which anticipates the speech which Marcela will make to the shepherds of the *Quijote* in her own defense. She concludes: "libre nací, y en libertad me fundo," (I was born free, and in liberty I am founded), (v.2, 6: pp.252). With this Lenio too reenters the narrative. He appears running after the shepherdess, as Galatea flees down the cliff and away into the forest. Lenio falls defeated in the place where Gelasia had been sitting and the other shepherds watch as he descends into his own form of amorous desperation, approaching madness: "sin duda creyeron que la fuerza de la enamorada pasión le sacaba de juicio," (without a doubt they believed that the force of enamored passion had taken him out of his own judgment), (v.2: 6: pp.253). Lenio eventually calms himself and sings a lyric on his amorous longing. After Teolinda recounts the continuation of her unhappy tale, Tirsi reads aloud the desperate verses of Galercio which had been drying on a nearby rock.[835]

Galercio's verses provide a significant gloss on the *cosmos of erotic mysticism* so active amongst the poets of Madrid and so fully glossed by the *Galatea* as a whole. The relationship between the *divino ingenio* of the poet and the divine beloved of his verses is drawn out by way of Galercio's reference to Pygmalion. Hebreo's notion of the the image of the beloved as sculpted in the mind of the lover is reprised when Galercio writes:

En una fresca espesura

[835] Like the example from Mireno, discussed in the analysis of Book 3, this prefigures Grisóstomo of the *Don Quijote*.

una vez te vi sentada,
y dije: «Estatua es formada
aquélla de piedra dura.»
...
Que Pigmalión no fue
tanto a la suya rendido,
como yo te soy y he sido,
pastora, y siempre seré.
...
En el modo que me tratas
tal verdad es conocida:
con la vista me das vida,
con la condición me matas.

(In a cool thicket/ I saw you once seated,/ and I said, "Of a statue she is formed/ that hard rock"/.../ What Pygmalion was not/ so conquered to his own/ as I am and have been,/ shepherdess, and always will be./.../ In the manner in which you treat me/ such a truth is known:/ with the sight you give me life,/ with the condition you kill me.)[836]

Galercio's verses conflate the conceit of the stone will of the stubborn beloved (think of the "roca de su voluntad" describing Tomás Rodaja of the *Licenciado vidriera*) and Hebreo's concept of the image of the beloved as permanent in the mind of the lover (Pygmalion). Her condition is of marble, as is her permanence, by way of which--through denial of his person and permanence in his mind--she both gives and takes the life of Galercio. The reference to Pygmalion is significant becasue it alludes to the idea of the beloved as a creative endeavour in the mind of the poet-lover or *ingenio*. This concept will be fully played out by the *poetic gentleman*, Alonso Quijano. With the narratives of Teolinda, Galatea and Lenio reopened, the day comes to a close and the shepherds head for their homes. It is now the evening of the seventh day.

In his *cabaña*, Elicio confers with Tirsi, Damón, Orompo, Crisio, Marsilio, Orfinio and Arsindo over the impending marriage of Galatea and his desire to stop it. The narrator has already told us that Galatea looks on the marriage as form of death, "sentencia de muerte," (sentence of death), (v.2: 6: pp.260). Maurisa arrives to Elicio's *cabaña* under the cover of night to deliver a letter from Galatea. Galatea has never before sent Elicio a letter. She pleads for his assistance in escaping the fate which her father has designed for her, and while she maintains the extreme discretion customary to her character, Elicio recognizes the *novedad* of this advance in their intimacy. Elicio sends Maurisa back to Galatea with a letter. The novel proceeds with

[836] (Cervantes, 1961, v.2, 6: pp.257-258)

an immediacy of further developments as if it were not nearing its climax. Elicio vows to rescue Galatea by force if his diplomacy is unsuccessful. Tirsi and Damón agree to speak with Galatea's father, Aurelio. Lauso, Arsindo, Erastro and the others promise to round up the other shepherds of the Tajo (Madrid) in order to assist if their rescue efforts come to the need of force. In these final pages the drama which has been building throughout the course of the six books reaches a dramatic spike. This quick rise to action at the very close of the work is reminiscent of Shakespeare's dramatic structures, though I mean this only by way of analogy and not influence. Elicio sings a last sonnet on his love, which raises a defense of love as the ultimate Good and encompasses the entire *cosmos of erotic mysticism* and ethos of the novel:

> Si deste herviente mar y golfo insano,
> donde tanto amenaza la tormenta,
> libro la vida de tan dura afrenta
> y toco el suelo venturoso y sano,
> al aire alzadas una y otra mano,
> con alma humilde y voluntad contenta,
> haré que amor conozca, el cielo sienta
> que el bien les agradezco soberano.
> Llamaré venturosos mis sospiros,
> mis lágrimas tendré por agradables,
> por refrigerio el fuego en que me quemo.
> Diré que son de amor los recios tiros
> dulces al alma, al cuerpo saludables,
> y que en su bien no hay medio, sino estremo.
>
> (If of this boiling sea and insane gulf,/ where the torment threatens so much,/ I free life from such a hard afront/ and I touch the fortunate and sane earth,/ the air raised one and the other hand,/ with a humble soul and content will/ I will make that love knows, and the heaven feels/ that I am thankful for the sovereign Good./ I will call my sighs fortunate,/ my tears I will have for agreeable,/ for a relief the fire that burns me./ I will say that they are of love the robust throws/ sweet to the soul, to the body healthy, and in its Good there is no means, but the extreme.)[837]

Elicio's sonnet reprises Lauso's condemnation of the insanity of worldliness in contrast to the natural lyrical world of the pastoral. His humble soul and content are arrested by faith in love, rather than by religious devotion; this underscores the *erotic mysticism* of his world, the world which the novel profers as a better alternative to court and military life. He becomes a hero of love and the "Good" which he defends is the Neoplatonic "Good", the sovereign within this *cosmos* of the novel. The final tercets of the sonnet reprise the

[837] (Cervantes, 1961, v.2, 6: pp.264-265)

very verses with which he opened the novel in which even the painful aspects of amorous suffering become his glory. Finally, as the action of the central plot approaches a dramatic climax he exaults the extremes of action in service of the "Good" over the middle way. His sonnet ecompasses the doctrine of love, in all its variety, and brings Elicio into stark relief as the hero of this *cosmos*. Again, the correlation between Elicio and Lope de Vega becomes evermore apparent.

As the morning of the eighth day dawns, the shepherds make ready their plans. Lauso, now committed to helping Elicio, arrives with the other shepherds and commends himself and the others to Elicio's service. This marks Lauso's first active participation in the central narrative of the novel:

> En la compañía que traemos puedes ver, amigo Elicio, si comenzamos a dar muestras de querer cumplir la palabra que te dimos. Todos los que aquí ves vienen con deseo de servirte, aunque en ello aventuren las vidas; lo que falta es que tú no la hagas en lo que más conviniere.
>
> (In the company that we bring you can see, friend Elicio, we begin to fulfill the word that we gave you. All of those whom you see here come with the desire to serve you, even if in doing so they risk their lives; what remains is that you haven't told us what would be most convenient for you.)[838]

This is the final mark of friendship and amorous goodwill over the same woman amongst various pairings of *dos amigos* throughout the novel. Having moved on from Silena (Galatea) by way of "desdén", Lauso holds his tongue, and commits himself to Elicio's aid. With this the shepherds set out on their mission, and in typical serial novel fashion, the narrative concludes in anticipation of the point of action.[839]

The narrator then promises the continuation of the stories of Galercio, Lenio and Gelasia, Arsindo and Maurisa, Grisaldo, Artandro and Rosaura, adding to these the newly developing story of Marsilo and Belisa and many other additions which will be woven into the narrative of the second part. At this point, the first part of the *Galatea* went to the printing presses in 1585. The second part of the *Galatea* never appeared. The story of Galercio, Lenio and Gelasia was in many ways rewritten by way of the Marcela and Grisóstomo episode of the *Quijote I*. The abduction of Rosaura reappeared in the abduction of Luscinda by Fernando in the *Quijote I*. And, the love which the aged Arsindo suffers for the young Maurisa was more fully explored in the *Celoso extremeño* of the *Novelas Ejemplares*. In some ways, the *lucha* of Elicio to save Galatea from an unwanted marriage was resolved in the *Bodas de Camacho* of *Don Quijote II*. But Cervantes never returned to

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[838] (Cervantes, 1961, v.2, 6: pp.265)

[839] Cervantes forestalls the contiuation of the narrative in a similar matter at the end of chapter eight in the first part of the *Don Quijote*.

the central plot between Elicio and Galatea so carefully and masterfully developed throughout the course of the *Galatea I.* Its conclusion was taken up by another author, his own contemporary, perhaps the only author for whom the poetry of the *Galatea* held a stronger historical gravity than Cervantes himself: Lope de Vega. The second part of the *Galatea*--that is those events which occurred between Elicio and Galatea following the publication of the first part in 1585--is to be found in the urban (rather than pastoral) account of the Elena Osorio affair completed by Lope during the final years of his life and published as a *novela en acción*: the *Dorotea* (1632).

If we consider the distance between the publication of *Don Quijote I* (1605) and *Don Quijote II* (1615), then we must imagine that Cervantes was still conceptualizing the second part of the *Galatea* when the Elena Osorio affair reached its apogee with the suit for libel beginning in 1587, just two years after the novel's publication. Lope, as we know, did not mature into the *verdadero amante* of his youth, the Elicio which Cervantes had so carefully constructed over the course of the *Galatea.* By 1587 Cervantes was left with an urban plot twist irreconcilable to the *cosmos* of the *Galatea* and the hero which he had taken six books to develop, taking pains to have Elicio opt for the response of the pure lover at every obstacle. Moreover, only Lope himself was able to resucitate this historical character on the eve of his disenchantment, a memory which haunted him throughout his adult life and which he returned to in the *Arcadia*, the *Belardo Furioso*, and so many other works before finally stripping the pastoral guise to allusions, he composed the *Dorotea*, a near approximation to the events of his earliest amorous history.[840] But the Fernando of the *Dorotea* is the 'Elicio of loss'. The Elicio of the *Galatea* is the 'Elicio of devotion', and there is a decided difference between the historical reality of the first part of this love story and its *denouement.* To find Cervantes' Elicio in the writings of Lope de Vega, we must return to his professed earliest drama, the *Verdadero amante.*[841] That Lope considered this his earliest work is, indeed, far more significant than the possibility that this is a factual error on his part. It seems clear that Lope viewed this work as a precursor to the amorous *desengaño* of 1587 and 1588. What he reveals in his preference for this play is that in it we may find the poet with his faith intact in the *cosmos of erotic mysticism* safely incubated in the pastoral world of urbanite Madrileño poets in the early

[840] (Morby, 1959) and (Trueblood, 1974)
[841] (Morby, 1959)

1580s. While Lope would return to this place of *amorous mysticism* throughout his career, only in the *Verdadero amante* to we find his faith still unquestioned, the glory of the heroic Elicio intact.

The profound effect which Elena Osorio cast on the careers of both writers is considerable. Just as Lauso turned to the poetry of "desdén" and conceded his amorous interests to those of Elicio, after the *Galatea* Cervantes would never again write amorous verse from personal experience. His ideals--presaged in Book 6--become the ideals of *aesthetic idealism*, ones which he would more fully and delicately explore in *Don Quijote*. When he does disparage his own poetic achievements, it is not in reference to the quality of his extant verses--the poetry of the *Galatea* clearly refutes the possibility any such judgment. His failure is in having never composed a *Cancionero* of amorous verse to compete with those of Petrarch, Garcilaso, Hurtado de Mendoza, Montemayor, Figueroa, Laynez, Padilla, Maldonado, Góngora, Lope de Vega and so many others. By way of the character of Lauso, the *Galatea* tells the story of Cervantes' definitive break with the *cosmos of erotic mysticism* in his own biography even as he erects and imortalizes it within the deeply held beliefs of his own generation and his own early lyric ambitions. Neither his affair with Anna Francisca de Rojas nor his marriage to Catalina de Salazar would inspire verses on par with those of Lauso for Silena found in the pages of the *Galatea*. It is curious, and then too true to life not to be believed, that a woman would have quieted the amorous diction of one poet and given lasting *furor* to another. But there they all were, on the banks of the Tajo (Madrid), Lauso (Cervantes) just returned from his years abroad and the young and pure Elicio (Lope de Vega) pining after a remarkably discrete Galatea (Elena Osorio).

Conclusion:

Cervantes, Poet

That the novel is a lyric genre was an observation which only became possible after years of research and investigation, not only into the narrative contours of the *Don Quijote*, but, and perhaps more importantly, into the history of Cervantes' own authorship prior to the publication of his magnum opus. In this dissertation I have examined three formative decades (1560-1590) which constituted the foundation of Cervantes' literary outlook prior to an abrupt and vast history of publication which he undertook during the final decade of his life (1605-1616). While previous studies of the author's work have tended to privilege the first decade of the seventeenth-century as indicative of the author's mindset, the present dissertation argues that much of his literary career and his enduring literary themes were born of period which heretofore has been largely ignored by Cervantine, Golden Age and Genre studies alike. From his first sonnet to Isabel de Valois, composed at the age of twenty in 1567 to his final sonnet composed for the concluding chapters of the *Persiles y Sigismunda*, completed on his deathbed in the spring of 1616, Cervantes never relinquished his first and unyielding passion to be a great poet. And, he was. We do justice to this most canonical of modern novels by acknowledging that this lyric in prose was authored by a poet. At a time when poetry was already in decline--as the author himself lamented in the prologue of the *Galatea*--Cervantes preserved this first and most subjective of literary genres for the modern period by contextualizing the lyric voice of Alonso Quijano within a prose tale.

While the history of human subjectivity seldom extends to the writers and thinkers of the sixteenth-century, it is both remarkable and irrefutable that poets of the Renaissance found in the conceptual lyric the freedom to explore their own subjectivities--what they call *soul* and what we may call *being*. In chapters one and two I have devoted extensive analysis to the role of lyric subjectivity both in literary and cultural practice as it was lived and explored in the court of Isabel de Valois (1560-1568). Herein, I have brought Cervantes' earliest explorations of lyric subjectivity in verse formats into dialogue with those members of his literary milieu with whom he worked most closely: Francisco de Figueroa, Pedro Laynez, and Luis Gálvez de Montalvo. In chapters three and four I have examined the continuity of these cultural and literary practices in the gardens of Rome and in the poetry of fellow-captive poets in Algiers: Vicino Orsini and Antonio

Veneziano. In chapters five and six I have reconstructed the literary milieu which fostered the composition and publication of Cervantes' first novel, the *Galatea* in 1585. I have included close analysis of the ways in which Cervantes and his peers pursued lyric subjectivity in works composed in both verse and prose formats: Pedro Laynez, Pedro de Padilla, and Gabriel López Maldonado. I have shown how the novel developed out of the eclogue by way of an increasing necessity to better situate lyric subjectivity as *being-in-the-world*.

Throughout this thirty-year period the constant and enduring theme of Cervantes' work, as well as that of his fellow poets, was Love, specifically Pastoral Love: that is love conditioned by subjectivity rather than society. The *Don Quijote* may not be a happy love story, but it is one of the great love stories of the modern age. In fact, if we look together at Cervantes' three major novels--the *Galatea*, the *Don Quijote*, and the *Persiles y Sigismunda*--we discover that all of his works are love stories, as are the short stories or novelas included in the *Novelas ejemplares*. As developments on a common theme, his oeuvre represents a working-out or a working-through of the most fundamental theme of lyric subjectivity in the history of authorship. Like Fitzgerald's famous short-story, "The Curious Case of Benjamin Button", the story which Cervantes repeatedly tells moves in reverse, that is from dissolution to resolution. It has a happy ending. He begins with the dissolution of Lauso and Galatea in the *Galatea*, he moves to the impossibility of Alonso Quijano and Aldonza Lorenzo in the *Don Quijote*, and he concludes with the reunion of Persiles and Sigismunda at the close of that novel which Cervantes judged to be his magnum opus.

In this way the *Persiles y Sigismunda* represents a maturation point in the author's own amorous philosophy, in which he accords an unprecedented lyric subjectivity to his female protagonist, Sigismunda. This same subjectivity is one which he had hinted at--as in the case of Galatea, Gelasia, Marcela, Dorotea, Preciosa, and Isabela--but it is one which which he had previously left incomplete. The same may be said of his male protagonists. While Alonso Quijano mistakes amorous vision for love--as Proust will later do in his own variation on the lyric in prose--Persiles represents a new formulation of amorous male subjectivity which Cervantes developed and reworked throughout his career. We may think not only of Lauso and Alonso Quijano, but also of Antonio, Ricardo, and Ricaredo as early experiments in the formation of Persiles' subjectivity. But only in this final novel de we discover the resolution of two fully developed protagonists, Persiles and Sigismunda, whose subjectivities are equal. If this last novel has not been taken seriously by prior critics, it is because--as Sartre and De Beauvoir began to grasp--the possibility of two amorous

subjectivities has been written out of the history of the West. And yet, at the conclusion of the Renaissance and the dawn of the modern age, Cervantes remained an enduring poet of hope who wrote the world, not as it became, but as he saw it.

What Cervantes contributes to the history of subjectivity, indeed to the history of *being-in-the-world*, is more complex and warrants more careful attention than the space of this dissertation allows. What is clear is that in spite of religious fanaticism of all forms, Cervantes' many novels--and the *Novelas ejemplares* are no exception--made a space for lyric subjectivity amidst a culture where there was none. Writing now, as a female critic in 2016, I am grateful that this poet in prose gave to literary fiction what has been lost to Western culture. About that there may be some dissent. I am confident that close study and holistic analysis of the author's work will reveal as much. Vale.

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NOTES

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[i] 1. *The Four [Books] of Amadís of Gaul*, (saved)
2. *The Exploits of Esplandián*, (burned)
3. *Amadís of Greece* and all the other continuations of Amadís, (burned)
4. *Don Olivante of Laura*, (burned)
    -also authored, *Garden of Flowers*, (criticized by the priest but not present in Alonso Quijano's library)
5. *Felix Martin of Hircania*, (burned)
6. *The Knight Platir*, (burned)
7. *The Knight of the Cross*, (burned)
8. *The Mirror of Chivalry*, (exiled or banned but not burned)
    -spared from flames because it contains portions from the Italian, Matteo Boiardo, author of *Orlando innamorato* which inspired Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*
9. All books that deal with the "matter of France" (story of Roland), (locked away until further decision)
10. *Bernardo del Carpio*, (burned)
11. *Roncesvalles*, (burned)
12. *Palmerín de Olivar*, (burned)
13. *Palemerín of England*, (kept, preserved, and well cared for)
14. *Don Belianís* and continuations (expurgated and saved until further review)
15. All the rest of the books of chivalry (burned)
16. *History of the Famous Knight Tirante lo Blanc* (saved because it is realistic, best book in the world)
_____end of books of chivalry, beginning of books of poetry_____
17. *Diana*, (expurgated of magical episodes and poetry)
18. *Diana II*, (burned)
19. *Diana Enamored*, (saved)
20. *The Ten Books of Fortune in Love*, (saved)
21. *The Shepherd of Iberia*, (burned)
22. *Nymphs of Henares*, (burned)
23. *Deceptions of Jealousy*, (burned)
*24. *The Shepherd of Fílida* by Gálvez de Montalvo, (author was not a shepherd but a courtesan, saved like a precious jewel)
*25. *Treasury of Various Poems* by Pedro de Padilla, (author is friend of the priest, too many poems, expurgated, kept)
*26. *Song Book* by López Maldonado, (author is good friend of the priest, poems are praised, saved)
*27. *The Galatea* by Miguel de Cervantes, (old and good friend of the priest, book is inconclusive, saved)
28. *Araucana* by Alonso de Ercilla, (one of best books written in heroic language, saved)
29. *La Austriada* by Juan Rufo, (one of best books written in heroic language, saved)
30. *The Monserrate*, (one of best books written in heroic language, saved)
31. burn the rest
32. *The Tears of Angelica* (saved) author also translated 'fables' by Ovid

* Cervantes and his friends. Places the action of Alonso Quijano's quest sometime between 1591-1599.

[ii] Prologue to *Don Quijote II* (1615)

1. (reference implicit) Juan Huarte de San Juan, *Examination of the Ingenio* (1575)
2. Aristotle
3. Plato
4. the entire hoard of philosophers
5. Holy Scripture
6. St. Thomas [Aquinas]
7. Xenophon

8. Zoilus
9. Zeuxis
10. celebrated poets of Spain
11. laudatory poems by distinguished titles and peoples
12. Prestor John of the Indies
13. Emperor of Trebizond
14. Horace: "There is no gold which can sufficiently pay for the sale of liberty."
15. Horace: "That the yellow death goes equally to the shack of the poor invalid and to the Alcázar of the powerful king."
16. Holy Scripture: "On the contrary I say: love your enemies."
17. Holy Scripture: "From the heart come the bad thoughts."
18. Cato: (these are actually from Ovid): "While you are fortunate you will count with many friends, but if the times become cloudy, you will be alone."
19. reference to the giant, Goliath: "The giant, Goliath, or Goliat, was a philistine whom the shepherd David slew with a great rock, in the valley of Terebinth, as recounted in the Book of Kings."
20. mention the Tajo river: "The Tajo river received its name from a king of all the Spains. It is born in that place and dies in the ocean sea kissing the walls of the famous city of Lisbon and it is thought that its sands are of gold, etc."
21. thieves--Cacus (*Aeneid*, VIII)
22. prostitutes--bishop of Mondoñedo: Lamia, Laida, Flora (*Family Epistles* by Antonio de Guevara, 1539)
23. cruelty--Ovid: Medea, (*Metamorphosis*, VII)
24. enchanters and sorcerers--Homer: Calypso (*Odyssey*, X)--Virgil: Circe (*Aeneid*, VII)
25. valiant captains--Julius Caesar (*Commentaries*)-- Plutarch: Alexander (*Parallel Lives*)
26. love--León Hebreo (*Dialogues of Love*)--Fonseca (*Of the love of God*)
27. Saint Basel
28. Cicero
29. books of chivalry (general)
30. astrology (general)
31. mathematics (general)
32. rhetoric (general)

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Prologue to *Don Quijote II* (1615)

1. *Second tome of the Ingenious Gentleman Don Quijote of La Mancha* by Alonso Fernández de Avellaneda (penname, anonymous), Tarragona, 1614

[iii] ¿Hay quién quiera comprar nueve doncellas
esclavas a lo menos desterradas
de las tierras do fueron engendradas?
¿Hay quién las compre? ¿Hay quien dé más por ellas?
Pues yo ⌈os⌉ prometo que solían ser ellas
hermosas, ricas, graves, y estimadas,
y aunque de muchos fueron requestadas,
bien pocos alcanzaron favor dellas.
Agora van las tristes mendigando
de puerta en puerta, rotas y baldías,
y por sólo el comer se venderían.
Pues no son muy golosas, que hallando

hierbas, flores u hojas, pasarían
con sombras frescas y con aguas frías,"
(Figueroa, 1989, pp.246)

[iv] Dos verdades fe mueftran principales,
Ouidio en vueftras fabulas agora,
la vna, que con vos blanda y fonora
os las haze vn mortal fer immortales.
Viana con acentos celeftiales,
con fer tan buenas, tanto las mejora,
que en el lugar adone el bien no mora
augmentara la Inuidia vueftros males.
La otra es, que aunque con dulce canto,
ayan fido por el tan leuantadas,
que paffen el lugar de las eftrellas.
Es su diuinio ingenio, tal, y tanto,
que del mundo feran mas eftimadas,
ellas por el, que lo fera el por ellas.
(Ovid, 1598, pp. unpaginated, emphasis mine).

Here again the *aesthetic idealism* of this milieu is readily apparent in the invocation of the divine "ingenio" of the poet and the underscoring of immortality.

[v] Petrarch on the same physiology and affect of love writes:

Quel foco ch'i' pensai che fosse spento
dal freddo tempo e da l'età men fesca,
fiamma e martir ne l'anima rinfresca.
Non fur mai tutte spente, a quel ch'i' veggio,
ma ricoperte alquanto le faville,
e temo no 'l secondo error sia peggio.
Per lagrime ch'i' spargo a mille a mille,
conven che 'l duol per gli occhi si distille
dal cor, ch'ha seco le faville e l'ésca:
non pur qual fu, ma pare a me che cresca.
Qual foco non avrian già spento e morto
l'onde che gli occhi tristi versan sempre?
Amor, avegna mi sia tardi accorto,
vòl che tra duo contrari mi distempre;
e tende lacci in sí diverse tempre,
che quand'ho piú speranza che 'l cor n'esca,
allor piú nel bel viso mi rinvesca.
(Petrarch, 2011, pp.112)

[vi] Dicen que dijo un sabio muy prudente
que el hombre era milago y fue loado;

otro dijo que era árbol trastornado,
mas cada cual habló del accidente.
Quien dijo que era *mundo abreviado*
declaró la razón cumplidamente,
porque sobre su centro está posado;
un ánima lo rige que no siente.
Ánima no sentida y movedera,
tú que árbol, milagro y mundo dentro
y mayores honduras ves al cabo,
mira el ojo del culo, que es el centro,
y si árbol no tuviere, mi señora,
hallarásle dos centros en el rabo. (Hurtado de Mendoza, 1995, pp.192-193, emphasis mine)

[vii] "Canción"

Aunque, señora, me muero,
el morir no me atormenta,
porque el alma se sustenta
en virtud de lo que os quiero.

Que no ha sido el cuerpo, no,
quien tal tormento meresce,
sola el alma es quien padesce
desd'el punto que os miró.
Y aunque otra gloria no espero
que por vuestra causa sienta,
baste ver que se sustenta
en virtud de lo que os quiero.

(Montemayor, 1996, pp.21)

[viii] "¡Oh grande, oh poderosa, oh sacrosanta,
alma ciudad de Roma! A ti me inclino,
devoto, humilde y nuevo peregrino,
a quien admira ver belleza tanta.
Tu vista, que a tu fama se adelanta,
al ingenio suspende, aunque divino,
de aquel que a verte y adorarte vino
con tierno afecto y con desnuda planta.
La tierra de tu suelo, que contemplo
con la sangre de mártires mezclada,
es la reliquia universal del suelo.
No hay parte en ti que no sirva de ejemplo
de santidad, así como trazada
de la ciudad de Dios al gran modelo."
(Cervantes, 1974, pp.321).

In this last sonnet, the divinity of the lady is replaced with the city of Rome and spoken by a religious pilgrim. The conceptual structuring is nearly identical to the one composed for Isabel.

[ix] "Per la Signora Anna Borromea Colonna"

Girolamo Pallantieri

Ride il ciel d'ogn'intorno; e l'aria lieta
Si fà ferena; e'l di più bel fi moftra:
Il verde fuol la terra imperla, e inoftra:
Ceffano i venti, e'l vitreo humor s'acqueta.
Stà, con la fuora, Progne intenta, e queta;
Spirano i fiori odor de l'aurea chioftra:
E più, ch'ancor, ò in altra, ò ne la noftra
Età, par ch'alta gioia il Tebro mieta,
Do foaui defidir cofi benigni
Nembi, piovon le stella, el tal pruina;
Che non vaga d'udir, cofa non refta:
Quando l'unica al mondo Anna diuina
A celebrar con lode eterna, defta
Le Muse Apollo, e le Sirene, e i Cigni.

(Manfredi, 1575, pp.1)

[x] In the encomiastic sonnet below, Gálvez de Montalvo makes explicit reference to Cervantes' Mediterranean military campaigns and captivity which echoes the author's own recollection of Lepanto, "por haber seguido algunos años las vencedoras banderas de aquel sol de la milicia" (Cervantes, 1961, v.2, pp.2).

Mientra del yugo sarracino anduvo
tu cuello preso y tu cerviz domada,
y allí tu alma, al de la fe amarrada,
a más rigor, mayor firmeza tuvo,
gozóse el cielo; mas la tierra estuvo
casi viuda sin ti, y, desamparada
de nuestras musas, la real morada
tristeza, llanto, soledad mantuvo.
Pero después que diste al patrio suelo
tu alma sana y tu garganta suelta
dentre las fuerzas bárbaras confusas,
descubre claro tu valor el cielo,
gózase el mundo en tu felice vuelta,
y cobra España las perdidas musas.
(Cervantes, 1961, pp.11)

[xi]

L'altera Dea che dal Troian Pastore
Il pomo, e'l pregio di belleza ottennes
Da le spume del Mar con gran stupore
Così bella, e divina al monde venne,
E dal Capo di Giove usci già fuore
Quella che'l vanto di prudentia ottenne,
Ma mille Meraviglie insieme senno
Voi Dea di più beltà, di maggior senno.

Di quante glorie acquisto unqua facesti
Signor, con l'arme, o con le dotte carte,
Ne lo studio hor di Febo, & hor di Marte
L'orme de gli Avi tuoi segundo, e i gesti;

Fù la maggiore alhor ch'al mondo desti
Fra mille Meraviglie intorno sparte
Il divin pegno in cui Natura, & Arte
S'oprar con tutti i Cori alti e celesti
Ben de le Meraviglie haver dovea
E d'Amor nel Giardin ricco e giocondo
Cosi gran Meraviglie albergo, e nido.
Poi che dunque sí bella altera Dea
In quello nacque; habbia la fama, e'l gride
Sovra i fette Miracoli del Mondo.

O'per gioia del Mondo al Mondo nata
Meraviglia del cielo e ni Natura,
In angelico aspetto anima pura
De la più bella, e degna Idea formata.
Egualmente à Minverva à Febo grata,
De le Gratie e d'Amor diletto e cura,
In cui s'annida ogni virtù pregiata;
Ben par che'l desir mio s'infiammi & erga
a celebrar di voi celeste Lume
Le Meraviglie, e i pregi eletti e novi;
Ma odo Amor, ch'in que begli occhi alberga
Gridarmi. Icaro folle in, darno movi
Contra à si ardente Sol le debil piume.

(Mutio, 1575, pp.668-669)

[xii] Alegres nuevas, venturoso día,
dichoso bien del cielo enriquecido;
albricias os demando, albricias pido,
de la nueva que traigo de alegría.
Los que buscáis recato y policía,
perfecta gracia del cortés polido,
sabed por cosa cierta que ha venido
la curiosa Princesa Cortesía.
Espejo de vivir, claro dibuxo,
común provecho, aviso y noble trato,
ofrece en quanto pida el buen desseo.
Llámase el Cortesano que la truxo,
Gustoso, General, Gracioso, Grato,
Gracián, Galán, Gallardo, Galateo.
(Gracián Dantisco, 1968, pp.102).

[xiii] A Bartolomé Rufino de Chamberí *sopra la desolatione della goletta*

¡Oh cuán claras señales habéis dado,
alto Bartholomeo de Ruffino,
que de Parnaso y Ménalo el camino
habéis dichosamente paseado!
Del siempres verde lauro Coronado

series, si yo no soy mal adivino,
si ya vuestra fortuna y cruel destino
os saca de tan triste y bajo estado.
Pues libre de cadenas vuestra mano,
reposando el ingenio, al alta cumbre
os podéis levantar seguramente,
oscuriendo al gran Livio romano,
dando de vuestras obras tanta lumbre
que bien merezca el lauro vuestra frente.

En alabanza de la misma obra

Si ansí como de nuestro mal se canta
en esta verdadera, clara historia
se oyera de christianos la Victoria,
¿cuál fuera el fruto desta rica planta?
Ansí cual es, el cielo se levanta,
y es digna de inmortal, larga memoria,
pues libre de algún vicio y baja escoria
al alto ingenio admira, al bajo espanta.
Verdad, orden, estilo claro y llano,
cual a perfecto historiador conviene,
en esta breve suma está cifrado.
¡Felice ingenio, venturosa mano
que entre pesados hierros apretado
tal arte y tal virtud en sí contiene!

(Cervantes, 1974, pp.336-337, emphasis mine)

[xiv]

Dona real tant'è il favor, che pioue
Da bei vostri occhi, in varie forme, e care
Sopr'ogni anima amica di virtute,
Ch'ai ciechi ingegni, & a le lingue mute
De le maniere vostre altere, e rare
Pensar & à cose, e dir famose, e noue;

(Manfredi, 1575, pp.5)

[xv]

Si el lazo, el fuego, el dardo, el puro yelo
que os tiene, abrasa, hiere y pone fría
vuestra alma, trae su origen desde el cielo,
ya que os aprieta, enciende, mata, enfría,
¿qué nudo, llama, llaga, nieve o celo
ciñe, arde, traspasa o yela hoy día,

con tan alta ocasión como aquí muestro,
un tierno pecho, Antonio, como el vuestro?
El cielo, que el ingenio vuestro mira,
en cosas que son d'él quiso emplearos
y, según lo que hacéis, vemos que aspira
por Celia al cielo empíreo levantaros;
ponéis en tal objecto vuestra mira,
que dais materia al mundo de envidiaros:
¡dichoso el desdichado a quien se tiene
envidia de las ansias que sostiene!
En los conceptos que la pluma
de la alma en el papel ha trasladado
nos dais no sólo indicio pero muestra
de que estáis en el cielo sepultado,
y allí os tiene de amor la fuerte diestra
vivo en la muerte, a vida reservado,
que no puede morir quien no es del suelo,
teniendo el alma en Celia, que es un cielo.
Sólo me admira el ver que aquel divino
cielo de Celia encierre un vivo infierno
y que la fuerza de su fuerza y sino
os tenga en pena y llanto sempiterno;
al cielo encamináis vuestro camino,
mas, según vuestra suerte, yo dicierno
que al cielo sube el alma y se apresura,
y en el suelo se queda la ventura.
Si con benino y favorable aspecto
a alguno mira el cielo acá en la tierra,
obra ascondidamente un bien perfeto
en el que cualquier mal de sí destierra;
mas si los ojos pone en el objeto
airados, le consume en llanto y guerra

ansí como a vos hace vuestro cielo:
ya os da guerra, ya paz, y⌈a⌉ fuego y yelo.
No se ve el cielo en claridad serena
de tantas luces claro y alumbrado
cuantas con rica habéis y fértil vena
el vuestro de virtudes adornado;
ni hay tantos granos de menuda arena
en el desierto líbico apartado
cuantos loores creo que merece
el cielo que os abaja y engrandece.
En Scitia ardéis, sentís en Libia frío,
contraria operación y nunca vista;
flaqueza al bien mostráis, al daño brío;
más que un lince miráis, sin tener vista;
mostráis con discreción un desvarío,
que el alma prende, a la razón conquista,
y esta contrariedad nace de aquella
que es vuestro cielo, vuestro sol y estrella.
Si fuera un caos, una materia unida
sin forma vuestro cielo, no espantara
de que del alma vuestra entristecida
las continuas querellas no escuchara;
pero, estando ya en partes esparcida
que un fondo forman de virtud tan rara,
es maravilla tenga los oídos
sordos a vuestros tristes alaridos.
Si es lícito rogar por el amigo
que en estado se halla peligroso,
yo, como vuestro, desde aquí me obligo
de no mostrarme en esto perezoso;
mas si me he de oponer a lo que digo
y conducirlo a término dichoso,

no me deis la ventura, que es muy poca,
mas las palabras sí de vuestra boca.
Diré: «Celia gentil, en cuya mano
está la muerte y vida y pena y gloria
de un mísero captivo que, temprano
ni aun tarde, no saldrás de su memoria:
vuelve el hermoso rostro blando, humano,
a mirar de quien llevas la victoria;
verás el cuerpo en dura cárcel triste
del alma que primero tú rendiste.
Y, pues un pecho en la virtud constante
se mueve en casos de honra y muestra airado,
muévale al tuyo el ver que de delante
te han un firme amador arrebatado;
y si quiere pasar más adelante
y hacer un hecho heroico y estremado,
rescata allá su alma con querella,
que el cuerpo, que está acá, se irá tras ella.
El cuerpo acá y el alma allá captiva
tiene el mísero amante que padece
por ti, Celia hermosa, en quien se aviva
la luz que al cielo alumbra y esclarece;
mira que el ser ingrata, cruda, esquiva
mal con tanta beldad se compadece:
muéstrate agradecida y amorosa
al que te tiene por su cielo y diosa».

(Cervantes, 1974, pp.347-350)

[xvi]

Celi, planeti e vui, cause secondi,
chi distinguiti motu, tempu ed huri,
chianti, arbuli, frutti, xhiuri e frundi,
chiani allegri, auti munti e valli oscuri,
ripi, xhuiumi, vui sausi e vui duci undi,
feri salvaggi e vui, manzi e sicuri:

si di vui, comu di mia, non s'ascundi,
cuntati a la mia donna la miu arduri.
(*Celia*, composed 1579)

(Veneziano, 1967, pp. 49). This edition provides the following translation into modern Italian: Cieli, pianeti e voi cause seconde, / che scandite moto, tempo e dote,/ piante, alberi, frutti, fiori e fronde,/ pianure sorridenti, alti onti e valli ombrose,/ rive, fiumi, voi pietre e voi dolci onde,/ fiere selvage e voi animali domestici e tranquilli:/ se a voi, come a me, non si nasconde/ riferite alla mia donna il mio ardore.

And again, from the same poem of Elicio in the *Galatea*:

Mientras que al triste lamentable accento
del mal acorde son del canto mío,
en Eco amarga de cansado aliento
responde el monte, el prado, el llano, el río,
demos al sordo y presuroso viento
las quejas que del pecho ardiente y frio
salen a mi pesar, pidiendo en vano
ayuda al río, al monte, al prado, al llano.
(Cervantes, 1961, v.1, pp.4)

[xvii] As Pedro Laynez wrote in his laudatory poem for Christobal de las Casas' *Vocabulario de las dos lenguas Toscana y Castellana* (Seville) of 1570:

...
Pues el docto Romano ayuntamiento,
guiado por tu lumbre a aquella senda
que va de España el alto entendimiento,
por señal cierta de quan rica prenda
le das, offrescerá a tu nombre claro
de grato coraçón duida offrenda.
Por ti verá que el cielo no fué auaro
a nuestra illustre España del diuino
furor que a Cintio ha sido, y es, tan charo,
pues que produxo el Tajo cristalino
al claro Garcilaso en su ribera,
y a casas Betis, en tal alto sino.
¡O, fértil fructo! ¡O, gloria verdadera!,
por quien del patrio Betis generoso
sube la diestra fama a la alta Esfera,
igual al Mincio, al Tebro, al Po famoso.
(Laynez, 1951, v.2, pp.330-331)

[xviii] As Laynez wrote for Benito Caldera's (Batto's) translation of *Los Lusiadas* (Alcalá, 1580):

> Batto, por largos siglos conoscida
> tu ilustre fama y tu immortal memoria
> será de gente en gente, y tu alta gloria
> en bronze, en duro mármol esculpida;
> pues a pesar de muerte das la vida
> con dulces versos y sublime historia
> a los que en la Oriental, clara victoria
> dexan su sangre en tierra desparzida.
> El célebre Camoes cantó primero,
> con voz suaue y bien templada lira,
> el gran valor del pecho Lusitano
> y aunque del diuino accento al Tajo admira,
> tú admiras con el tuyo sobrehumano
> al Tajo, al Mincio, al Tebro, al patrio Ibero.

(Laynez, 1951, v.2, pp.333)

[xix] This discourse is readily discernible in the English context. For example, we may think of Shakespeare's famous "Sonnet 18":

> Shall I compare thee to a summer's day?
> Thou art more lovely and more temperate.
> Rough winds to shake the darling buds of May,
> And summer's lease hath all too short a date.
> Sometime too hot the eye of heaven shines,
> And often is his gold complexion dimmed.
> And every fair from fair sometimes declines,
> By chance or nature's changing course untrimmed.
> But thy eternal summer shall not fade,
> Nor lose possession of that fair thou owest,
> Nor hall Death brag thou wander'st in his shade
> When in eternal lines to time thou grow'st.
> So long as men can breathe, or eyes can see,
> So long lives this, and this gives life to thee.

(Shakespeare, 1952, pp.1598)

[xx] From the frontmatter of the *Galatea*:

> De López Maldonado
> soneto
>
> Salen del mar, y vuelven a sus senos
> después de una veloz larga carrera,
> como a su madre universal primera,
> los hijos della largo tiempo ajenos.
> Con su partida no la hacen menos,
> ni con su veulta más soberbia y fiera,
> porque tiene, quedándose ella entera,
> de su humor siempre sus estanques llenos.
> La mar sois vos, ¡oh *Galatea* estremada!,
> los ríos, los loores, premio y fruto
> con que ensalzáis la más ilustre vida.

Por más de deis, jamás seréis menguada,
y menos cuando os den todos tributo,
con él vendréis a veros más crecida.

(Cervantes, 1961, v.1, pp.13)

[xxi] "Definición de Amor"

La Difinicion de Amor
segun el Ovidio advierte
es ser una dulce muerte
y una vida con dolor.
Un acuerdo y un olvido
dice, y un mundo al reves,
que hace no ser lo que es:
y ser lo que nunca ha sido.
Y aquel famoso Leon,
por sobrenombre el Hebreo,
dice, que Amor es desseo
de figura possession.
Una lente calentura
que quema hasta el postrer huesso,
y que al mas amduro seso
condena a mayor locura.
Mario Equicola tambien
con su ingenio celestial,
dice que Amor es un mal
agradecido por bien.
Una sabrosa dolencia
que assi agrava los sentidos
que quando mas adormidos
entienden mejor su sciencia.
Otras varias opiniones
hallo en aquesta quistion
que aunque loca y sin razon
contiene cuerdas razones,
Qual mas, qual menos estiende
esta amorosa materia,
diciendo que en esta feria
pierde mas quien mas entiende.
Y aunque pudiera quedarme
con opiniones tan altas
y escusarme de las faltas
de que ya siento a curarme.
Todavia determino
pintar a Amor por figuras,
que para decir locura
no tomo muy mal padrino.
Y quedara desculpado
en el peligro presente
pagando por obediente
lo que pierdo por osado.
Y de quanto aqui dijere
podre ser muy bien creido,
pues no es mucho que el herido
sepa el brazo que le hiere.

Digo que Amor es meson
y aun mesonero cosario
que sin dar lo necessario
roba hasta el corazon.
Pone mesa general
para quantos van y vienen,
mas los manjares no tienen
como ni sabor de sal.
Ellos muy hermanos son
en quanto el ver comprehende,
mas son tesoro de duende
que se convierte en carbon.
La gente de aquesta casa
toda es mentirosa y varia
como su dueño cosaria,
franca al mal y al bien escasa.
Todos hembras en los nombres
porque saben sus mercedes,
que son aquestas las redes
con que se caçan los hombres.
Son lisonja y vanagloria
y esperança mal fundada
los que sirven la posada
do caduca la memoria.
...
Y ansi queda el passagero
pobre y lleno de contienda
y rico con su hacienda
el ladron del mesonero:
Que en el arte del robar
son tan altos sus estremos
que aun quiere que le paguemos
porque nos deje pagar.

(Maldonado, 1932, pp.Ar-A4v)

[xxii] Lope de Vega:
Soneto 41

Hermosos ojos, yo juré que había
de hacer en vos de mi rudeza empleo,
en tanto que faltaba a mi deseo
el oro puro que el Oriente cría.
Rústica mano desta fuente fría
ofrece el agua, mas mirad que a Orfeo
versos le dieron singular trofeo
de aquella noche que no ha visto el día.
Y pues por la crueldad que en toda parte
usáis conmigo, vuestro cuerpo tierno
puede temer la pena de Anaxarte;
no despreciéis el don, que al lago Averno
irá por vos mi amor venciendo al arte;
mas tal hielo aun no teme el fuego eterno.

(Lope de Vega, 2013, pp.225-226)

Elicio in the *Galatea:*

La blanca nieve y colorada rosa,
que el verano no gasta, ni el invierno;
el sol de dos luceros, do reposa
el blando amor, y a do estará *in eterno;*
la voz, cual la de Orfeo poderosa
de suspender de furias del infierno,
y otras cosas que vi quedando ciego,
yesca me han hecho al invisible fuego.
....
Yo ardo y no me abraso, vivo y muero;
estoy lejos y cerca de mí mismo;
espero en un solo punto y desespero;
súbome al cielo, bájome al abismo;
quiero lo que aborrezco, blando y fiero;
me pone el amaros parasismo;
y con estos contrarios, paso a paso,
cerca estoy ya del último traspaso.
....
(Cervantes, 1961, v.1, pp.26-27)

[xxiii]

Al sacro asiento de la Cypria Diosa
que al mundo emvia [sic] entre una y otra nube
aquel luzero y luminaria ardiente
vuestro o divino pensamiento sube
rocado de la llama licenciosa
donde las alas abrasar se siente
no menoles [sic] consiente
el fuego que le apura y acrisola
de vuestra Phili en la hermosura sola
pues convertido en el al centro aspira
del tercero planeta
a quien esta sujeta
la inclinacion que a vuestra pluma inspira.
Divinamente variays el canto
de vuestros pensamientos amorosos
y del Amor, la variedad de efetos
reduzidos a pechos generosos
donde su honesto ser se illustra tanto
que el ama sola muestra los secretos
que en los pechos discretos
la Venus celestial engendra y cria,
gloria de la amorosa fantasia
tan diferente del valor que encierra
en su discurso ciego,
en flechas, arco, y fuego
la humana Venus que nacio en la tierra....

(Maldonado, 1932, pp. 3v)

[xxiv] ¡oh, una, y tres, y cuatro,
cinco, y seis y más veces venturoso
el simple ganadero,

que con un pobre apero
vive con más contento y más reposo
que el rico Craso o el avariento Mida,
pues con aquella vida
robusta, pastoral, sencilla y sana,
de todo punto olvida
esta misera falsa cortesana!

(Cervantes, 1961, v.2, pp.37)

[xxv] As Cervantes' laudatory sonnet for López Maldonado's 1586 *Cancionero* testifies:

El cafto ardor de vna amorofa llama,
vn fabio pecho a fu rigor fujeto,
vn defden facudido y vn affecto
bládo, que al Alma en dulce fuego inflama.
El bien y el mal a que combida y llama
de Amor la fuerça y poderofo effecto
eternamente en fon claro y pefecto
con eftas rimas cantara la fama.
Lleuando el nombre vnico y famofo
vueftro, felice Lopez Maldonado
del moreno Etyope al Cyta blanco
Y hara que en valde del Laurel honrofo
efpere alguno verfe coronado
fi no os imita y tiene por fu blanco.

(López Maldonado, 1932, fasc. 1586, pp.*v).

[xxvi] As Diego de Lasarte wrote in his laudatory sonnet for Gálvez de Montalvo's 1582 publication of *El pastor de Fílida*:

Agradar al discreto, al más mirado
al necio, al maldiziente, al invidioso,
medir los gustos del cortés curioso.
¿cómo podrá un pastor con su cayado?
En su querido alvergue del ganado
tracte, y cuide, si el pasto le es dañoso,
de Phílida, su bien, sólo, cuidoso,
y de otro fin ageno y descuidado.
Pastor, éste es officio de pastores,
pero quien os leyere dirá al punto
que sois un nuevo cortesano Apolo.
Con fama tal del uno al otro Polo
vivireís agradando a todos, junto
discretos, invidiosos, detractores.

(Gálvez de Montalvo, 2006, pp.430).

[xxvii] Nunca d'Amor estuve tan contento
que'n su loor mis versos ocupase;
ni a nadie consejé que s'engañase

buscando en el amor contentamiento.
Esto siempre juzgó mi entendimiento:
que d'este mal tod'hombre se guardase,
y así porque'sta ley se conservase,
holgué de ser a todos escarmiento.
¡O vosotros que andáis tras mis escritos
gustando de leer tormentos tristes,
según que por amar son infinitos!,
mis versos son deziros. "¡O benditos
los que de Dios tan gran merced huvistes
que del poder d'Amor fuésedes quitos!"

(Boscán, 1999, pp.121).

[xxviii] Nunca se vio en amor ningún contento,
que no le siga en posta otro cuydado:
ni en él havrá plazer tan acabado,
que no traya consigo algún descuento.
Mas hame dado amor un pensamiento,
el cual es solo en sí tan estremado,
que no viene descanso que doblado
después no cause en mí el contentamiento.
Si peno, aquella pena es mayor gloria,
y a lo que puede dalle algún desvío
deshaze, y luego buelve a sustentarme.
Mi vencimiento buelve en más victoria,
y assí de puro fuerte el amor mío
se haze fuerça a sí por esforçarme.

(Montemayor, 1996, pp.62)

[xxix] Indicative of Liñán de Riaza's verse from this period is the *canción* which he contributed to López Maldonado's *Cancionero* (1586):

Pues tu famosa pluma
se encumbra y sube hasta el sagrado Solio
do esta el galan de la Peney a Casta
y ansi qual Roma a Numa
estavas levanto en su Capitolio
el en sus rayos arrebol la engasta
porque el tiempo que basta
a trocar en ruinas los Colosos
no baste ni en sus años presurosos
edad prolija a tu valor destruya
pues por solo y egregio
mereces perdurable previlegio.
Si por el dulce toque
del musico penante que al infierno
amores y veneno le bajaron
mandan que se revoque
el estatuto, del fatal govierno,
aquellos que a su cuyo libertaron
los que qual yo escucharon
el tuyo regalado, essa dulçura

que en ambas artes usas
(la voz, don milagroso de ventura
y el decir excelencia de las Musas)
con razon deven darte
de gloria y alabanças, rica parte.
Tu numero lo estilo
que descubre dulcissimos cuidados
tal vez favorecido, y tal quejoso
con sosiego tranquilo
sin aspereza de contrarios hados
a salvamento aportara gozoso
porque mas glorioso
la fama dignamente celebre
y de fortuna, en alto entronizado
sin que el clavo se quiebre
estes de sabios dedos, señalado
como en el siglo de oro
estuvo de las Nueve el sacro Cloro.
Cancion, parad que es mengua
dar alabanças limitadamente
que pluma, musa, y lengua,
son menos en lo mas que el alma siente
pues de una alteza tal, qual la que toco
mejor sera callar que decir poco.

(Maldonado, 1932, pp.7v-8r).

[xxx] Compare López Maldonado's verses the fate of Lenio:

Monstruo cruel, que en el obscuro centro,
vives, del mas horrible y hondo suelo
y desde alli enponçoñas todo el mundo,
como y tambien derribas con tu encuentro?
los fuertes Dioses que en el alto cielo
goviernan son saber alto, y profundo.
o crudo monstruo, o mustruo sin segundo
en cuyo infernal pecho no se encierrra
sino continua dessension y guerra:
no estabas harto ya, de perseguirme?
dando me sin porque mil enemigos,
infundiendo tambien en los amigos
animo de acabarme, y destruirme
sino que aun ala cumbre
dela perpetua inacessible lumbre
con presteza volaste,
y como en propria casa te encerraste.

(Maldonado, 1932, pp.59v)

Lenio:

¿Quién te impele crüel? ¿Quién te desvía?
¿Quién te retira del amado intento?
¿Quién en tus pies veloces alas cría,
con que corres ligera más que el viento?
¿Por qué tienes en poco la fe mía,

y desprecias el alto pensamiento?
¿Por qué huyes de mí? ¿Por qué me dejas?
¡Oh, más dura que mármol a mis quejas!

(Cervantes, 1961, v.2, pp.253)

[xxxi] Indicative of Lope's early pastoral verses of the 1580s is the laudatory sonnet which he composed for López Maldonado's 1586 *Cancionero*. While poets typically contributed a sonnet, Lope's addition constitutes a lenghty contribution to the genre. The frontmatter indicates that the manuscript was submitted as early as the spring of 1584, meaning that this poetry follows the period encoded in the *Galatea* by less than a year or two:

Al facro afiento de la Cypria Diofa
que al mundo embia entre vna y otra nuue
vueftro diuino penfamiento fube
tocado dela llama licenciofa
donde las alas abrafar fe fiente
no menoles confiente
el fuego que le apura y acrifola
de vuftra Phili en la hermofura fola
pues conuertido en el al centro afpira
del tercero planeta
aquien efta fujeta
la inclinacion que a vuestra pluma infpira.
Diuinamente variays el canto
de vueftros penfamientos amorofos
y del Amor, la variedad de efetos
reduzidos a pechos generofos
donde fu honefto fer fe illuftra tanto
que el alma fola mueftra los fecretos
que en los pechos difcretos
la Venus celeftial engendra y cria,
gloria dela amorofa fantafia
tan diferente del valor que encierra
en fu difcurfo ciego,
en flechas, arco, y fuego
la humana Venus que nacio en la tierra.
Si de foberbios Principes y Reyes
tragedias graues con viftofo oranto
de quantas Perlas el Oriente encierra
armas, trompetas, bellico aparato
y en facrificios laureados bueyes
fangre, incendio, furor, inuidia y guerra,
de Egypto, o de otra tierra,
cantara vueftra Mufa? no le fuera
tan alta admiracion aquien la oyera,
pues el fujeto mifmo fe leuanta
pero fubir al cielo

con tan ligero buelo
vn folo penfamiento al mundo efpanta..."
(López Maldonado, 1932, fasc. 1586, pp.3r-4r)

xxxii
Mireno:

Cierta mi muerte está, pues no es posible
que viva aquel que tiene la esperanza
tan muerta y tan ajeno está de gloria;
pero temo que amor haga imposible
mi muerte, y que una falsa confianza
dé vida a mi pesar, a la memoria.
Mas ¿qué? Si por la historia
de mis pasados bienes la poseo,
y miro bien que todos son pasados,
y los graves cuidados
que triste agora en su lugar poseo,
ella será más parte
para que della y del vivir me aparte.

(Cervantes, 1961, v.1, 3: pp.180-181)

***

Grisóstomo

Tú, que con tantas sinrazones muestras
la razón que me fuerza a que la haga
a la cansada vida que aborrezco,
pues ya ves que te da notorias muestras
esta del corazón pofunda llaga
de cómo alegre a tu rigor me ofrezco,
si por dicha conoces que merezco
que el cielo claro de tus bellos ojos
en mi muerte se turbe, no lo hagas:
que no quiero que en nada satisfagas
al darte de mi alma los despojos;
antes con risa en la ocasión funesta
descubre que el fin mío fue tu fiesta.
Mas gran simpleza es avisarte desto,
pues sé que está tu gloria conocida
en que mi vida llegue al fin tan presto.

(Cervantes, 1999, I: 14, pp.150)

***

Cardenio

O le falta al Amor conocimiento
o le sobra crueldad, o no es mi pena
igual a la ocasión que me condena
al género más duro de tormento.

Pero, si Amor es dios, es argumento
que nada ignora, y es razón muy buena
que un dios no sea cruel. Pues ¿quién ordena
el terrible dolor que adoro y siento?
Si digo que sois vos, Fili, no acierto,
que tanto mal en tanto bien no cabe
ni me viene del cielo esta ruina.
Presto habré de morir, que es lo más cierto:
que al mal de quien la cuasa no sabe
milagro es acertar la medicina.

(Cervantes, 1999, I: 23, pp.252)

[xxxiii]

Nísida

Aunque es el bien que poseo
tal que al alma satisface,
le turba en parte y deshace
otro bien que vi y no veo;
que amor y fortuna escasa,
enemigos de mi vida,
me dan el bien por medida,
y el mal sin término o tasa.
En el amoroso estado,
aunque sobre el merecer,
tan solo viene el placer,
cuanto el mal acompañado.
Andan los males unidos,
sin un momento apartarse;
los bienes por acabarse,
en mil parte divididos...
(Cervantes, 1961, v.2, 5: pp.99-100)

Lauso

En tan notoria simpleza,
nacida de intento sano,
el amor rige la mano,
y la intención tu belleza.
El amor y tu hermosura,
Silena, en esta ocasión,
juzgarán a discreción
lo que tendrás tú a locura.
Él me fuerza y ella mueve
a que te adore y escriba;
y como en los dos estriba
mi fe, la mano se atreve.
Y aunque en esta grave culpa
me amenaza tu rigor,
mi fe, tu hermosura, amor,
darán del yerro discupla.
Pues con un arrimo tal,
puesto que culpa me den,
bien podré decir el bien
que ha nacido de mi mal...
(Cervantes, 1961, v.2, 5: pp.95-96)

[xxxiv] "De un Enrique Garcés, que al piruano

reino enriquece, pues con dulce rime,
con subtil, ingeniosa y fácil mano,
a la más ardua empresa en él dio cima,
pues en dulce español al gran toscano
nuevo lenguaje ha dado y nueva estima,
¿quién será tal que la mayor le quite,
aunque el mesmo Petrarca resucite?"

(Cervantes, v.2, 6: pp.214)

[xxxv]

"Pues esto juzgo y confieso,
aunque tarde vengo en ello,
tiempla tu rigor y exceso,
amor, y del flago cuello
aligera un poco el peso.
Al ya rendido enemigo,
no se ha de dar el castigo
como a aquel que se defiende;
cuanto más, que aquí se ofende
quien ya quiere ser tu amigo."

(Cervantes, v.2, 5: pp.161)

[xxxvi] By way of example, see the following excerpts from versified epistles sent from Hurtado de Mendoza to Boscán and Boscán's reply.

Epístola de don Diego de Mendoça a Boscán

El no maravillarse hombre de nada
me parece, Boscán, ser una cosa
que basta a darnos vida descansada.

Esta orden del cielo presurosa,
este tiempo que huye por momentos,
las estrellas y sol que no reposa,

hombres ay que lo miran muy esentos,
y el miedo no les trae falsas visiones,
ni piensan en estraños movimientos.

...
Tú la verás, Boscán, y yo la veo
(que los que aman vemos más temprano):
hela en cabello negro y blanco arreo.

Ella te cogerá con blanda mano
las roxas uvas y la fruta cana,
dulces y frescos dones del verano.

Mira qué diligente y con qué gana
viene al nuevo servicio, qué pomposa
está con el trabajo y cuán ufana.

En blanca leche colorada rosa,
nunca para su amiga, vi al pastor
mezclar, que pareciese tan hermosa.

El verde arrayhán tuerce en derredor
de tu sagrada frente, con flores
mezclando oro inmortal a la lavor.

Por cima van y vienen los amores,
con las alas en vino remojadas,
suenan en el carcax [sic] los pasadores.

Remede [sic] quien quisiere las pisadas,
de los grandes que'l mundo governaron,
cuyas obras quiçá están olvidadas;

desvélese en lo que ellos no alcançaron,
duerma descolorido sobre'l oro,
que no le quedará más que llevaron.

Yo, Boscán, no procuro otro tesoro
sino poder vivir medianamente,
ni escondo otra riqueza ni otra adoro.

Si aquí hallas algún inconveniente,
como hombre diestro, y no como yo soy,
me desengaña dello en continente,
y si no, ven conmigo donde voy.

Respuesta de Boscán a don Diego Hurtado de Mendoça

Holgué, señor, con vuestra carta tanto,
que levanté mi pensamiento luego
para tornar a mi olvidado canto.

Y así, aunque'stava a scuras como ciego,
sin saber atinar por dónde iría,
cobré tino en la luz de vuestro fuego.

La noche me hizo claro día,
y al recordar mi soñoliento'stilo,
vuestra musa valió luego a la mía.

Vuestra mano añudó mi roto hilo,
y a mi alma regó vuestra corriente
con más fertilidad que riega el Nilo.

Por do, si mi'scrivir ora no siente
fértil vena, será la causa d'esto

ser mi ingenio incapaz naturalmente.

Pero viniendo a nuestro prosupuesto,
digo también que el no maravillarse
es propio de jüizio bien compuesto.

...

En esto acudirá el buen Monleón,
con quien todos holgar mucho solemos,
y nosotros y cuantos con él son;

él nos dirá y nosotros gustaremos;
él reirá y hará que nos riamos,
y en esto enfadars'á de cuanto haremos.

Otras cosas avrá que las callamos,
porque tam buenas son para hazerse
que pierden el valor si las hablamos.

Pero tiempo es, en fin, de recojerse,
porque aya más para otro mensajero:
que si mi cuenta no ha de deshazerse,
no será, yo os prometo, 'ste'l postrero.

(Boscán, 1999, pp.348-374)

[xxxvii] "Vaya, pues, mi sano intento
lejos deste desvarío;
huiga tan falso contento;
rija mi libre albedrío
a su modo el pensamiento;
mi tierna cerviz esenta
no permita ni consienta
sobre si el yugo amoroso,
por quien se turba el reposo
y la libertad se ausenta."
(Cervantes, v.2, 6: pp.239)

VITA

Gabrielle Ponce received her B.A. in Rhetoric with a specialization in Creative Writing from the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign where she was awarded the Quinn Award for Poetry and the Folger Adam Jr. Prize for Poetry. In 2009 she received her M.F.A. in the Writing Seminars at The Johns Hopkins University with a Masters thesis entitled, *City of the Sun*, at which time she received the Sankey Award in Poetry. Throughout her doctoral studies in the Department of German & Romance Languages & Literatures at The Johns Hopkins University she has been the recipient of numerous fellowships including the Fall Travel Grant from the Charles Singleton Center for the Study of Early Modern Europe (2012), the Millicent Mercer Johnsen Pre-Doctoral Rome Prize at the American Academy in Rome (2013-2014), and a Dean's Teaching Fellowship (2015) for the undergraudate seminar, *Folly & Insanity*. She has presented papers at Brown University, Oxford University and the Renaissance Society of America. Her articles have appeared in the *MLN* (2011) and *Romance Studies* (2013). In the fall of 2016 she will join the faculty of the College of Letters at Wesleyan University as Assistant Professor of Letters with a specialization in Comparative Literature of the 16th-19th Centuries.